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ANNALS

OF

COMMERCE,

MANUFACTURES, FISHERIES, AND NAVIGATION,

WITH

BRIEF NOTICES OF THE ARTS AND SCIENCES CONNECTED WITH THEM.

CONTAINING THE

COMMERCIAL TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

BRITISH EMPIRE AND OTHER COUNTRIES,

FROM THE EARLIEST ACCOUNTS TO THE MEETING OF THE UNION PARLIAMENT IN JANUARY 1801;

AND COMPREHENDING THE MOST VALUABLE PART OF THE LATE MR. ANDERSON'S HISTORY OF COMMERCE, VIZ. FROM THE YEAR 1492 TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE II, KING OF GREAT BRITAIN, &c.

WITH A LARGE APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES OF THE SOVEREIGNS OF EUROPE, TABLES OF THE ALTERATIONS OF MONEY IN ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND,

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE PRICES OF CORN, &c and A COMMERCIAL AND MANUFACTURAL GAZETTEER OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND;

WITH A GENERAL CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX.

The Antient Part composed from the most authentic Original Historians and Public Records, printed and in Manuscript; and the Modern Part from Materials of unquestionable Authenticity (mostly unpublished) extracted from the Records of Parliament, the Accounts of the Custom-house, the Mint, the Board of Trade, the Post-Office, the East-India Company, the Bank of England, &c. &c.

By DAVID MACPHERSON.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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THE FIRST VOLUME CONTAINS

(PART I)

The Commercial Transactions of the Antient Nations, and afterwards more particularly of the British Kingdoms, their Manufactures, Fisheries, Navigations, Arts, &c. from the earliest Accounts to the Discovery of America by Christopher Colon in the year 1492; composed from the most authentic Original Historians, and Parliamentary and other Public Records, published and in manuscript.

TO

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THE HONOURABLE COURT OF DIRECTORS
OF THE UNITED COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF ENGLAND TRADING TO THE EAST INDIES,

the moſt illuſtrious and moſt flouriſhing commercial aſſociation that ever exiſted in any age or country;

whoſe extenſive commerce connects the intereſts of the eaſtern and weſtern extremities of the world;

whoſe fleets, more numerous and powerful than thoſe of many ſovereign princes, protect their pretious cargoes from the attacks of hoſtile ſquadrons;

whoſe ſplendid achievements and vaſt territories in India rank them among the greateſt ſovereigns of Aſia;

and whoſe noble encouragement of literature and ſcience have raiſed the mercantile character to the higheſt degree of exaltation and dignity;

THE ANNALS OF COMMERCE, MANUFACTURES, FISHERIES, AND NAVIGATION,

are moſt reſpectfully dedicated

by

their moſt obedient

and very humble ſervant,

DAVID MACPHERSON.

PREFACE.

If it were poſſible that the importance of the ſubject could be equaled by the merit of the compoſition, there would be few works ſo well deſerving the attention of a Britiſh reader as the Annals of commerce.

Wherever commerce has flouriſhed, the people have enjoyed general plenty and happineſs; civilization, urbanity, and a comparatively-well-ordered government, ſecuring the liberty and property of the ſubject, have been its conſtant attendants. Ariſtotle, that great maſter of politics, ſays that the conſtitution of the commercial republic of Carthage was one of the moſt perfect in the world. And we may be allowed, with no ſmall degree of ſatisfaction, to add, that our own commercial iſland has long been conſidered in Europe as the aſylum of liberty, and the country wherein property could moſt ſafely be enjoyed.

But, though commerce is univerſally known to be the chief ſource of the proſperity, and alſo the power, of the Britiſh empire, no Britiſh work illuſtrative of its progreſs ever appeared, till Mr. Anderſon publiſhed his *Hiſtorical and chronological deduction of the origin of commerce*, wherein he has traced its progreſs from the creation of the world to the commencement of the reign of his preſent Majeſty; a work which has been quoted with approbation by ſome of the greateſt authors who have written ſince it appeared.

Mr. Anderſon appears to have beſtowed many years of his long life in collecting materials for his work. He conſulted a great number of books and pamphlets on commercial and politico-commercial ſubjects: and from them, making ſome (though perhaps not ſufficient) allowance for the partiality of controverſial writers, he chiefly drew his materials for the hiſtory of the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries. But for at leaſt half a century preceding the commencement of the preſent reign he is an original author, relating, from his own knowlege and obſervation, the commercial tranſactions of the Britiſh empire, with which he had every opportunity of being well acquainted, and in which he was in ſome degree engaged, having been in the ſervice of the South-ſea company, I believe, above forty years. Hence we find, he is quite at home in the affairs of that company, and particularly in the very extraordinary tranſactions of the year 1720, his account of which will ever be conſidered as the ſtandard hiſtory of that noted æra of frantic avarice and blind infatuation.

If he had been equally accurate in the early part of his work, the taſk of a ſucceeding writer would have been little more than merely to continue the narrative from his concluſion. But unfortunately he truſted to tranſlators and other modern writers, and theſe ſometimes not very properly choſen. His neglect of the antient hiſtorians of Greece and Rome, and of the valuable hiſtorians of the middle ages (whom the ſupercilious ignorance of grammarians calls barbarous), and the want of ſome public records not attainable in his time, have betrayed him into innumerable errors and omiſſions. Hence it is neceſſary to compoſe the hiſtory of the early ages entirely anew: and I have ventured to take upon myſelf the arduous taſk of giving an authentic chronological narrative of the progreſs of commerce, manufactures, fiſheries, and navigation, from the earlieſt accounts to the diſcovery of America in the year 1492.

In preparing the moſt valuable part of Mr. Anderſon's work for the preſs, I have preſerved all his facts, and the moſt of his remarks; though ſome of them are dictated by the narrow-ſpirited jealouſy of commerce, which in his time paſſed for patriotiſm. But I have cancelled many repetitions, and the frequent notices of prices, and the diminutions of money, with the attendant calculations of the difference of the expenſe of living in antient and modern times, an object almoſt as fallacious as the meaſurement of a ſhadow; inſtead of which, I have given in the Appendix a chronological view of the ſeveral diminutions of the money of England and Scotland, and a chronological ſeries of the prices of corn and other neceſſary articles, both in the perſpicuous and comprehenſive form of tables, from the inſpection of which the reader can obtain a pretty clear idea of the depretiation of money; for that is what we mean, when we talk of the increaſed price of living: and he will need no commentary to ſhow him the difference between the numerical expenditure of modern times and that of any particular time in by-paſt ages.

The only other alterations I have made conſiſt in pruning the ſuperfluities of diction; ſubſtituting modern words and phraſes (as far as I could without entire new compoſition) for obſolete ones, which Mr. Anderſon appears to have uſed more than any of his contemporaries who have come within my obſervation; and throwing down to the bottom of the page many ſentences and paragraphs of the nature of notes, wherewith his narrative is frequently obſtructed.

The additions made by myſelf in this portion of the work are preſented in the form of notes, with the letter *M* ſubjoined to each of them.

From what has been ſaid the reader will perceive that the commercial tranſactions from the year 1492 to 1760 ſtand on the au-

thority of Mr. Anderſon and thoſe whom he has followed. But for the long period preceding 1492, and alſo for the ſhort, but very eventful and important period between 1760 and 1801, I ſtand ſolely and entirely reſponſible.

I flatter myſelf that my labour has not been entirely unſucceſsful in tracing the progreſs of the very important trade of the weſtern world with India, the moſt antient commercial intercourſe between far-diſtant nations of which we have any knowlege, from the earlieſt dawn of hiſtoric information, appearing in the books of Moſes and other authentic writers, to its preſent ſplendour and magnitude, under the direction of the greateſt and moſt illuſtrious company that ever was aſſociated for commercial purpoſes ſince the creation of the world. And I truſt that the ſeveral lights I have brought to bear upon this great object have produced an authentic deduction of its progreſs, as perſpicuous as my materials would enable me to give, and as connected and circumſtantial as the plan and limits of my work would permit.

This commerce was conducted in the earlieſt ages by the South Arabians, a people apparently more enlightened by ſcience and commerce than any nation ſituated farther weſt, unleſs the Phœnicians may be placed on a level with them.*

The commerce next in importance, and apparently alſo in order of time, was that of the Phœnicians and their colonies, particularly their illuſtrious colony of Carthage, and that of Gadir (or Cadiz), with which is connected the earlieſt commercial hiſtory (and indeed notice of any kind) of our own Britiſh iſlands. Unfortunately the

* The extenſive active commerce and voyages aſcribed to the antient Egyptians are merely the creation of modern fancy, as I have, I truſt, ſufficiently demonſtrated in the note in p. 13 of the firſt volume.

moſt of the information we have reſpecting theſe antient commercial ſtates is derived from their enemies. From theſe perverted fountains of intelligence I have endeavoured to collect every notice concerning them worth preſerving: but every judicious reader will be inclined to believe that their character for commercial integrity, ſcience, and literature, was much higher than the malevolent accounts of ſuch writers repreſent it, and that they were much more enlightened than any other people bordering on the Mediterranean ſea.

The commerce of Carthage, and alſo that of Corinth, a trading city of Greece, were aboliſhed by the Romans, the general enemies of commerce*: and, indeed, it may be obſerved, that as the Roman empire increaſed, the commerce of the weſtern world decreaſed, with the ſingle exception of an enlarged demand for Oriental luxuries. Of this Oriental trade we happily poſſeſs a deſcription, which for accuracy and minuteneſs of detail may almoſt rival a modern official account; and I have the ſatisfaction of now giving the firſt complete abſtract of this pretious monument of commercial antiquity that has appeared in the Engliſh language. As the Roman empire declined, the Oriental trade, ſupported merely by the redundant opulence of Rome, gradually decayed; and in the ſixth century we find the intercourſe with India turned into a new channel. During the many dark ages, which ſucceeded the ſubverſion of the Weſtern empire, the faculties of the human mind were debaſed by the groſſeſt ignorance; and literature, ſcience, and commerce, were neglected or forgotten in the weſtern parts of the world, till the Saracens, and ſome of the cities of Italy and the neighbouring countries, began to

* Notwithſtanding the anticommercial ſpirit, ſo evident in the actions and writings of the Romans, even when they were comparatively civilized, they have been repreſented as a commercial people, from the very commencement of their republic, by a writer on commerce, who has ſtrangely had the good fortune to be followed and quoted, as if he were an authentic hiſtorian.

pay ſome attention to them. The ſpirit of commerce afterwards aroſe in the Netherlands and ſome of the cities of Germany, and, after making ſome ſtay in Portugal, has ſettled in our own ſea-girt country, I hope, never to depart. But the principles of commerce were not at all known in this country till of late, as will appear from innumerable facts and laws to be found in this work. An accurate record of ſuch facts and laws is eſſentially neceſſary to the enlightened merchant, the political economiſt, and the philoſophic legiſlator, who may deſire to form plans of commercial policy, advantageous to the nation at large, as well as to the individual merchants and manufacturers.

As agriculture is the foundation, ſo are manufactures and fiſheries the pillars, and navigation the wings, of commerce. Agriculture does not come within the plan of this work: and it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that nations merely agricultural, or agricultural and paſtoral, may indeed poſſeſs a ſufficiency of food, and ſome rude kind of clothing; but they muſt be indebted to their more induſtrious neighbours for manufacturing, and alſo bringing to them, every article of comfort and enjoyment, the purchaſe of which, by bartering their corn and cattle for them, neceſſarily produces the firſt rudiments of a paſſive trade.

Of the manufactures of the antients, if we except the ſingle article of ſilk, which was introduced in Greece in the ſixth century, we have very ſcanty information. Of the important woolen manufactures of the Netherlands, Catalonia, Italy, and afterwards of our own country, and alſo of the trade in wool, I have endeavoured to give a clear and true account, in order to furniſh an antidote to the miſrepreſentations of ſome who have written upon that ſubject without regarding anthorities, as was, and is, cuſtomary in writing to ſerve particular purpoſes. The other principal articles of Britiſh

manufacture have alſo been attended to, in proportion to their importance, or the means of obtaining information reſpecting their progreſs.

The important buſineſs of the fiſhery, that great ſource of opulence and naval power, is traced from the earlieſt ages. Whether the Arabians ſalted any of the fiſh they caught by the nets, hooks, &c. mentioned in the Book of Job, we are not informed. But from Herodotus, the father of Grecian hiſtory, we know that fiſh were cured with ſalt in Egypt about 1350 years before the Chriſtian æra; and we find other notices of a trade in ſalt fiſh among ſeveral of the antient nations. We alſo find that the trade in ſalt herrings and other ſalt fiſh was an object of conſiderable importance in Britain and the other weſtern parts of Europe long before the age of the Flemiſh curer, Beukelens, who is generally ſuppoſed to have *invented* the art of curing herrings. The many laws for the promotion of this great national object, and the progreſs of the chief branches of the fiſhery, are carefully and authentically detailed.

Without navigation commerce can ſcarcely be carried to any conſiderable extent. I have, therefore, endeavoured to mark, as far as my limits and the means of information would permit, the gradual progreſs of that moſt valuable art, from the firſt rude attempts to that high degree of perfection, in which it may be ſaid, almoſt without any ſtretch of veracity, that the powers of the human mind extend beyond their limits, and give life to a machine compoſed of timber and canvaſs. And as warlike veſſels are, or at leaſt ought to be, the protectors of commerce, I have noted many of the improvements and revolutions of maritime warfare; and I have given, I truſt, a clear explanation of the arrangement of the tires of oars in the war gallies of the antients, that puzzling deſideratum in the ſtudy of

antient hiſtory, for which I with pleaſure acknowlege myſelf indebted to my worthy and reſpectable friend General Melville.

The progreſs of the ſciences of aſtronomy and geography, which are the very eyes of navigation, and without which no diſtant voyage can be performed, is well worthy of being noted: and arithmetic, book-keeping, geometry, and the mechanic arts, alſo merit our attention. In ſuch a work as this there ought to be at leaſt ſome brief remembrance of thoſe friends of mankind, whoſe ingenuity, ſtudy, or patriotic exertions, have added to the comfort and happineſs of life, have procured for their country valuable branches of trade, have abridged the labour and expense of manufactures and carriage, or have leſſened the dangers of navigation. The ſuperior importance of commerce and the peaceful arts is now known all-over Europe; men begin to be eſteemed rather for utility than for unmeaning names or titles; and we may hope that the time is not very diſtant, in which the names of Arkwright, Wedgwood, Brindley, Harriſon, and other friends of mankind, will ſtand higher in the temple of Fame than thoſe of Alexander, Cæſar, Zingis-khan, Timour, and other ſuch deſtroyers, who have hitherto engroſſed the admiration of the world.* Not very long ago thoſe who were conſidered as the firſt people in the community would have been aſhamed to be ſuppoſed to know any thing of commerce or manufactures. But we now ſee men of fortune and title actively concerned in com-

* 'Mira humani ingenii peſte, ſanguinem et cædes condere annalibus juvat, ut ſcelera hominum 'noſcantur mundi ipſius ignaris.' [*Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* ii, *c.* 9.] But this perverſion of reaſon was not confined to the Romans, whoſe trade was war: the hiſtorians or chroniclers of Venice, Genoa, and Piſa, communities profeſſedly commercial, have been carried away with the current of applauſe beſtowed upon military achievements, and have expatiated upon them, while they have almoſt entirely neglected the more valuable hiſtory of the commerce, by which their ſmall ſtates were exalted during ſome ages to a proud pre-eminence over the empires and kingdoms of Europe.

merce, mines, coal-works, ſalt-works, lime-works, canals, and various branches of manufactural induſtry, as well as in agriculture.

As I wiſhed to write an uſeful, rather than a large, book, I have been careful not to load and obſcure the pages with the verboſity and peculiarity of language, which are thought neceſſary in acts of parliament, treaties, and other public papers. But I have given a conciſe abridgement of ſuch of them as are connected with commerce, which in moſt caſes will be ſufficient; and where it is not, recourſe can be had to the originals.

All the official accounts are arranged in the perſpicuous and comprehenſive form of tables. Thoſe of the imports and exports are conſtructed ſo as to ſhow the whole trade with each country by adding the amount of England and Scotland. And, in order to avoid large folding tables and an uneceſſary multitude of figures, I have left it to the reader to make the additions when neceſſary, and alſo to ſtrike the balance of trade with any particular country.

I have been ſparing of remarks, and have advanced no dogmatic opinions, nor any theories whatſoever. My readers will in general be more capable than myſelf of perceiving the cauſes and conſequences of events and laws: and with the recital of theſe only the book is ſufficiently voluminous.

In order to preſerve the narrative from being interrupted by argumentative or diſputable matter, I have thrown all critical diſquiſitions, and alſo many illuſtrations and proofs, into the notes. Theſe ſome readers may chuſe to overlook, while others will think them the moſt valuable part of the work: and I am ready to acknowlege, that ſome of them have coſt me more labour in reſearch than many pages of the text. But, if they ſhall be inſtrumental in correcting

miſrepreſentation, eſtabliſhing truth, and baniſhing at leaſt ſome falſehoods from the page of hiſtory, I ſhall not think my labour ill beſtowed.

The chronology of the ſovereigns of Europe, arranged in one table in the Appendix, inſtead of the tables given by Mr. Anderſon for every century, ſhows what princes were contemporaries; and it will ſometimes be found uſeful in ſettling the dates of events recorded as having taken place in ſuch a year of a king's reign.

The chronological table of the alterations of money in England and Scotland, and the chronological table of prices, will be found exceedingly uſeful to thoſe who may have occaſion to appretiate the real value of money at any particular time, which may be done with tolerable exactneſs by calculating, from the inſpection of the two tables, the quantity of ſilver any article was ſold for at the time required.

The commercial and manufactural gazetteer, if it could be made more complete, would preſent a pleaſing picture of the induſtry of the whole united kingdom. Imperfect as it muſt neceſſarily be, from the narrow bounds aſſigned to it, but ſtill more from the impoſſibility of obtaining ſufficient and ſatisfactory information upon ſubjects, which the generality of writers, even the moſt minute topographers ſcarcely excepted, think either unworthy of their notice, or not within the ſphere of their obſervation, it is much better than none: and it may perhaps ſtimulate ſome perſon duely qualified to appropriate a larger work to a ſubject ſo important and intereſting. Such accounts, drawn up at intervals of about half a century, would ſhow the migrations of trade and manufactures, the riſe of induſtrious towns, the decline of others not poſſeſſing ſufficient accommodation of harbours, inland navigation, fuel, mill-ſtreams, &c. and the

fluctuations to which all ſublunary things are liable. Many ſuch changes appear in comparing this brief ſketch with the few ſimilar notices of earlier times to be found diſperſed in other works, particulary in Dodſley's Preceptor, publiſhed in the year 1748, and ſome topographical notices in Mr. Anderſon's work.

As a large book is little better than a chaos, or mine, of materials without the help of a copious Index, I have endeavoured to make that which is ſubjoined to this work as comprehenſive, and at the ſame time as conciſe, as poſſible: and I have followed Mr. Anderſon's plan in giving the date of every article.

The authenticity of antient hiſtory reſts entirely upon the evidence of antient writers, and can only be eſtabliſhed, to the ſatisfaction of a judicious reader, by referring to the original authors. This I have conſtantly done: and I have not loaded the work with unneceſſary quotations from their followers; for a thouſand followers of an original author add nothing to the value of his evidence, though an oſtentatious diſplay of their names may give a writer a great reputation for erudition in the opinion of many readers: but I wiſh for no falſe reputation of that or any other kind. I have not, however, been neglectful of the works of later and modern hiſtorians and commentators, but have carefully conſulted them, in order to obtain their judgement upon doubtful points, or to avoid the omiſſion of any thing important which might have eſcaped myſelf; for no writer ought to be ſo confident of his own reſearch or talents as to neglect the help of others.

As the diſcovery of truth is the greateſt pleaſure attending hiſtorical reſearch, I have not ſcrupled to differ from men of great and eſtabliſhed reputation, when compelled to do ſo by the firſt and moſt indiſpenſible duty of an hiſtorian, and by the reſpect due to thoſe

antient authorities which they ought not to have neglected, or gone in defiance of, though in ſo doing I may incur the cenſure of ſuperficial critics. Where I differ from modern writers, I have ſcarcely ever thought it neceſſary to produce their names or their arguments, or even to obſerve that there is ſuch a difference; for this is not a work of controverſy. It is ſufficient that I produce unqueſtionable authority: it neceſſarily follows, that whoever contradicts that runs into error.

The hiſtory of the Britiſh commerce during the middle ages reſts in a great meaſure on the authority of public records, partly printed, and partly manuſcripts, the later of which, I conſulted in the great national library in the Britiſh Muſeum, and, on ſome occaſions, in the Tower.

The modern part of the work, though containing fewer quotations than the other parts, is ſtill more aſſuredly authentic, being founded upon the acts and records of parliament, official accounts, and other ſuch unqueſtionable documents. But in a work, for which no materials can be ſupplied from the fancy or judgement, nor even from the unaided induſtry, of the author, and in the ſearch for which even money, which commands almoſt all things, is of no avail, it is proper to inform the reader how I have obtained documents, which have generally been withheld from preceding writers: and in ſo doing, I at the ſame time gratify my feelings, by acknowleging my obligations to the great and worthy characters, who have enabled me to render my work more worthy of the approbation and confidence of the public, and perhaps of ſucceeding ages, than it could otherwiſe have been.—For the materials extracted from the manuſcript records of parliament I am indebted to the favour of Mr. Addington (now Viſcount Sidmouth), who was pleaſed to ſay, that he conſidered my work as an object of public utility, and entitled

to public ſupport and encouragement; and alſo to Sir John Mitford (now Lord Redeſdale), who repeated the order for my admiſſion to the office for the journals and papers, where, during my reſearches, I met with every accommodation and attention from the politeneſs of Mr. Benſon and Mr. Whittam. For ſuch of the cuſtom-houſe accounts as I had not previouſly obtained, I have to acknowlege the kindneſs of Mr. Vanſittart, the ſecretary of the Treaſury, who, beſides ſome important communications, favoured me with a proper introduction to the cuſtom-houſe, where I drew from the fountain-head the moſt authentic and important accounts of the commerce, ſhipping, and commercial revenue, of the Britiſh empire: and I am much indebted to the polite attention of Mr. Irving, Mr. Glover, and, indeed, of every other gentleman to whom my numerous inquiries led me to apply.—The accounts of the coinage are derived from thoſe made up for parliament by the proper officers of the Mint, and the later part from perſonal inquiry.—Mr. Chalmers, in whoſe keeping the books and papers of the late Board of trade are, was ſo kind as to give me unreſtrained acceſs to them for the benefit of this work.—Lord Auckland and Lord Charles Spencer, the poſt-maſters-general, were ſo good as to grant me acceſs to ſuch accounts of their office as might be illuſtrative of the commerce of the country: and Mr. Church, in whoſe department thoſe accounts are, moſt obligingly gave me every information and accommodation.—The directors of the Eaſt-India company liberally permitted me to obtain from their offices ſuch articles of information as were proper to be made public in a work entirely devoted to the purpoſe of conveying commercial information: and Mr. Wiſſett, the chief clerk to the Committee of warehouſes, whoſe office contains the greateſt part of the accounts uſeful for my work, gave the moſt obliging attention to my inquiries.—The accounts illuſtrative of the affairs of the Bank of England are chiefly taken from the official papers prepared for the inſpection of parliament.—Much uſeful matter has been procur-

ed from offices in various parts of the Britiſh empire by the applications of friends, and by my own correſpondence. And much has been obtained from the communications of reſpectable merchants and other gentlemen unconnected with office, by perſonal application and by correſpondence with various parts of Great Britain and foreign countries. Of the friends who thus contributed their aſſiſtance, there are ſome who do not chuſe that their names ſhould be made public, and others whoſe favours have been acknowleged in notes in the proper places: but the perſevering kindneſs and attention of my worthy friend, Mr. Ellis, late member of parliament for Seaford, and well known in the literary world by his Specimens of the early Engliſh poets, which I could not acknowlege upon any *one* occaſion, particularly deſerve my warm and laſting gratitude. And my acknowlegements are due to my good friends, Meſſieurs George and William Nicol, bookſellers to his Majeſty, for procuring me permiſſion to conſult ſome of the books of the royal library, not elſewhere attainable, and for many other kind attentions to me and my work.

I have now laid before the reader a brief account of the nature and plan of a work, to which I have devoted the aſſiduous labours of a conſiderable portion of my life. The accounts and facts contained in it preſent to the philoſophical and ſpeculative politician the ſureſt baſis for calculations in political arithmetic, and the ſureſt precedents for commercial arrangements: and, as they are given merely in their due order, whether they may be found favourable or unfavourable to any particular doctrines or opinions upon national or commercial policy, they can never miſlead. And here I may be permitted to obſerve, that, though I poſſeſſed the greateſt elegance of ſtile, to which I make no pretenſion, the nature of the work preſents but few opportunities, of which our moſt brilliant writers could avail themſelves to diſplay the captivating graces of

their compoſition. If I have merely put proper words in proper places, I ſeek for no further embelliſhments, content with the humble praiſe, if it ſhall be allowed me, of having given the compreſſed commercial ſubſtance of many thouſands of books, official papers, and accounts, and having collected a great theſaurus of *ſolid materials*, out of which a more ſkilful architect may, with comparative eaſe, erect a very magnificent edifice. The labour and attention beſtowed in collecting and arranging theſe materials may, perhaps, juſtify me in hoping that they may be referred to and confidently quoted by ſucceeding writers, and be thought not unworthy the attention of the merchant, the philoſopher, or the legiſlator, who may deſire to poſſeſs more authentic and comprehenſive information of the revolutions of commerce, and particularly of the vaſt increaſe of the Britiſh commerce in the very important period of the preſent reign, than has ever been preſented to the Public with any degree of fullneſs. And I think, I may juſtly claim for my work the honourable diſtinction of being, not the melancholy record of human crimes and calamities, as moſt other hiſtorical works are, but the animating *regiſter of human induſtry and ingenuity*. That the work is not ſo perfect as I wiſhed, I am very ready to acknowlege. But, if no man ſhall undertake any work, till he *infallibly* obtains the means of rendering it perfect, very few indeed will be undertaken. Such as it is, I now ſubmit it, with a reſpectful ſolicitude, to the candour of the impartial Public.

It may perhaps not be improper, in order to obviate any misconception, which might possibly proceed from an erroneous advertisement printed on the cover of a magazine, to declare that I have had no associate or assistant in this work, unless the late Mr. Anderson may be considered as such. It is, indeed, a most extraordinary circumstance, that a work, which has cost me the labour of many years to render it a repository of authentic facts, should, in some degree, be ushered into the world with such a wide aberration from veracity.

CORRECTIONS.

IN THE FIRST VOLUME.

p. 57 l. 33 *for* Glaucu . *read* Glaucus
72 l. 23 *for* years . *read* ages
87 On examining the *Arenarius* of Archimedes, I am inclined to believe, with Gaſſendi, that Plutarch is erroneous, and that Ariſtarchus was the philoſopher who knew the true ſyſtem of the univerſe. Therefor
for Cleanthes *read* Ariſtarchus
and for Ariſtarchus *read* Cleanthes
122 note § *for* plenty . *read* plentiful
137 l. 9. *for* Ireland . *read* IRELAND
138 note* *for* plenty . *read* common
222 l. 27 *for* is is . *read* is
257 note, l. 7 *after* ſee above p. *add* 159
297 l. 23 *for* numbers . *read* number
318 at the end of note † *add* and indeed we know that it was navigable, under the name of the Foſs, at leaſt as early as the reign of Edward the Confeſſor. See above p. 296
340 l. 7 *for* 1272 . . *read* 1172
368 l. 21 *for Goa's* . . *read God's*
436 note* l. 10 *for kind* . *read bina*
438 l. 28 *for* up . . *read* us
484 is erroneouſly numbered
597 l. 4. *for* 800 . . *read* 80
601 l. 28 *for* cloths . *read* cloth
634 l. 34 *for* cauſual . *read* caſual
687 headline *for* 1071 . *read* 1471

IN THE SECOND VOLUME.

p. 10 l. 23 *for* 1476 . *read* 1496
35 notes, col. 2 *for* plenty *read* plentiful
55 l. 13 *for* 1552 . *read* 1522
287 l. 1 *for* gum, ſenegal, *read* gum ſenegal,
485 l. 12 *for* navigate . *read* navigated
488 l. 20 *for* night's . *read* knight's
713 l. 24 *for* reduce . *read* reduced
719 note † col. 2 *for* 271 *read* 286½

IN THE THIRD VOLUME.

p. 53 l. 24 *for* 1727 . *read* 1717
100 headline *for* 1714 . *read* 1720
254 l. 23 *for* Ballalore . *read* Ballaſore
307 l. 1 *for* eight . *read* ſeven
311 l. 25 *before* Proviſions *inſert* 1759—
312 headline *for* 1758 . *read* 1759
314 note l. 2 *for* ever . *read* even
322 and 341 are wrong numbered
344 l. 4 *for* generally . *read* frequently
391 note * l. 9 *before* found *read* is
515 l. 8 *after* century . *inſert* to the year 1760
538 l. 13 *for* two fifths . *read* three fifths
678 l. 3 *for* plentier . *read* more plentiful

IN THE FOURTH VOLUME, APP^{X} N^{O} IV.

In the account of the town of Chepſtow, *for* Britiſh *read* Briſtol Channel

Some types have fallen out of their places in printing off the ſheets; but it is not neceſſary to notice ſuch minute errata.

ANNALS

OF

COMMERCE.

COMMERCE exchanges what we have to ſpare for what we want, in whatever part of the world it is produced; and it enables agricultors, labourers, manufacturers, ſeamen, and, in ſhort, every deſcription of induſtrious people, to live comfortably and independently upon their own acquiſitions. The animation, which it gives to manufactures, brings on a diviſion of labour, whereby they are carried to a degree of perfection, not otherways attainable, and makes the purchaſe of every article comparatively eaſy to the individual, for whom a hundred thouſand hands, diſperſed over the ſurface of the globe, are employed in providing food, lodging, clothing, and other neceſſaries, comforts, and enjoyments. Without commerce every family muſt be agricultors for themſelves, and *for themſelves only:* and they muſt alſo build their own houſes, or rather huts, make their own furniture, their own clothes, and every article, they ſtand in need of. Some wretched nations in this moſt abject ſtate of ſavage life exiſt, even at this time, in parts of the world hitherto ſcarcely ever viſited by navigation. In a country deſtitute of commerce ſuperior talents are of little value, and induſtry would toil in vain: a redundance of produce is uſeleſs; a deficiency is death. But wherever commerce extends its beneficial influence, every country, which is acceſſible, is in ſome degree placed on a level with reſpect to the ſupply of proviſions, the neceſſaries, the comforts, and the elegancies, of life.

The origin of commerce, if we comprehend under that name the ſimple exchanges, which took place, as ſoon as different taſtes, or talents, directed people to employ their induſtry in different purſuits, muſt undoubtedly be nearly co-eval with the creation of the world. As paſtur-

age and agriculture were the only employments of the firſt men, ſo cattle and flocks, and the fruits of the earth, were the only objects of the firſt commerce, or, more properly ſpeaking, of that ſpecies of it known by the name of *barter*. The invention of manufactures enabled the more ingenious and induſtrious members of the community to add to their own comfort and convenience; and alſo, by diſpoſing of the productions of their labour and ingenuity, to acquire an addition to the produce of their own fields, or their own flocks, which rendered them comparatively rich. We are not ſufficiently informed of the ſtate of mankind in the earlieſt ages to know, whether there were any, who beſtowed their whole time and attention upon manufactures, or, in other words, followed trades or profeſſions; whether their exchanges were extended beyond the near neighbourhood of the actual producers, and conducted by a claſs of people devoting their attention to ſuch buſineſs, whom we call MERCHANTS; or whether any univerſal ſtandard or medium, which we call MONEY, was then invented.

We find, however, in the very brief hiſtory, which we have, of the ages preceding the flood, a few ſhort notices, which infer, that ſome progreſs had been made in manufactures during that period. The building of a city, or village, by Cain, however mean the houſes may have been, ſuppoſes the exiſtence of ſome mechanic knowlege. The muſical inſtruments, as harps and organs, the works in braſs and in iron (the moſt difficult of all metals in the application of it to the ſervice of mankind) made by the following generations *, ſhew, that the arts were conſiderably advanced: but above all the conſtruction of Noah's ark, a ſhip of three decks, covered all-over with pitch, and vaſtly larger than any modern effort of naval architecture, proves, that many ſeparate trades were then carried on; for it can by no means be ſuppoſed, that Noah and his three ſons could collect and prepare the vaſt quantity and variety of materials, and alſo tools, neceſſary for carrying on ſo ſtupendous a fabric, had there not been people, who made a trade of ſupplying them in exchange for commodities, or perhaps for money.

The enormous pile of building, called the Tower of Babel, was conſtructed of bricks, the proceſs of making which appears to have been very well underſtood †.

Some learned aſtronomers are perſuaded that the celeſtial obſervations of the Chineſe reach back to 2249 years before the commencement of the Chriſtian æra ‡. And the celeſtial obſervations made at Babylon,

* Naamah, the ſiſter of Tubal-cain, is ſaid by ſome authors to have invented, or practiſed, wool-carding, ſpinning, weaving, &c. but, I believe, without any ſufficient authority.

† I ſay nothing of the wonderful buildings, fleets, and armies, aſcribed to Semiramis, becauſe it is impoſſible to know any thing certain concerning that perhaps-imaginary princeſs, or goddeſs. [See *Lieutenant Wilford's Diſſertation on Semiramis*, from the Hindu ſacred books, in the *Aſiatic reſearches*, *V.* iv.]

‡ The arguments for and againſt the genuineneſs of theſe obſervations are given by *Montucla*, *Hiſt. de mathematiques*, *V.* i, *p.* 385.

and contained in a calendar of *above nineteen centuries*, which was tranſmitted to Greece by Alexander, reach back to within fifteen years of thoſe aſcribed to the Chineſe. The diſcovery of this valuable ſcience was attributed by European writers to a deified king of Babylon, whom they call Jupiter Belus. [*Ariſtot. de Cælo, c.* 12. *—*Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* vi, *c.* 26.]

The Indians appear to have had obſervations fully as early as the Babylonians. [*Bailly, Aſtronomie Indienne.—Robertſon's Diſquiſition on India, p.* 289, *ed.* 1794.]

So very antient among the oriental nations was the ſtudy of ASTRONOMY, a ſcience ſo eſſentially neceſſary to navigation, that without it no voyages can be undertaken upon the ocean. Whether any of thoſe nations learned aſtronomy from either of the others, is a queſtion, which no man can preſume to determine.

Such of the deſcendents of Noah as lived near the water, we may preſume, made uſe of veſſels built ſomewhat in imitation of the ark, (ſuppoſing it to have been the firſt floating veſſel ever ſeen in the world) and on a ſmaller ſcale adapted to the purpoſe of croſſing deep rivers. In proceſs of time the poſterity of his eldeſt ſon Japhet ſettled themſelves in 'the iſles of the Gentiles,' by which we muſt underſtand the iſlands at the eaſt end of the Mediterranean ſea, and thoſe between Aſia-minor and Greece, whence their colonies ſpread into Greece, Italy, and other weſtern lands †. [*Geneſis, c.* 10.] This is the earlieſt account of voyages performed upon the ſea.

SIDON, which afterwards became ſo illuſtrious for the wonderful mercantile exertions of its inhabitants, was founded about 2,200 years before the Chriſtian æra. Seated in a barren and narrow country, confined on one ſide by the ſea, and on the other by the range of mountains called Lebanon, they had the ſagacity to make theſe ſeemingly inhoſpitable boundaries the foundation of a naval power, which for ages ſtood unequalled, and gave them the unrivalled command of the whole commerce of the Mediterranean. The mountains being covered with excellent cedars, which furniſh the very beſt and moſt durable ſhip timber and plank ‡, they built great numbers of ſhips, and exported the

* Epigenes, Beroſus, and Critodemus, as quoted by Pliny, [*Hiſt. nat. L.* vii, *c.* 56] do not allow half ſo much antiquity to the Babylonian obſervations. But, ſuppoſing the numbers in all to be equally genuine, the authority of Ariſtotle is vaſtly ſuperior to all theirs.

† According to the tables calculated by Wallace, [*Diſſertation on the numbers of mankind, p.* 4.] the poſterity of Noah, if he had no children after the deluge, ſhould at this time ſcarcely have amounted to 600 perſons. But if we ſuppoſe a ſociety of people exempted from the many clogs put upon matrimony in modern times, and enjoying the full vigour of life for at leaſt a century, we ſhall ſee reaſon to believe, that in about 200 years the poſterity of three couples might have greatly exceeded a million of people.

‡ That the ſhips of this country were built of cedar in after ages alſo, appears from Pliny. [*Hiſt. nat. L.* xvi, *c.* 40] who ſays, that it was uſed for *want of fir*, of which the Romans, from ſcarcity of better timber, or from ignorance, built their ſhips, though, in the ſame chapter, he remarks, that ſome beams of cedar in a temple at Utica had laſted 1188 years.

produce of the adjacent country, and the various articles produced by the labours of their own ingenious and induſtrious people, who excelled in the manufactures of fine linen, embroidery, tapeſtry, metals, glaſs, whereof they appear to have had almoſt as many varieties as our modern manufacturers furniſh, ſuch as coloured, figured by blowing, turned round by the lath, and cut or carved, and even mirrors. In ſhort, they were unrivalled, at leaſt by the inhabitants of the Mediterranean coaſts, in works of taſte, elegance, and luxury. Their great and univerſally-acknowleged pre-eminence procured to the Phœnicians, whoſe capital port was Sidon, the honour of being eſteemed by the Greeks and others the inventors of commerce, ſhip-building, navigation, the application of aſtronomy to nautical purpoſes, and particularly the diſcovery of ſeveral ſtars nearer to the north pole than any that were known to the other nations, naval war, writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, meaſures and weights; to all which it is very probable that they might have added money *. Some of theſe ſciences however, particularly aſtronomy and arithmetic, may be preſumed to have been received by the Phœnicians from the Babylonians or Indians.

An obſervation of an eclipſe, which happened 2155 years before the Chriſtian æra, is ſuppoſed by ſome to be the moſt antient of the Chineſe obſervations, which can be received as authentic: but others credit them for celeſtial obſervations three centuries earlier, as already obſerved. [*Montucla, Hiſt. de mathematiques, V.* i. *pp.* 59, 385.]

2000—It was probably about this time that the Titans made themſelves maſters of Greece and other parts of Europe. Their hiſtory is overwhelmed with fable: and they are noticed here merely as an early inſtance of a number of people, ſufficient to overrun, and even to ſubdue and occupy a great extent of thinly-inhabited country, being tranſported by water; and as a proof, that the navigation of thoſe remote ages was not quite ſo deſpicable, as ſome authors endeavour to make us believe †.

1920—Egypt appears to have ſurpaſſed all the neighbouring countries in agriculture, and particularly to have excelled in its plentiful crops of corn. The fame of its ſuperior fertility induced Abraham to remove with his very numerous family into Egypt during a famine, which afflicted the land of Canaan, then the place of his reſidence. [*Geneſis, c.* 12.]

1859—The earlieſt particular accounts of bargain and ſale, which are recorded, reach no higher than the time of Abraham. In the accounts

* See *Geneſis, c.* 10.—*Homeri Il. L.* xviii, *v.* 289; *L.* xxiii, *v.* 743; *Odyſſ. L.* xv, *v.* 115.—*Herodot. L.* i, *c.* 1.—*Mela, L.* i, *c.* 6.—*Strabo, L.* xvi, *p.* 1097, *ed.* 1707.—*Plinii Hiſt. nat. L.* v, *c.* 19; *L.* xxxvi, *c.* 26.

† The antient authors, who mention them, bring them from countries beyond the ſea; and they extend their conqueſts, or colonies, to Italy, Spain, Africa, &c.

of two purchaſes of landed property by him we have the amount of the prices and the modes of the payments. The firſt may perhaps rather be called an acknowlegement made to Abimelech, as king of the country, for having dug a well in his territory, than a real purchaſe; and the payment was ſeven ewe-lambs, beſides a preſent, far more valuable, of ſheep and oxen. [*Geneſis*, *c.* 21.] But the next is a fair and abſolute purchaſe of a field or piece of land, in the narrative of which we have many circumſtances well deſerving our attention. Abraham, deſirous of burying his deceaſed wife in ground which ſhould be his own property, applied to the people of the country for their intereſt with Ephron, the proprietor of the field, to induce him to diſpoſe of it. Ephron, in the hearing of the people, politely offered him a preſent of the piece of ground, and deſired all the company to be witneſſes of the donation. Abraham, bowing reſpectfully to all the people, declined the gift, but deſired to purchaſe it at a fair price; whereupon, after ſome further compliments, the value was fixed at 'four hundred ſhekels of ſilver, '*current money with the* MERCHANT *.' The ſilver was immediately weighed (not counted), and paid to Ephron; and the property of the field of Machpela, with its cave or ſepulchre, and all the trees belonging to it, was warranted to Abraham in the preſence of all the people. The whole tranſaction appears to have been conducted with great candour and politeneſs on both ſides. [*Geneſis*, *c.* 23.] This contract for the regular transfer of landed property preſuppoſes the various productions of the earth to have been for ſome time the objects of eſtabliſhed traffic. We have reaſon, however, to believe, that only incloſed and planted fields were property; while the boundleſs common of the whole world was the unappropriated paſture ground of the patriarchs, who, with their armies of children and ſervants, and their innumerable herds of cattle, ranged from place to place in ſearch of freſh paſture, as the paſtoral tribes of the Scythians and Arabians have done in all ages. Abraham, who fed his flocks and herds at one time on the banks of the Euphrates, and at another on thoſe of the Nile, ſaid to his nephew Lot, 'Let us ſeparate in order to prevent ſtrife among our herdſmen. If 'you chuſe to go to the left, I will go to the right. Is not the whole 'land before you?'

From the hiſtory of Abraham we learn, that money of denominations and quality, fixed by public authority, or by the general conſent of thoſe who were moſt intereſted in the circulation of it, was then an eſtabliſhed ſtandard, or medium, in the tranſactions of mankind, and, together with

* This important word MERCHANT implies, that the ſtandard of money was fixed by uſage among *merchants*, and conſequently, that *merchants* conſtituted a numerous and reſpectable claſs of the community. St. Jerom's, and ſome other tranſlations of the Bible, omit the word MERCHANT, and only ſay, that the money was generally or publicly current, or approved: but in the original Hebrew the words, as literally tranſlated for me by a learned orientaliſt, ſignify *four hundred ſhekels of ſilver current with the* MERCHANTS; ſo that our modern Engliſh tranſlation is one of the trueſt.

cattle and ſlaves, conſtituted the principal wealth of individuals. Abraham had 'flocks and herds, and ſilver and gold, and men-ſervants and 'maid-ſervants *, and camels and aſſes.' Abimelech gave to Abraham a thouſand pieces of ſilver, beſides cattle and ſlaves.

Manufactures were by this time ſo far advanced, that not only thoſe more immediately connected with agriculture and paſturage, ſuch as flour ground from corn, wine, oil, and butter, and alſo the moſt neceſſary articles of clothing and furniture, but even thoſe of luxury and magnificence, were uſual; as we learn by the ear-rings and bracelets, jewels of gold, jewels of ſilver, and other pretious things, preſented by Abraham's ſteward to Rebekah, the intended bride of his young maſter, and to her relations. [*Geneſis*, *cc.* 9, 13, 18, 19, 20, 24.]

About this time Inachus, called by the Grecian poets of after ages the ſon of the Ocean, but probably a Phœnician †, arrived in Greece, and founded the kingdom of Argos in the peninſula afterwards called Peloponeſus, and now the Morea. His daughter Io, while ſhe was purchaſing ſome goods from a Phœnician veſſel, which had been five or ſix days trading in Egyptian and Aſſyrian merchandize at Argos, then the moſt flouriſhing city of Greece, was, together with ſome other young women her attendants, ſeized by the crew, and carried to Egypt. [*Herodot. L.* i, *c.* 1.]

It is the opinion of ſeveral learned commentators, that the converſations in the book of Job are tranſlated from a work compoſed by Job himſelf, that his reſidence was in Arabia, and that he was contemporary with the ſons of Abraham. That book throws a great deal of light upon the commerce, manufactures, and ſcience, of the age and country wherein he lived. Gold, iron, braſs, lead, chryſtal, jewels, and other luxuries, together with the art of weaving, are mentioned in *cc.* 7, 19, 28, 42; merchants in *c.* 41; gold brought from Ophir (wherever that place was) which infers commerce with a country apparently remote, and topazes from Ethiopia, *c.* 38; ſhip-building, and that ſo far improved, that ſome veſſels were conſtructed ſo as to be particularly diſtinguiſhed for the velocity of their motion ‡, *c.* 9; writing in

* Theſe were not ſervants in the modern acceptation of the word, but ſlaves, his property, and bought with his money. See *Geneſis*, *c.* 17.

† There can be little reaſon to doubt, that the name of *Inachus* (Ἰναχος) is the ſame word with *Enak* or *Anak*, a Phœnician title of dignity. The learned Bochart ſeems with good reaſon to think, that the genuine name of the Phœnicians was *Ben Anak*, (the ſons of Anak) of which the Greek word Φοινικες is a corrupted contraction. We learn from Plautus [*Pœnul. act.* 5, *ſc.* 2] that the Carthaginians, a Phœnician colony, called their city *Chadre-Anak*, the reſidence of the Anaks. [*Cumberland's Sanconiatho*, *p.* 271.—*Bochart*, *Chan. L.* i, *c.* 1.] Joſephus, who conſulted many good authors, now loſt, ſays, that in early times, the Phœnicians were the navigators who conveyed the firſt knowlege of the Egyptians and other nations to the Greeks. [*Contra Apionem*, *L.* 1.]

‡ The commentators are far from agreeing upon the meaning of the words, tranſlated 'ſwift 'ſhips,' in the Engliſh Bible. Jerom tranſlates them 'naves poma portantes,' ſhips carrying apples. The invention of rafts, the very firſt rude eſſay in navigation, was aſcribed to Erythras, a (perhaps imaginary) king of ſome part of the coaſt of the Perſian gulf. [*Strabo*, *L.* xvi, *p.* 1125.—*Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* vii, *c.* 56.]

a book *, and engraving letters, or writing on plates of lead, and on ſtone, with iron pens, and alſo ſeal-engraving, *cc.* 19, 31, 38; fiſhing with hooks, and nets, and ſpears †, *c.* 41; muſical inſtruments, particularly the harp and organ, *c.* 30; aſtronomy, and names given to the conſtellations; which proves that they muſt have made great proficiency in arithmetic and geometry, the invention of which (long after this time) is aſcribed to Myris king of Egypt ‡, *cc.* 9, 38. Theſe various important notices prove, that, though the patriarchal ſyſtem of making paſturage the principal object of attention was ſtill kept up by many of the chiefs of the country §, where the author of the book of Job lived, the ſciences were aſſiduouſly cultivated, the uſeful and ornamental arts were in a very advanced ſtate, and commerce was proſecuted with vigour and effect, at a time, when, if the chronology of Job be rightly ſettled, the arts and ſciences were ſcarcely ſo far advanced in Egypt, from which, and the other countries bordering upon the eaſtern part of the Mediterranean ſea, they were afterwards ſlowly conveyed to Greece ‖.

1739—Jacob, the grandſon of Abraham, bought a piece of ground near Shalem in the land of Canaan, for which he paid an hundred *keſitas* ¶. He was invited by the people of the country to ſettle among them, and to trade, or negotiate with them. [*Geneſis, cc.* 33, 34.]

1728—The inhabitants of Arabia, whoſe great advances in the arts and ſciences have juſt been noticed, appear to have availed themſelves in very early times of their moſt advantageous ſituation between the two fertile and opulent countries of Egypt and India, and to have got the entire and unrivaled poſſeſſion of a very profitable carrying trade between thoſe countries. In this commerce navigation and land carriage were combined: and we find a claſs of people, who gave their

* The Engliſh tranſlation has 'printed in a 'book.'

† According to the Engliſh tranſlation, 'with 'barbed irons,' or harpoons.

‡ The Greeks learned geometry from the Egyptians, and therefore gave them the credit of the invention. See *Strabo, L.* xvi, *p.* 1098.

§ Both the inventories of Job's eſtate enumerate ſheep, camels, oxen, and aſſes, together with a very great houſehold: but there is not a word of horſes, for which Arabia has long been famous, as compoſing a part of his property.

‖ A very reſpectable author, to whoſe extenſive reſearches hiſtory, and particularly oriental hiſtory, has been greatly indebted, has inadvertently aſcribed the ſuperior civilization of the Arabians to the occaſional viſits of Iſraelite, Egyptian, Grecian, and Roman, merchants. If ſo, the ſcholars have greatly ſurpaſſed all their maſters. But an intercourſe, ſufficient to produce ſuch an effect, muſt have commenced long before the book of Job was written, long before the Iſraelites became a nation, very long before the Greeks were a civilized people, and many centuries indeed, before the name of Roman was heard of.

Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus:
Verum opere in longo fas eſt obreperere ſomnum.

¶ The tranſlators of the Engliſh Bible have rendered *keſita* 'pieces of money.' Others have tranſlated it by a word ſignifying *lambs*. According to the learned Bochart, [*Hierozoicon, L.* ii, *c.* 43.] it muſt have been a kind of money, ſo called as being genuine, or of a juſt ſtandard fineneſs, *keſita* ſignifying *true* or *genuine*; and he thinks it had no connection whatever with *lambs*. Some ſuppoſe it a piece of money ſtamped with the figure of a lamb. If this opinion could be eſtabliſhed, it would be the earlieſt notice of coined money in the world. But it is believed, that there was no coined money among the Iſraelites till after the extinction of their monarchy.

whole attention to merchandize as a regular and eſtabliſhed profeſſion, and travelled with caravans (as practiſed in thoſe countries to this day) between Arabia and Egypt, carrying upon the backs of camels * the ſpiceries of India, together with the balm of Canaan, and the myrh produced in their own country, or perhaps imported of a ſuperior quality from the oppoſite coaſt of Abyſſinia; articles which were in great demand among the Egyptians for embalming the dead †, in the religious ceremonies, and for adminiſtering to the pleaſures, of that ſuperſtitious, rich, and luxurious, people. The merchants of one of thoſe caravans, conſiſting of Iſhmaelites and Midianites ‡, being alſo dealers in ſlaves, made a purchaſe of Joſeph from his brothers for twenty pieces of ſilver, or £2 : 11 : 8 of modern ſterling money §, and carried him with them to Egypt. [*Geneſis*, *c.* 37.]

The extent of the Arabian commerce ¶ in theſe ages further appears from the ſpices, which muſt have been got directly or circuitouſly from Arabia, being joined with balm and other productions of Canaan in the preſent deſtined by Jacob for Joſeph. [*Geneſis*, *c.* 43.] The Iſraelites during their peregrination in the wilderneſs poſſeſſed ſeveral oriental ſpices and aromatics in very conſiderable quantities, which, whether

* The camel is wonderfully adapted by Nature for the tranſportation of merchandize acroſs barren deſerts. Very little food is ſufficient for him, and his ſtomach is ſo formed that he can take in a ſupply of water, wherever it can be got, ſufficient for the uſe of ſeveral days. He proceeds, under the load of a thouſand pounds weight, with a ſlow, but uniform, pace, wherein he perſeveres with unremitting patience to the end of a very long journey. Theſe qualities render the camel ſo eminently uſeful in Arabia, Africa, and other arid countries, that he is emphatically called *the ſhip of the deſert*.

† Pure myrh, caſia, and other odoriferous ſubſtances, excepting frankincenſe, were uſed in embalming the dead bodies of the rich in Egypt. [*Herodot. L.* ii, *c.* 86.]

‡ In a few ages after this time we find the Midianites ſo opulent, that the plunder of gold earrings taken from them by the Iſraelites in one battle, weighed 1,700 ſhekels, beſides other ornaments and purple raiment, apparently from Sidon: and even their camels had chains of gold upon their necks. [*Judges*, *c.* 8.]

§ I thought it proper to give this firſt inſtance of the price of a ſlave in modern money, (as calculated in *Arbuthnot's Tables of ancient coins*, *p.* 204) to enable the reader to compare it with the modern prices. We know of no prices of proviſions equally antient, whereby we might eſtimate the real value of the price paid for Joſeph.

¶ The intercourſe between Arabia and India in very early ages may be queſtioned, as all the articles carried by the caravan who bought Joſeph, are ſaid by ſome authors to have been the produce of Arabia. Thoſe authors, ſeeing ſuch goods brought from Arabia, naturally ſuppoſed that they were produced there; and they neither knew nor inquired concerning the exiſtence of any country beyond it. But it is known that ſome of the ſpiceries could have been brought only from India, with which the intercourſe from Arabia was very eaſy by means of the monſoons, the periodical regularity of which muſt have been obſerved, and taken advantage of, many ages before the time of Hippalus, whom the Egyptian Greeks ſuppoſed the firſt diſcoverer of them. It may alſo be obſerved, as a ſtrong preſumption that the Arabs traded to more remote parts of India than the Perſians or Aſſyrians, or any other nation with whom the weſtern parts of the world had intercourſe, that no ſuch ſpices had ever been ſeen in Jeruſalem as thoſe which were preſented to Solomon by the queen of Sheba, [*II Chronicles*, *c.* 9] who, if a native of Sabæa in Arabia Felix, received them from her own ſubjects; or, if a native of the country now called Abyſſinia (as the modern Abyſſinians allege) muſt have procured them from the merchants of Muza (Mocha, or a place near it) in Arabia, as we learn from the *Periplus of the Erythræan ſea*. [See alſo *Strabo*, *L.* xvii, *p.* 1129] Theophraſtus is, if I miſtake not, the oldeſt author, who knew that cinnamon and other ſpices and aromatics were the produce of India. See *L.* ix, *c.* 7, and elſewhere: and Strabo, who wrote ſeveral centuries after him, had heard a report to the ſame purport. [*L.* xvii, *p.* 1129.]

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they brought them out of Egypt, or procured them on their journey, muſt have been obtained from the ſouthern Arabians, who imported ſome of them from India and Africa, and raiſed others of them in their own country. [*Exodus*, *c.* 30.]

From detached notices, collected at very diſtant intervals of time, it appears that the ſouthern Arabs were eminent traders, and enjoyed at all times a very conſiderable proportion, but moſt generally the entire monopoly, of the trade between India and the weſtern world from the earlieſt ages, till the antient ſyſtem of that moſt important commerce was totally overturned, when the Europeans found a direct route to India by the Cape of Good Hope.

1715—Joſeph, from being a ſlave and a priſoner, was advanced to be the prime miniſter of Pharaoh king of Egypt. Having laid up the redundant corn produced in ſeven years of plenty in the royal granaries, he afterwards ſold it out to the people during ſeven years of famine, whereby the whole money of the nation, afterwards the cattle, then the lands, and at laſt even the people themſelves, became the property of the king. The ſcarcity being general in all the neighbouring countries, Joſeph brought the whole of his father's family with all their numerous retinue to ſettle in Egypt.

1707—About this time we find inns eſtabliſhed for the accommodation of travelers in Egypt and in the northern parts of Arabia; and, we may preſume, the more civilized ſouthern part of the peninſula could not be deſtitute of the ſame accommodation. This ſuppoſes a conſiderable intercourſe between diſtant countries: and it may be preſumed, that a great proportion of the travelers were traders. The inn-keepers ſeem to have furniſhed only houſe-room, and perhaps beds; for we find, even long after this time, that travelers carried their own proviſions with them, and alſo provender for their beaſts. [*Geneſis*, *c.* 42—*Exodus*, *c.* 4.—*Judges*, *c.* 19.] Herodotus aſcribes the firſt uſe of inns or taverns to the Lydians. But the Greeks, even after the age of that father of their hiſtory, knew very little of the affairs of any country at a conſiderable diſtance from their own.

1689—Jacob (or Iſrael) in his dying benediction to his ſons mentions '*an haven of ſhips*.' [*Geneſis*, *c.* 49.] The uſe of theſe words in metaphorical language, and by a perſon who paſſed his life at a diſtance from the ſea, ſhews, that navigation was much practiſed, and familiarly known, in the eaſtern parts of the Mediterranean. Some Grecian poets in their inconſiſtent fables have, however, aſcribed the honour of the invention of navigation to their own countrymen.

1706-1491—During the reſidence of the Iſraelites in Egypt, manufactures of almoſt every kind were carried on in that comparatively-po-

liſhed country to great perfection. Flax, fine linen *, garments of cotton, rings and jewels of gold and ſilver, works in all kinds of metals, iron, the moſt difficult of all metals in the proceſs of preparing it for uſe, chariots for luxury, and chariots for war, occur in the hiſtory of this period, written by Moſes. Having no vines in their country, they probably now, but certainly in the age of Herodotus, (*L.* ii, *c.* 76) made a liquor from barley, which the Greeks, having no appropriate name for it, called barley-wine. To theſe may be added the great manufactory of bricks, in which the Iſraelites are ſuppoſed to have been chiefly employed during their ſervitude in Egypt, and alſo their vaſt buildings, and gigantic ſtatues, wherein ſtupendous bulk, rather than elegance of architecture or ſculpture, ſeem to have been conſidered as the ſtandard of perfection. [*Geneſis, cc.* 41, 44.—*Exod. cc.* 9, 11, 12, 14.—*Num. c.* 35.—*Deut. cc.* 4, 19.] Literature alſo appears to have been in a very flouriſhing ſtate among the Egyptians of theſe ages, at leaſt when compared with ſome of the neighbouring nations: and hence, in order to give a high idea of the accompliſhments of Moſes, it is ſaid, that he was 'learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians †.' [*Acts, c.* 7.]

1556—Cecrops, a native of Sais in Egypt, led a colony into Greece, and having married the daughter of Acteus king of Attica, he became his ſucceſſor in the kingdom. He appears to have paid ſome attention to naval affairs, whereby he was enabled, when his ſubjects were diſtreſſed by famine, to import corn from Lydia, and alſo from Sicily, which has in all ages been diſtinguiſhed for its extraordinary fertility, ſo as to be eſteemed by the poets the native country of Ceres the goddeſs of corn. Cecrops founded twelve villages, which afterwards coaleſced into the one city of Athens; and he perſuaded his roving and indolent ſubjects to ſettle in and near them, in order to unite their forces againſt the Bœotian marauders and Carian pirates. He alſo pointed out to them the benefits of induſtry, and taught them the principles of agriculture. Such was the origin of the antient and illuſtrious city of Athens.

Cadmus arrived in Greece from Phœnicia, and is ſaid to have taught the Greeks the uſe of letters ‡, and the art of working metals, both hi-

* The ſuperior quality of the Egyptian linen, which was univerſally allowed by all the antients, who ſaw it, and compared it with the manufactures of other countries, has been called in queſtion in modern times; *becauſe* the bandages of a mummy examined by Doctor Halley were found only equal to linen worth 2/4 a yard. So a philoſopher of the thirtieth century, who ſhall ſtumble upon a bit of oznaburg of the eighteenth, may demonſtrate that no better linen was then uſed in Britain.

† It muſt be admitted, however, that the learning and ſcience of the Egyptians have in all ages been extolled much beyond their real merit, becauſe they appeared to great advantage in the eyes of the early Greeks and Iſraelites. Such monuments of their art, as ſtill remain to be compared with thoſe of later and modern times, oblige us to wonder what the antients found in them worthy of ſo much admiration.

‡ Several learned men are perſuaded that the uſe of letters was at leaſt in ſome degree known to the Greeks before the arrival of Cadmus. The earlieſt letters uſed in Greece were probably thoſe, which Plato calls *Hyperborean* (i. e. northern) and deſcribes as different from the letters of his own

therto unknown in that country. According to ſome accounts, Cadmus was ſent by his father in queſt of his ſiſter Europa, ſtolen away by Cretan adventurers: others ſay, that he eloped from the court of the king of Sidon with Hermione, one of that king's female muſicians. [*Athen. L.* xiv.]

In theſe ages alſo Danaus, another Egyptian adventurer, led a colony into Greece in a great ſhip with twenty-five oars on each ſide, and, expelling Gelanor the hereditary king of Argos, reigned in his place.

Some time after, Pelops arrived in Greece from Phrygia, and brought with him riches hitherto unknown in Europe *.

The arrival of theſe adventurers in Greece merits notice in commercial hiſtory only as ſhewing, how common, and how eaſy, the migration of colonies by ſea was in thoſe ages, and how great an aſcendant the poſſeſſors of ſhipping and maritime power had over the more antient inhabitants of Greece. Many other inſtances might be added; but theſe may ſuffice.

1450—The Iſraelites under Joſhua began to expell the Canaanites or Phœnicians from a great part of their territories; and their progreſs was attended with prodigious ſlaughter of that devoted people. One conſequence of their irruption was, that Sidon and the other unconquered cities of Phœnicia not having room for all the refugees, who eſcaped the exterminating ſword of the Iſraelites, many Phœnician colonies were ſent out to eſtabliſh ſettlements in various parts of the Mediterranean, who all keeping up a commercial intercourſe with their mother country, the trade of the whole weſtern world was carried on by Phœnician merchants acting as agents to each-other over all the extent of the Mediterranean, then the only ſea known by the inhabitants of its ſhores.

Some Phœnician colonies in Greece have already been mentioned. They alſo eſtabliſhed ſettlements in Cyprus, Rhodes, and ſeveral of the iſlands ſcattered in the Ægean ſea: they penetrated into the Euxine or Black ſea; and gradually ſpreading weſtward along the ſhores of Sicily, Sardinia, Gaul, Spain, and Africa, they everywhere eſtabliſhed trading poſts or factories, to which the wandering and ſavage inhabitants of the adjoining regions, allured by the proſpect of advantage in trading with

age; and, according to Diodorus Siculus, Orpheus uſed Pelaſgic letters, which were older than the Greek. [v. *Plato in Cratylo.—Diod. Sic. L.* iii.—*Pauſan. in Attic.—Ihre Gloſs. Swio-Goth. pp.* xxii, xxviii, and *Origin and progreſs of writing, by Mr. Aſtle, p.* 66, *note.*] Joſeph Scaliger has a long diſſertation on the derivation of the ancient Ionic Greek letters from the Phœnician. [*Animadverſiones in Euſebium, pp.* 109, *et ſeqq.*

* I have brought theſe ſeveral migrations together, though it is probable, that they happened at times conſiderably diſtant from each other. The hiſtory of them is ſo obſcured by fable, and perplexed by contradictions, that the learned have in vain attempted to reduce them to regular chronology, as is evident from numerous inſtances of impoſſible ſynchroniſms; e. g. Perieres, the great-grandſon of Deucalion, married a woman, the eleventh in deſcent from Inachus; and his brother Athamas married one, who is placed as the ſixth from the ſame anceſtor.

the new ſettlers, quickly repaired, and ſoon learned how to procure, in exchange for their hitherto-neglected and uſeleſs native commodities, articles of which nature or their own ignorance had denied them the uſe, and even the knowlege. It is probably impoſſible, and it is ſurely unneceſſary, to particularize the names, and to reduce the dates of their ſeveral ſettlements to chronological order *. Some of the later ones, whoſe beginnings are better known, will be noted in their proper places.

Here it is proper to obſerve, that TYRE, which will make ſuch a diſtinguiſhed figure in the hiſtory of antient commerce, is now for the firſt time mentioned, and merely as a ſtrong or fortified city, while Sidon is dignified with the appellation of *Great* †. [*Joſhua, c.* 19.]

1350—About this time Egypt was governed by Myris, or Mœris, who is honoured with the title of the *Philoſopher*. This philoſophic king is ſaid to have invented the principles of GEOMETRY, a ſcience ſo eſſential to commerce, that no diſtant voyage can be undertaken without the aſſiſtance of charts, in the conſtruction of which, as well as in the art of navigation, or the meaſurement of a ſhip's courſe upon the trackleſs ocean, it is almoſt needleſs to inform the reader, that the knowlege of geometry is the firſt and moſt indiſpenſible requiſite. Among the Egyptians, however, this art was entirely confined to the menſuration of the land, the boundaries of which were frequently deſtroyed or miſplaced by the inundations of the Nile; and thence its name, importing in Greek *meaſurement of the earth*. But, as it appears that aſtronomy, which requires a previous knowledge of geometry, was well known ſeveral centuries before this time in the country where Job lived, in Babylon, China, and India, we muſt believe that Herodotus, from whom we derive almoſt all our knowlege of the early hiſtory of Egypt, has been impoſed upon in this matter by the Egyptian prieſts, for the honour of their country, or that the ſcience has been invented in ſeveral countries.

Myris alſo improved his country by forming canals, and an artificial lake of ſtupendous magnitude, calculated to receive the water of the

* The reader, who is deſirous to ſee all, that could be collected by vaſt erudition and indefatigable induſtry on the ſubject of the Phœnician colonies, may conſult *Bochart's Chanaan*.

† There is great diſagreement among authors concerning the time when Tyre was founded. Joſephus dates it 240 years before Soloman's temple, or about 1,250 before the commencement of the Chriſtian æra; [*Antiq. L.* viii, *c.* 2] and others make it ſtill later. This paſſage in Joſhua appears ſufficient to prove it entitled to a much higher antiquity; to which may be added the teſtimony of Sanconiatho, a Phœnician, and one of the moſt antient hiſtorians in the world, who mentions it as a moſt antient city, inhabited by the fifth generation of mankind. In order to account for the various dates, perhaps it is only neceſſary to remember, that there were in Phœnicia at leaſt four cities of the name of Tyre, the moſt antient of which was for many ages much inferior to Sidon in power and opulence. [*See Bochart, Chanaan, col.* 776.]

When Herodotus was at Tyre, the prieſts told him, that it was 2,300 years ſince the foundation of their city. [*Herodot. L.* ii, *c.* 44.]

Nile, whenever it roſe too high, which bears his name. That his ſubjects, the fartheſt removed from the river, might partake of its benefits, as well as thoſe living on its banks, he conſtantly employed great numbers of people in ſalting the fiſh caught in theſe waters. This is the firſt account of curing fiſh by ſalt; a buſineſs which has greatly enriched the naturally-poor country of Holland, and might alſo enrich the pooreſt regions of the Britiſh dominions.

Hitherto the Egyptians had avoided having any concern in maritime affairs, being prejudiced againſt the ſea by their religious notions, and their policy; though they appear to have had a great paſſive commerce with the Arabians and Phœnicians, the later being the conſtant carriers of their merchandize upon the Mediterranean ſea.

1300—Egypt was now governed by Seſoſtris, a prince who forced political, and even religious, prejudices, to give way to his ambitious views of extending his dominions. Having built a fleet of four hundred ſhips on the Red ſea *, (probably by means of Phœnician workmen) he ſubdued ſome part of Arabia, ſome iſlands, by the Greek writers called Cyclades, and perhaps ſome of the neighbouring countries †. He after-

* The name of the Red ſea, or Erythræan ſea, was given to the two gulfs on the eaſt and weſt ſides of Arabia, and was alſo extended to the ocean on its ſouth ſide. In this work the name will be reſtricted to the gulf on the weſt ſide of Arabia.

† Theſe four hundred veſſels, ſuch as they were, conſtituted the greateſt fleet that ever was fitted out by the native kings of Egypt. But, as the event falls in the dark period of Egyptian hiſtory, and the number is not mentioned by Herodotus, conſiderable allowance muſt be made for exaggeration. Some modern writers, however, have amuſed themſelves and their readers with a notion, that the Egyptians were the moſt antient navigators; becauſe a nation ſo wiſe could not be blind to the advantages of commerce. We are moreover told, *upon the ſame authority of imagination*, that the glory of the diſcoveries, hitherto aſcribed to the Phœnicians, 'ſeems rather to belong to 'the Egyptians;' and alſo, that the Hebrews, who were ſo long among the Egyptians, could not be ignorant of their trade to all the countries of the Eaſt, and that, after they got themſelves ſettled in the land of Canaan, they could not be ſuppoſed deficient in nautical and commercial knowlege, when the port of Sidon was ſo near to them. Such are the *modern diſcoveries* of the trade and navigation of the Egyptians and Hebrews, which were utterly unknown to the moſt antient authors.—So very far were the Egyptians from being great navigators and diſcoverers, that they abhorred the ſea, and all fiſh that were bred in it, becauſe the dead body of their god Oſiris was thrown into it; and they would not ſo much as ſpeak to ſeamen, who were an abomination in their ſight, becauſe they gained their bread upon the ſea. [*Plutarchi Sympos. L.* viii; *De Iſide et Oſir.*] All antient authors agree, that the Phœnicians were the earlieſt and the greateſt traders and navigators in the weſtern world. [*Iſaiah, c.* 23—*Ezekiel, cc.* 26, 27, 28. —*Herodot. L.* i, *c.* 1; *L.* iii, *c.* 107.—*Mela, L.* i, *c.* 6.—*Strabo, L.* xvi, *p.* 1097.—*Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* v, *c.* 12.—*Joſeph. contra Apion. L.* i, *&c. &c.*] But, for any merchant veſſel belonging to the native Egyptians having ever ſailed to any foreign port, I believe no antient authority can be found. The trade of the Egyptians was evidently conducted by foreigners; and, if we may truſt to Grecian writers, they were not very willing to admit them, upon any account whatever, to enter into their country. Before the reign of Pſammitichus all ſtrangers (excepting, however, the Arabians and Phœnicians—ſee *Geneſis, c.* 37—*Herodot. L.* i, *c.* 1.) were prohibited from landing in Egypt: but the Greeks, being notorious for their piracies, were moſt rigorouſly debarred, (or were, perhaps in truth, the only nation excluded) and thoſe, who had the misfortune to be driven by the winds upon the coaſt, were put to death, or made ſlaves; and from that ſavage cruelty, or ſevere juſtice, the Grecian poets fabricated their fable of a king of Egypt, called Buſiris, ſacrificing men upon his altars. [*Diod. Sicul. L.* i, § 67—*Strabo, L.* xvii, *pp.* 1142, 1154.] It may be objected to what I have ſaid of the deteſtation of ſeamen among the Egyptians, that Herodotus [*L.* ii, *c.* 164] mentions managers of veſſels as one of the orders, or caſts, of that people. But from his deſcription of their veſſels, with hulls and maſts made of thorn and ſails made of paper, and of their navigation,

wards marched northward with his land forces, and conquered, or rather overran, the various nations in his way, till he croſſed over into Europe, and terminated his expedition in Thrace, the hardy natives of which he was not able to bring under his yoke. In his return he ſettled a colony of his Egyptians at Colchis, the country which was afterwards rendered famous in poetry by the expedition of the Argonauts. This colony retained the ſwarthy complexion and criſped hair of the Egyptians, and alſo the language and cuſtoms, the arts and manufactures, of Egypt, in the days of Herodotus, who particularly notices their artful repreſentation of the figures of animals upon their clothes, the colours of which remained as long as the ſtuff laſted; and linen, a manufacture almoſt peculiar to the Egyptians, retained its character among the Colchians even in the time of the emperor Tiberius. [*Herod. L.* i, *c.* 203; ii, 103, 104.—*Diod. Sic. L.* i.—*Strabo, L.* xi, *p.* 762.]

In every country which Seſoſtris ſubdued, he erected monuments, with inſcriptions engraved upon them, relating his victories, ſome of which, remaining in Syria, were ſeen by Herodotus. He alſo ſet up other columns, which particularly deſerve attention in the preſent work, becauſe on them his artiſts, improving upon the geometrical knowlege introduced by Myris, engraved MAPS of the countries conquered by him. That which was at Æa, the capital of Colchis, is ſaid to have exhibited not only the form of the land and the ſea, but even the very roads *. [*Appolon. Rhod. Argonaut. L.* vi, *v.* 272.]

[*L.* ii, *cc.* 96, 175] and from every paſſage wherein he has occaſion to ſpeak of their managers of veſſels, it is ſufficiently evident, that they were not ſeafaring men, but mere freſh-water ſailors, or boatmen, employed in working the numerous river-craft upon the Nile. As to the ſuppoſed commerce of the Hebrews, Joſephus, himſelf a Hebrew, plainly aſſerts, that the antient Hebrews, being *remote from the ſea*, were content with the produce of their own fertile ſoil, and did not go from home in queſt of riches or conqueſts. He adds, (in perfect agreement with the very firſt chapter of Herodotus) that in the early ages merchandize was carried to and from Egypt by the Phœnicians, who ploughed the vaſt ſeas in their trading voyages, and that it was by their means that the Egyptians, and other nations, became known to the Greeks. [*Joſeph. contra Apion. L.* i.]—Theſe unqueſtionable antient authorities are ſurely ſufficient to prove, that the Egyptians were not navigators, and ſtill leſs the Hebrews, whoſe naval enterpriſes never went beyond fiſhing with a boat upon a lake, and who ſcarcely ever poſſeſſed a bit of ſea-coaſt.

* Chronologers differ many centuries in the æra of this renowned conqueror. The difficulty is increaſed by the prodigious liberty taken by antient writers in tranſlating and perverting names; whence this great king, who makes ſo conſpicuous a figure in hiſtory, does not appear at all in the catalogue of Egyptian kings made up by Eratoſthenes, which is with good reaſon eſteemed the moſt correct with reſpect to the chronology of Egypt.

After carefully conſidering all that I could find upon the ſubject, and collecting materials almoſt ſufficient for an antient hiſtory of Egypt, that I might come as near the truth as poſſible in the date of the firſt eſſays in *geography*, (a ſcience in which I have taken pleaſure almoſt from my infancy) I reſolved to abide by the teſtimony of Herodotus, who ſays, [*L.* ii, *cc.* 113—116] that a king, whoſe name in Greek was Proteus, who reigned when Alexander (or Paris) carried off Helen from Sparta, and alſo when Menelaus arrived in Egypt after the deſtruction of Troy, was the immediate ſucceſſor of Pheron, (called by Strabo Pſammitichus) who was the ſon and immediate ſucceſſor of Seſoſtris. Therefor Seſoſtris could not be much above a century before the fall of Troy, which is dated 1,184 years before Chriſt. According to Apollonius Rhodius, the expedition of Seſoſtris was prior of that of the Argonauts, the moſt probable æra of which is about 1,266. Seſoſtris was poſterior to Myris, or Mœris, whoſe death was not quite 900 years before the journey

This is the earlieſt mention of GEOGRAPHY, a ſcience which, as comprehending HYDROGRAPHY, is of ſuch prodigious importance to commerce, that without it voyages on the ocean are utterly impracticable. And thus have the ſciences, which enable the modern navigator to circumnavigate the globe, originally ſhone out among a people who ſcarcely ever uſed the ſea.

After his return from his expedition, Seſoſtris became ſenſible of the deceitful ſplendour and vanity of conqueſt, and appears to have devoted the remainder of his life to the real duties of ſovereignty in conſulting the happineſs of the people under his charge. He interſected the country with canals, which divided it into ſquare portions, and extended the benefits of fiſheries, inland navigation, and wholeſome drink, through the whole of it. With the earth dug out of thoſe canals he raiſed the ſurface of the towns, which, when the country was overwhelmed by the periodical inundation of the Nile, thereby became detached, iſlands, in which the people lived dry and comfortably. His vigorous mind, which had remarked the prodigious variety of productions in the many countries he had overrun, fully comprehended the great advantages which would ariſe from an active commerce, whereby the commodities of the moſt diſtant parts of the known world might be aſſembled in his own dominions, to employ the induſtry, and add to the happineſs of his ſubjects. It was, perhaps, with this view that he eſtabliſhed the diſtant colony of Colchis; it was certainly with this view that he conceived the great deſign of opening a navigable canal of communication from the Nile to the Red ſea. The work was accordingly begun, but afterwards given up, from an apprehenſion that the ſurface of the ſea was higher than the land, and the country would be drowned, if it was let in upon it. Whether the canal was begun by his ſon after his death, or by himſelf, for authors differ in their accounts, [See *Strabo*,

of Herodotus into Egypt. [*L.* ii, *c.* 13] Herodotus was born in 484, and in 446 he read his hiſtory to the Athenians. [*Voſſius de Hiſt. Græc. p.* 14.] Thus the death of Myris may be dated about 1,340, or 1,330. The expedition of Seſoſtris, therefor, muſt have taken place between 1,340 and 1,226 years before Chriſt, which is a proper æra for him to be contemporary with the grandfather of Proteus, who ſeems to have been of a different race. It is to be obſerved, however, that Herodotus marks a difference in the authenticity of the hiſtory of Egypt, prior to the ſettlement of the Greeks at Naucratis in the reign of Amaſis, (about 550 years before Chriſt) and what is poſterior to that event, the later period being, as he ſays, much clearer.

It is true, that the arrival of Danaus, who is called the brother of Seſoſtris, in Greece is placed much earlier that the time here aſſigned to Seſoſtris. But I do not know of any ſatisfactory proof of the identity of Egyptus, the brother of Danaus, with Seſoſtris, which ſeems to reſt on no better authority than that of the fabulous Manetho. Herodotus, who has occaſion pretty often to mention Danaus, proves him indeed to be an Egyptian, of the city of Chemmis; but, though he mentions the treachery of a nameleſs brother of Seſoſtris, he pretty plainly proves, that the crime, imputed to Danaus, of violating the chaſtity of the queen, while he was regent during the king's abſence, could not be committed by a brother of Seſoſtris, whoſe wife appears to have accompanied him in his expedition. [*L.* ii, *cc.* 91, 107.] The common Grecian fable of the fifty ſons-in-law of Danaus being all, except Lynceus, murdered by their wives, his fifty daughters, is alſo confuted by Herodotus, [*L.* ii, *c.* 98] who mentions Archander, a ſon-in-law of Danaus.

L. i, *p.* 65; *L.* xvii, *p.* 1156] the plan was pretty certainly his; and to this royal father of geography the commercial world is alſo indebted for the firſt idea of INLAND NAVIGATION, which is now ſo highly improved by the great abilities of our engineers, that not only level countries like Egypt, but even ſuch as have great declivities, and other obſtacles, which not long ago were thought inſuperable, are now traverſed from ſea to ſea by veſſels of conſiderable burthen.

1280—There is reaſon to believe, that about this time the ſpirit of trade had ſpread itſelf over the greateſt part of Aſia proper, now called the Leſſer Aſia. It has already been obſerved, that Pelops carried great riches with him into Greece from Phrygia. Another part of that country was governed by Midas, who is ſaid by the poets to have turned every thing he touched into gold. The moſt rational explanation of this fable ſeems to be, that he encouraged his ſubjects to convert the produce of their agriculture, and other branches of induſtry, into money by commerce, whence conſiderable wealth flowed into his own treaſury. [*Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* xxxiii, *c.* 3.] This explanation will appear the more probable, when it is remembered, that the invention of anchors for ſhips is aſcribed to this prince by Pauſanias, and the invention of coining money to his queen, by Julius Pollux; though it is more likely, that what the Greeks called the invention, was rather the introduction of the knowlege of them from countries more advanced in civilization. Strabo, however, aſcribes the great wealth of Midas to mines *.

1234—According to the authors followed by Appian, the firſt foundation of CARTHAGE by the Tyrians was fifty years before the deſtruction of Troy. It is probable that it was for ſeveral ages a place of little note †.

The extenſive and fertile iſland of Crete, centrically ſituated between Europe, Aſia, and Africa, and called by Ariſtotle *the empreſs of the ſea*, was undoubtedly capable of commanding the commerce of the Mediterranean, and of courſe poſſeſſing the naval empire of that ſea, had it been fully poſſeſſed by the Phœnicians, who ſeem not to have been very numerous in it. Of the commercial efforts of the Cretans little or nothing is known. Caſtor Rhodius, as copied by Euſebius, has aſcribed to them the honour of being the firſt, who held the dominion of the ſea. But we muſt be careful not to affix modern ideas to antient terms. This boaſted dominion of the ſea extended only to the ſuppreſſion of the Carians and ſome other pirates, who infeſted the coaſts, by a naval force fitted out by Minos, the ſecond king of that name in Crete; an expedition made by him to Athens in revenge for the murder of his ſon, on

* Midas appears to have been a family name common to many of the Phrygian kings. There was one contemporary with Homer. I am not certain if this one is placed in his proper time; nor is it of much conſequence.

† See the year 868 before Chriſt.

which occaſion he ſubjected the Athenians to very humiliating conditions of peace; and another to Sicily, in which he loſt his life.

1226—Hitherto the Grecian ſailors had contented themſelves with coaſting along or croſſing the numerous ſmall bays of their own winding ſhore. But now a very long voyage was projected, to be carried on by the combined efforts of all Greece. The young chiefs united themſelves with Jaſon, the ſon of Æſon king of Theſſaly, in the famous expedition to Colchis, the object of which was to obtain ſome deſirable object, concealed by the poets under the fabulous or enigmatical name of *the golden fleece*. Ancæus, king of Samos, a Phœnician or of Phœnician parentage, was their aſtronomer. The Argo *, according to the poets their only veſſel, or, according to ſome other authors the admiral of the fleet, was the moſt capital ſhip, that had ever ſailed, or rowed out of a Grecian port, in ſo much that the poets, not being able to find a ſtation ſufficiently honourable for her in this world, have tranſported her to the heavens, where they have made her a conſtellation. This voyage, when we make a due allowance for the comparatively-miſerable condition of the veſſel, or veſſels, the want of inſtruments, and of the ſkill in pilotage ſo needful in a voyage of twelve or fourteen hundred miles, which may be the diſtance along the ſhores from Iolcos in Theſſaly to Æa at the eaſt end of the Black ſea, was a more arduous undertaking to the ignorant Grecian Argonauts (ſo theſe adventurers were called) than a voyage round the world, and even into the ſouthern polar regions, is to our modern ſkilful navigators.

1194—In the following age the whole confederate force of Greece was engaged in a much greater maritime undertaking than that of the Argonauts, though not ſo diſtant. Paris, the ſon of Priam king of Troy, having carried off Helen, the wife of Menelaus king of Sparta, all the princes of Greece reſolved to revenge the affront: and uniting their efforts, after ten years ſpent in preparation, they muſtered a fleet of 1,186 veſſels, onboard which they embarked an army of about 100,000 men, led by all the petty princes of Greece under the ſupreme command of Agamemnon king of Argos, the brother of the injured huſband.

The Greeks, having effected their landing on the Trojan ſhore, ſpent ten years more in hoſtilities, though they never once attempted a regular ſiege. During this time, while their own ſhips, hauled up on the dry beach, muſt have been ready to fall in pieces from the repeated drenching of rains and parching of ſunſhine, their camp was ſupplied with proviſions by the natives of Thrace and the iſlands. [*Hom. Il.* vii, *v.* 467; ix, *v.* 71.]

* Much has been ſaid about the name of this far-famed ſhip. If we advert that the Phœnicians called their warlike ſhips *arco*, to diſtinguiſh them from their ſhips of burthen, which were built much broader, and therefor were called *golin*, we need be at no loſs to perceive, whence the Greeks borrowed the model of her conſtruction, as well as her name, which has ſadly puzzled the modern Greek etymologiſts. [*See Bochart, Geog. ſacr. col.* 739—*Feſtus, vo. Gaulus.*] Quere, if Noah's Ark and the Grecian Argo be not the ſame name?

1184—At length, having glutted their revenge by the deſtruction of Troy, and their avarice by the plunder of the wealth collected in it, the remains of the Greeks made the beſt of their way to their long-deſerted homes, where, as might well be expected, they found the moſt dreadful diſorders in their families, and their territories ravaged by enemies, or convulſed by inteſtine commotions.

Such was the concluſion of the Trojan war, the moſt celebrated event of antiquity, with which the real hiſtory of Greece, hitherto overwhelmed with fable, may, perhaps, be ſaid to commence *. It appears from many paſſages in Homer, that the Trojans were much ſuperior to the Greeks in civilization, and that they lived in comfort and elegance, till they were diſturbed by thoſe invaders. Hence it is certain, that they had made conſiderable progreſs in the arts and ſciences, and were poſſeſſed of ſome commerce, for which their ſituation on the ſtrait between the Euxine and Ægean ſeas, was exceedingly commodious. We even find, that they had ſkilful ſhip-builders; and Homer has immortalized the name, real or fictitious, of Harmonides, the builder of the veſſels, which carried off the beautiful Helen from Sparta.

The great fleet got together for the Trojan war, was not provided nor maintained by commerce, the only effectual ſupport of a permanent naval power. It was the production of an extraordinary temporary exertion urged by the ſpirit of reſentment and the hope of rich plunder, natural to ſavages ſunk in ſloth and indolence. But when the fervour of inſanity, which incited the Greeks to ruin themſelves in order to deſtroy the Trojans, was cooled by the diſaſtrous conſequences of their conqueſt, this muſhroom navy was annihilated; and for ſeveral centuries we hear no more of any conſiderable naval expeditions undertaken by that people.

During thoſe *heroic ages* of Greece, as they are called, the petty princes, who lived on the ſea coaſts, frequently fitted out veſſels to go upon piratical cruiſes. We might thence ſuppoſe, that merchant ſhips were ſo numerous upon the ſeas, as to afford many captures to thoſe robbers. But apparently that was not the caſe. They did not entirely depend upon what plunder they could find at ſea: they often landed, and pillaged the defenceleſs villages, carrying off, not only all the goods and cattle they could find, but even the people themſelves, whom they ſold for ſlaves. Thoſe pirates were ſufficiently numerous to keep one-another in countenance; and their rank and power made the ignorant people conſider their exploits as by no means diſgraceful, but rather praiſe-worthy;

* The Arundel, or Parian, marbles place the deſtruction of Troy twenty-five years earlier; an error, which they continue till the eſtabliſhment of the annual magiſtracy at Athens.

Of late it has been queſtioned, whether there ever was a Trojan war, or a city called Troy, ſuch as it is deſcribed by Homer. The laudable ſcepticiſm, or ſuſpicious criticiſm, of modern times may, in reſentment of the innumerable impoſitions put upon us under the name of hiſtory, poſſibly go too far. It may, however, juſt be obſerved that Dion Chryſoſtom [*Orat.* xi] long ago denied the Trojan war.—The examination of ſuch a queſtion would be quite out of place in this work.

as ſimilar practices were in later times eſteemed honourable among the Scandinavian nations, and are in the preſent day among the inhabitants of the northern coaſt of Africa. It was therefor no affront, but a common queſtion put to the commander of a veſſel, whether he profeſſed piracy or trade; as we find in Homer, that exact painter of manners, who even introduces Menelaus king of Sparta boaſting of the wealth he had acquired by his piratical expeditions. [*Odyſſ. L.* iii, *vv.* 72, 301; xiv, *v.* 230.] Among the freebooters on the coaſts of the Ægean ſea the Carians were the moſt eminent, till they were ſuppreſſed by Minos, as already related *.

After this ſketch of the naval hiſtory of Greece in the early ages, it may be proper to give the reader ſome idea of their ſhips. That of Danaus, which was rowed by fifty oars, was a Phœnician veſſel: and there is reaſon to believe that the Argo, thought built in Greece, was the work of Phœnician carpenters. She was a long ſlender open boat, which could carry fifty men, and could occaſionally be carried by them upon their ſhoulders. Of the veſſels, employed in tranſporting the Grecian army to Troy, the ſmalleſt carried 50 men, and the largeſt 120. They were very ſlightly built; and they were hauled on ſhore after finiſhing a voyage. Thucydides ſays, they were only large open boats; whereas Homer deſcribes Ulyſſes as covering his ſhip with long planks †. [*Odyſſ. L.* v. *v.* 252.] It is probable, that ſome of the larger ones had at leaſt half-decks in order to furniſh ſome kind of lodging for the people, and that the ſpace occupied by the rowers was open, the ſides being connected by ſlender beams or planks, on which the rowers ſat with their feet ſet againſt the bottom timbers, or tranſverſe pieces of wood near the bottom. They had but little depth, and ſeem to have been very flat in the bottom, and conſequently drew very little water; which is further probable from the lead-line being never mentioned by Homer, whence we may preſume, that the oars were found ſufficient to ſound the depth of the water. They appear to have had only one maſt, which was ſtruck when they finiſhed the voyage, and one ſail-yard; though Homer mentions *ſails* in the plural, which is perhaps a poetical licence, as it is not probable, that they underſtood the management of what are now called fore-and-aft ſails. But their main dependence was upon their oars; and their only direction for their courſe was the knowlege, which ſome of the crew had previouſly acquired of the

* It appears from Thucydides, that thoſe ferocious and lawleſs depredations were ſtill practiſed in his time (about eight centuries after the Trojan war) by the weſtern tribes of Greece, who even then retained the character and condition of ſavages. And it muſt be acknowledged, that the more poliſhed and commercial nations of later ages were not exempted from thoſe criminal practices, which continued to be too cloſely connected with commercial navigation; almoſt down to our own age, as will too plainly appear in the ſequel of this work.

† But, quere, if thoſe long planks formed the deck, or the bottom of the veſſel?

appearance of the ſhore. When that failed them, they muſt have landed in order to obtain information *.

Caſtor of Rhodes, a writer contemporary with Julius Cæſar, has made up a kind of catalogue of the nations, who ſucceſſively attained, what he was pleaſed to call, the empire of the ſea; by which is to be underſtood ſome degree of pre-eminence in naval power on a very confined ſcale in, or near, the Ægean ſea. In partiality to the Greeks, whoſe maritime tranſactions, with a very few exceptions, were ſcarcely worthy of notice, he ſeems to have almoſt loſt ſight of the Phœnicians, the only people, at leaſt on the coaſts of the Mediterranean, who in the early ages knew any thing of extenſive voyages and the art of navigation. As Euſebius has copied this catalogue from Caſtor, and ſeveral chronologiſts have done it the unmerited honour of tranſcribing it from him, ſome ſlight notice ſhall be taken of each of the nations mentioned in it, as they occur in order of time.

1179—The Lydians are the firſt people, after the Cretans under the reign of Minos, who are honoured by him with the title of *Maſters of the ſea.* They certainly had ſome claim to a commercial character, but not as navigators, unleſs the teſtimonies of Caſtor and Iſidore are to be preferred to that of Herodotus, [*L.* i, *c.* 27.] The invention of merchandize and of coin is aſcribed to them by ſome authors; and Iſidore goes ſo far as to call them the firſt builders of ſhips, and inventors of navigation. The Mæonians, who may be conſidered as a part of the Lydians, and the Carians, their neighbours, were poſſeſſed of ivory, which muſt have been imported, and they underſtood the art of manufacturing it into toys and ornaments, and of ſtaining them with colours, [*Hom. Il. L.* iv, *v.* 141.—*Herod. L.* i, *c.* 94.] The Lydians are ſaid to have ſent a colony into Italy, who ſettled on the weſt ſide of the Tiber among the Umbri and Pelaſgi, and aſſumed the name of Tyrrheni, from Tyrrhenus their leader, [*Herodot. L.* i, *c.* 94.] But the date of the migration ſeems uncertain; nor is the fact itſelf uncontroverted. For ſeveral learned men are of opinion, that the Etrurians poſſeſſed all Italy many ages before the Trojan war; and that the arts, ſciences, and commerce, were carried to great perfection among them

* As Homer is generally believed to have been very correct in adapting his deſcriptions to the times of which he wrote, the following paſſage deſerves our notice.

Agamemnon launched a faſt-ſailing ſhip to carry Chryſeis home to her father. Beſides Chryſeis, Ulyſſes, and probably attendants, the veſſel carried twenty choſen rowers, and a hecatomb for ſacrifice. When they got to their port, they took in the *ſails*, and ſtowed them away in the hold. Then, eaſing off the main ſtay, they lowered the maſt into its crutch or reſt. After this they rowed the veſſel into a good birth, or commodious ſituation, then let go the anchors, (or whatever elſe ſhould be underſtood by ὄγκας) and carried out ſtern-faſts or perhaps bent the cables to the ſtern; 'πρυμνήσι' ἔδησαν'. [*Iliad, L.* i, *vv.* 308, 430 *et ſeqq.*]

The truth of the few notices I have here collected does not depend upon the reality or falſehood of the long-received hiſtory of the Trojan war. They at any rate ſhew the ſtate of ſociety and of nautical knowlege in the time of Homer, if not in that aſſigned to the war of Troy.

long before Greece or any other part of Europe emerged from barbariſm *.

About 1100—While the naval hiſtory of Greece, if it may be ſo called, preſents nothing but petty piratical cruiſes, and innumerable emigrations and remigrations, occaſioned partly by domeſtic commotions in the families of the chiefs, and partly by the hitherto-unſettled condition and reſtleſs diſpoſition of the people, the Phœnicians, inſpired by the active ſpirit of commerce, and that thirſt of knowlege which diſtinguiſhes a cultivated people from a nation of ſavages, were extending their diſcoveries along the whole of the north coaſt of Africa and the oppoſite ſhore of Spain; and, no longer willing to let the inland or Mediterranean ſea ſet bounds to their enterpriſing diſpoſition, they launched into the vaſt Atlantic ocean, paſſing thoſe famous head-lands, which the Greeks for many ages afterwards eſteemed the utmoſt boundary of the world, and celebrated under the poetical name of the *Pillars of Hercules* †. Wherever they went, they appear to have eſtabliſhed peaceful commercial ſettlements, mutually beneficial to themſelves and the natives of the country. The inhabitants of Bætica (now Andaluſia), when firſt viſited by the Phœnicians, poſſeſſed abundance of gold, ſilver, iron, copper, lead, tin, honey, wax, pitch, &c. Like the Americans, when firſt diſcovered by the European adventurers, they made their moſt common utenſils of the pretious metals, which they eſteemed ſo little, that they gave in exchange for ſome articles, of which novelty conſtituted the principal value, ſuch a quantity of ſilver, that there is a ſtory of one of the ſhips being abſolutely ſo overburthened with it, that the Phœnicians were obliged to throw away the lead, with which their *wooden anchors* were loaded, to make room for a part of their ſilver, which they could not poſſibly carry in any other manner. Beſides the abundance of metals of every kind, this highly-favoured region was bleſſed with a fertile ſoil, producing all the neceſſaries and comforts of life in abundance, a delicious climate, and ſerene air. In ſhort, it was a country ſo delightful in every reſpect, that the accounts given of it by the Phœnician ſeamen are with good reaſon believed to have furniſhed Homer with his deſcription of the Elyſian fields. The Phœni-

* Mazocchi makes the Etrurians, or Tyrrhenians, of Phœnician origin. [*Symmach. Diſſ. V.* ii] And Mr. Bourget, [*Saggi di Diſſert. accadem. Diſſ.* i] on comparing the Etrurian and Phœnician alphabets, finds them nearly the ſame. [*Orbis eruditi literatura a charactere Samarit. deducta*] On the other hand, Bochart, the great inveſtigator of Phœnician colonization, denies that the Etrurians had any connection with the Phœnicians. But his argument drawn from their not joining the Carthaginians againſt the Romans, and from Hannibal not alleging their common origin as an inducement to co-operate with him, (which no man can pretend to ſay he did or did not) is of no weight. Neither is his proof from the diſſimilarity of a few vocables very ſtrong. In the courſe of ſo many ages the knowlege of a common origin would have little influence in oppoſition to political intereſts; and every one knows that language is continually changing.

† It is not certain whether the head-lands, ſome ſmall iſlands, two mountains, or the braſs columns in the temple of Hercules at Gadir (Cadiz), were the columns of Hercules. [*Strabo, L.* iii, *p.* 258.]

cians obſerving ſuch a happy combination of advantageous circumſtances for a trading ſettlement, and that the country was moreover interſected by two great navigable rivers, the Bætis and the Anas (now the Guadalquivir and the Guadiana), eſtabliſhed the capital poſt for their weſtern trade on a ſmall iſland in the Atlantic, within a furlong of the main land, and at no great diſtance from the mouths of the two rivers, to which they gave the name of Gadir. The town, which they built there, has in all ages maintained a ſuperior rank as a trading ſtation; and it is even now (with its name ſomewhat varied by the Saracens to Cadiz) the principal port of Spain, and the ſtation of the galleons, which import from America thoſe pretious metals, which were formerly exported from the ſame harbour to the eaſtern part of the Mediterranean ſea.

Of the other early weſtern ſettlements of the Phœnicians, the moſt celebrated were Carteia and Utica. The former, ſituated on the Bætic ſhore at the narroweſt part of the ſtrait, is by ſome authors eſteemed more antient than Gadir, the foundation of it being aſcribed to Melcartus (called alſo the Phœnician Hercules), whence the town was alſo called Melcarteia and Heraclea. The later was ſituated on the coaſt of Africa, in ſight of Carthage, and built about eighty years after the deſtruction of Troy, according to Velleius Paterculus, who ſays, that Gadir was founded a few years earlier. Matters of ſuch high antiquity are very uncertain; and it is very probable, that augmentations of the colonies were often taken for the original ſettlements of them by hiſtorians, (an example of which we ſeem to have in Carthage) and thence the contradictory æras may in ſome degree be reconciled *.

1058—The dominion of the ſea at this time is aſcribed to the Pelaſgi.

1046—David king of Iſrael, now in the height of his proſperity, having ſubdued ſeveral of the neighbouring princes, employed a part of the wealth acquired by his conqueſts in purchaſing cedar timber

* Not willing to lay hold of the higheſt antiquity, which is frequently carried far beyond the truth, I have aſſumed the year 1100, as being near the probable date of theſe antient Phœnician ſettlements, chiefly upon the authority of Strabo, [*L.* i, *p.* 83] Velleius Paterculus, [*L.* i, *c.* 2] and Pliny, [*Hiſt. nat. L.* xvi, *c.* 40.] I do not, however, mean to deny, that it is very probable that the Phœnicians may have entered the Ocean 350 years earlier, in the time of the invaſion of their country by the Iſraelites. There is in favour of that date the teſtimony of Claudius Julius, an author indeed comparatively late, but who wrote expreſsly upon Phœnician affairs, and doubtleſs tranſcribed from antient writers: and he aſcribes the foundation of Gadir to Archaleus, the ſon of Phœnix, who is placed about the time of Joſhua the commander of the Iſraelites. There is alſo the teſtimony of Timagenes, a Syrian Greek, [ap. *Ammian. Marcellin. L.* xv] for a colony of Dorians, (i. e. the people of Dor, a capital city on the Phœnician coaſt, and one of thoſe which the Iſraelites were unable to reduce. *Joſhua, c.* 17—*Judges, c.* 1) who were led by the antient Hercules ſeveral centuries before the birth of the Greek Hercules, as far as the Bay of Biſcay, where they ſettled on the Gallic ſhore; and the names of ſome of the tribes there might warrant a ſuppoſition of their being deſcended of that Phœnician colony. To theſe may be added the ſtory related by Procopius, [*Bell. Vandal. L.* ii, *c.* 10] of two pillars in the weſtern extremity of Africa near the Strait, with Phœnician inſcriptions upon them, importing that they were ſet up by a people who were driven from their native country by a plunderer called Joſhua the ſon of Naue.

from Hiram king of Tyre, with whom he kept up a friendly correſpondence as long as he lived; and he alſo hired Tyrian maſons and carpenters for carrying on his works. Thus the wealth of a warlike nation muſt ever flow into the pockets of their more induſtrious commercial neighbours *.

This prince collected for the building of the temple above eight hundred millions of our money, as it is calculated by Arbuthnot! [*Tables of ancient coins, pp.* 35, 208.]

1012-975—Solomon, the ſucceſſor of David, cultivated the arts of peace, and he was thereby enabled to indulge his taſte for magnificence and luxury more than his father could poſſibly do. Being a wiſe man, he knew, that, to preſerve his kingdom in a ſecure and honourable peace, it was neceſſary to keep up a reſpectable military force, ſufficient to repreſs any hoſtile invaſion. But, without ſhewing that puſillanimous anxiety to preſerve peace, which, while it dreads, invites, the inſults of the neighbouring nations, he moleſted none of them, and thereby enjoyed a reign of almoſt uninterrupted tranquillity. He employed the vaſt wealth, amaſſed by his father, in works of architecture, and in ſtrengthening and poliſhing his kingdom. The famous temple of Jeruſalem, the fortifications of that capital, and many entire cities, among which was the celebrated Tadmor or Palmyra, were built by him. Finding his own ſubjects but little qualified for ſuch undertakings, he applied to Hiram king of Tyre, the ſon of his father's friend Hiram †, who furniſhed him cedar and fir (or cypreſs) timbers, and large ſtones ‡, all properly cut and made ready for building, which the Tyrians carried by water to the moſt convenient landing-place in Solomon's dominions. Hiram alſo ſent a great number of workmen to aſſiſt and inſtruct Solomon's people, none of whom had ſkill 'to hew timber like 'unto the Sidonians §.' Solomon in return furniſhed the Tyrians with corn, wine, and oil; and he even received a balance in gold. It is not improbable, however, that the gold was the ſtipulated price for the ceſſion of twenty towns to the Tyrians by Solomon, which Hiram, not liking them, afterwards returned to him.

* Eupolemus, an author quoted by Euſebius, [*Præparat. evangel. L.* ix] ſays that David built ſhips in Arabia, wherein he ſent men, ſkilled in mines and metals, to the iſland of Ophir. Modern authors, improving upon this rather-ſuſpicious authority, have aſcribed to David the honour of being the founder of a great Eaſt-India commerce.

† See the letter of Hiram (or Huram) to Solomon, wherein he mentions his father of the ſame name. [*II Chron. c.* 2] This clears up the difficulty, found by Petavius in the reign of Hiram, which he attempts to ſolve by aſſigning to it a duration of 56 years, apparently comprehending the reign of two kings of that name. Moreover, Joſephus, though he has not duely diſcriminated the two kings, ſays expreſsly, that the temple was begun in the *eleventh* year of Hiram, and that Hiram inherited the friendly diſpoſition of his father. Now it was *thirty-four* years after the elder Hiram had ſupplied David with building materials, when the temple was begun. The confuſion of kings of the ſame name is a frequent ſource of chronological embarraſſment. [See *Joſeph. Antiq. L.* viii, *c.* 2; *Contra Apion. L.* i.]

‡ According to Joſephus, [*Antiq. L.* xx, *c.* 8] the ſtones were thirty feet long and nine feet high; a wonderful ſize.

§ So they ſtill called the Tyrians, as being a colony from Sidon.

The great intercourſe of trade and friendſhip, which Solomon had with the firſt commercial people in the weſtern world, inſpired him with a ſtrong deſire to participate in the advantages of trade. His father's conqueſts had extended his territories to the Red ſea, and given him the poſſeſſion of a good harbour, from which ſhips might be diſpatched to the rich countries of the South and the Eaſt. But his own ſubjects being totally ignorant of the arts of building and navigating veſſels *, he again had recourſe for advice and aſſiſtance to his friend Hiram. The king of Tyre, who wiſhed for an opening to the oriental commerce, the articles of which his ſubjects were obliged to receive at ſecond hand from the Arabians, as much as Solomon wanted nautical aſſiſtance, appears to have readily entered into his views, and to have propoſed a trading adventure on a large ſcale to be carried on by the two kings in partnerſhip, or at leaſt in concert. Accordingly Tyrian carpenters were ſent to build veſſels for both kings at Eziongeber, Solomon's port on the Red ſea, whither Solomon himſelf alſo went to animate the workmen by his preſence.

Solomon's ſhips, conducted by Tyrian navigators, ſailed in company with thoſe of Hiram to ſome rich countries called Ophir and Tarſhiſh, upon the poſition of which the learned have multiplied conjectures to very little purpoſe †. The voyage required three years to accompliſh it; yet, notwithſtanding the length of the time employed in it, the returns in this new-found trade were prodigiouſly great and profitable, conſiſting of gold, ſilver, pretious ſtones, valuable woods, ivory, and ſome exotic animals, as apes and peacocks. We have no information concerning the articles exported in this trade: but it cannot be doubted that the manufactures of the Tyrians, and probably the goods imported by them from other countries, were aſſorted with the corn, wine, balm, and oil, of Solomon's own dominions, in making up the outward

* See the note in *pp.* 13, 14.

† Ophir has been ſearched for in almoſt every part of Aſia and Africa, and ſome have let their fancy run ſo wild as even to wander to Peru in South America, in the name of which they find a reſemblance of Ophir! They might have found a much cloſer reſemblance in that of Orphir in the Orkney iſlands. The word was probably not the proper name of any country, but an appellative ſignifying gold mines; and in that ſignification it is now uſed in Sumatra and Malacca, as we are told by the philoſophic traveler Le Poivre. Many are quite certain, that the ſouth part of Spain, then abounding in gold, was Tarſhiſh; and they find their proof in the name of Tarteſſus or Tarſis, which properly belonged to the iſland formed by the two mouths of the Bætis, and was improperly given by Grecian and Roman writers to Carteia and Gadir. There, ſay they, Solomon's ſhips, having ſailed round all Africa, took in their gold, and returned home by the Mediterranean. But, as the ſhips appear to have been deſtined to continue in the ſame trade, like the modern Eaſt-India ſhips, thoſe authors ſeem not to have well conſidered how they were to get them into the Red ſea again, after finiſhing their voyage at the eaſt end of the Mediterranean, in order to begin their next voyage. Bruce more rationally ſuppoſes Tarſhiſh to have been on the eaſt coaſt of Africa, where he ſays the name ſtill remains; which, though true, is no proof of its being the place viſited by thoſe navigators. I ſay nothing of the improbability of the Tyrians, whatever friendſhip their king might have for Solomon, permitting him to get any footing in, or even knowlege of, their ſettlements in Spain. See *Purchas's Pilgrimes, Part I, Book* i, *c.* 1, § 8—12.—*Bochart, Chan. col.* 606.—*Mem. de litter. V.* xxx, *p.* 90.—*Bruce's Travels, V.* i, *p.* 433.

cargoes; and that his ſhips, like the Spaniſh galleons of the preſent day, imported the bullion, partly for the benefit of his induſtrious and commercial neighbours. [*I Kings*, *cc.* 7, 9, 10—*II Chron. cc.* 2, 8, 9.]

Solomon alſo eſtabliſhed a commercial correſpondence with Egypt, whence he received horſes, chariots, and linen yarn. The chariots coſt 600, and the horſes 150, ſhekels of ſilver each. [*I Kings*, *c.* 10—*II Chron. cc.* 1, 9.]

1003—The Thracians at this time had the empire of the ſea, as Caſtor alleges, and held it nineteen years. Of their power at ſea, or of the commerce neceſſary to ſupport it, we know little or nothing.

916—The Rhodians now, and probably long before, made a conſiderable figure as a commercial people; and it is probable that they had carried on a flouriſhing trade for ſome centuries, being noted by Homer as an opulent people in the time of the Trojan war. [*Iliad*, *L.* ii, *v.* 668.] They excelled in ſhip-building, and their voyages extended to the fartheſt limits of the Mediterranean ſea, at the weſt end of which, according to Strabo, they eſtabliſhed colonies. It was perhaps from this reſpectable appearance of their naval power that Caſtor has inſerted them in his liſt of *ſovereigns of the ſea:* and we know from better authority that they retained a command of the ſea many ages afterwards. [*Strabo*, *L.* i, *p.* 57. *with Juſtin*, *L.* xxx, *c.* 4. *for the date*, 198 *before Chriſt.*] What is, however, infinitely more to their honour, is, that they cleared the ſea of pirates, and compoſed a code of *maritime laws* for the regulation of trade and navigation, which were ſo judicious and equitable, that they were generally adopted by other nations, and held in the higheſt reſpect for many ages. The Rhodian regulations for the ſhares payable to the commander, officers, and ſeamen; the rules to be obſerved by freighters and paſſengers while onboard; the penalties on the commander or ſeamen for goods injured by their neglect, by the want of ſufficient tarpawlins and pumps, or by their careleſſneſs or abſence from their ſhips; the penalties for barratry, for robbery of other ſhips, and for careleſsly running foul of other ſhips; the puniſhment of the commander for running away with the ſhip; the puniſhment for plundering a wreck; the compenſation payable to the heirs of ſeamen who loſt their lives in the ſervice of their ſhip; the regulations of charter-parties, bills of loading, and contracts of partnerſhip or joint adventures, the rules for bottomry, for average, ſalvage, the rates of ſalvage for recovering goods from the bottom in $1\frac{1}{2}$, 12, and $22\frac{1}{2}$ feet water; and the payment of demurrage, as enacted in the Rhodian laws, were all copied by the Roman emperors, and incorporated into the Roman law; and from it they were moſtly aſſumed into the naval code, known by the name of the law of Oleron, which is in a great meaſure in force to this day. And thus the Rhodians have had the glory of regulating the mar-

itime and commercial tranſactions of many nations through a long ſucceſſion of ages *.

897—Jehoſaphat king of Judah, in conjunction with Ahaziah king of Iſrael, made an attempt to revive the commerce, which had flouriſhed ſo greatly in the reign of Solomon. But the ſhips, which they built at Eziongeber, being wrecked in the harbour, the undertaking was abandoned. We are not told, that they had any aſſiſtance from the Phœnicians in fitting out their fleet. [*I Kings*, *c.* 22—*II Chron. c.* 20.]

Thus it appears, that the commercial ſplendour of the Iſraelites was a blazing meteor, which ſhone out and paſſed away with the reign of Solomon.

890—At this time the dominion of the ſea is aſcribed to the Phrygians. The opulence of Pelops and Midas, princes of this country, ſeveral centuries before this time has already been obſerved.

880—It was probably about this time, that Homer flouriſhed, whoſe inimitable poems laid the foundation of the literary pre-eminence univerſally allowed to the Greeks in all ſucceeding ages. But the preſent work is only concerned with the many notices reſpecting trade and manufactures to be found in his poems, ſome of which have been remarked in their proper places, and with his admirable geographical knowlege. The Ægean ſea with its iſlands and both its ſhores, the neighbouring parts of the Mediterranean coaſts, and Egypt, were well known to him from his own judicious obſervations made during his voyages and travels. He is ſaid to have made voyages as far as Spain and Tuſcany; [*Herodoti Vita Homeri*] and the other weſtern parts of the Mediterranean ſea were known to him by converſation with Phœnician ſeamen. He even knew, that the land is everywhere ſurrounded by the ſea. In ſhort, he is honoured with the title of *Prince of geographers* by Strabo, one of the greateſt geographers of antiquity, from whoſe work, collated with Homer's own, the reader may obtain a proper idea of the knowlege of this wonderful man †. Such, however, was the tardy progreſs of information in thoſe ages, that the great empires of the Eaſt, and even the commercial fame and opulence of Tyre, which had flou-

* Theſe laws may with great probability claim the honour of a ſtill higher antiquity, as the Rhodians were partly of Phœnician origin; and no doubt the chief merchants were of the Phœnician race, and derived their cuſtoms and mercantile regulations from their mother country.

My reſpect for the learned Preſident Goguet makes me wiſh that he had condeſcended to give his reaſons for queſtioning the genuineneſs of the Rhodian laws, which have come down to us as incorporated in the Roman law, whence I have taken the abſtract given in the text. The high reſpect in which the Rhodian law was held in the moſt flouriſhing ages of the Roman empire is well illuſtrated by the emperor Antoninus, who, on a complaint againſt the plunderers of a wreck, anſwered, 'I indeed am ſovereign of the world, but 'the Rhodian law is ſovereign of the ſea, and by 'it your cauſe muſt be determined.'

† The reader may alſo conſult *Blackwell's Enquiry into the life and writings of Homer, ſect.* 9. and 11.

riſhed in great ſplendour for at leaſt two centuries, were utterly unknown to Homer, the moſt knowing of all the Greeks *.

In the life of Homer, untruely aſcribed to Herodotus the great father of hiſtory, but perhaps compoſed by another Herodotus of Halicarnaſſus, and undoubtedly a work of great antiquity, we are told, that Smyrna, though but lately built, was a place of conſiderable trade, and exported great quantities of corn. Phemius, the ſtepfather and preceptor of Homer, taught letters and muſic to the youth of Smyrna, and received wool in payment for his inſtruction.

868—It is apparently about this time, that we ought to date the arrival of Eliſſa † (whom Virgil has overwhelmed with fabulous fame under the name of Dido) at Carthage, which, if it was really built ſo early as 1,234 years before Chriſt, ſeems to have remained a place of but little conſequence till now, that Eliſſa built the citadel of Boſra ‡ for her own reſidence, and enlarged the town with ſuch a number of new buildings, that ſhe has moſt generally been reputed the foundreſs of it; and it is at any rate from this time that the importance of Carthage in hiſtory, and more particularly in commercial hiſtory, is to be dated.

Carthage was ſituated on a ſmall peninſula projecting into a bay, which formed two excellent harbours. About equally diſtant from either end of the Mediterranean, and on that part of the African coaſt, which advances towards Sicily, Italy, and Greece, it might be ſaid to be placed in the center of all the acceſſible ſhores of the then known world; while behind it lay an immenſe fertile continent, which furniſhed every thing neceſſary for the ſupport of the citizens, and a great variety of valuable articles for exportation.

When we read the hiſtory of the Carthaginians, we ought ever to

* Notwithſtanding the unrivaled powers of his aſtoniſhing genius, Homer paſſed his life in ſuch perſonal obſcurity, that no circumſtance of it, handed down to us, can connect him with any contemporary of ſufficient eminence to have merited a place in hiſtory. It is therefor abſolutely impoſſible to give a decided preference to any one of the many æras aſſigned to him. In this uncertainty the opinion of the great Herodotus ſeems the beſt deſerving of credit, becauſe he is the oldeſt author who mentions him; though his traditional account be confuſed (as all traditions are) by making him prior to Linus and Melampus, who are mentioned in Homer's own poems. He ſays [*L.* ii, *c.* 53] that Homer and Heſiod lived 400 years before himſelf; and he was born 484, and publicly read his hiſtory at Athens 446 years before Chriſt. Euthymenes (quoted by Clemens of Alexandria, *Strom. L.* i) ſays, that Homer was born in the iſland of Chios, and flouriſhed 200 years after the Trojan war.

† After conſidering the great variety of diſcordant dates aſſigned to Eliſſa, I can ſee no reaſon to prefer any of them to that which is handed down to us, from the national records of the Tyrians, by Joſephus, viz. 143 years and 8 months after the foundation of Solomon's temple. [*Joſeph. contra Apion. L.* i.]

No reader, whoſe judgement is above the ſtandard of a ſchool-boy's, needs be told, that the adventures of a queen of Carthage, called Dido, with an imaginary Trojan refugee, called Æneas, are entirely fabulous. Thoſe, who wiſh to ſee all, that can be ſaid for and againſt the pretended voyage of Æneas to Italy, may conſult the Eſſay upon that ſubject by the learned Bochart.

‡ Boſra in the Phœnician language ſignifies the fortification. The Greeks changed it to Βυρσα (Byrſa) ſignifying in their language *a hide;* and thence a very ſilly fable was invented of a treacherous bargain with the natives for as much land as a bull's hide would incloſe, which, by being cut into very narrow thongs, was made to incloſe a large piece of ground. The ſame fable has been tranſplanted into the hiſtory of England.

bear in remembrance, that almoſt all, that we know of them, has come to us by the information of their Greek and Roman enemies *. And, even through the medium of ſuch malignant information, we feel ourſelves irreſiſtibly drawn to prefer them to thoſe favourites of the hiſtoric muſe in every purſuit of real utility. In ſpite of miſrepreſentation we are compelled to admire the greatneſs of their power, founded ſolely upon the baſis of trade, and the general wiſdom of their conduct, till, departing from the character of merchants, they were led away by the mad ambition of being warriors and conquerors, which brought on the ruin of their flouriſhing ſtate. From the ſame ſources of information, when properly examined, we can draw a compariſon between the Phœnician colonies and thoſe of other nations, which in the early ages were ſo frequently roving over the face of the earth. Almoſt every one of theſe colonies may be conſidered as a band of plunderers, conſiſting of one or more chiefs ſupported by a crowd of ignorant and miſerable dependents, driven out from their native country by domeſtic convulſions, and in their turn driving out, exterminating, or reducing to ſlavery, thoſe whom they could overpower, and, in ſhort, ſpreading miſery and deſolation wherever they went †. On the contrary, a Phœnician colony was a ſociety conſiſting of opulent and intelligent merchants, ingenious manufacturers, ſkilful artiſans, and hardy ſeamen, leaving their native country, which was too narrow to contain their increaſing population, with the bleſſings and good wiſhes of their parents and friends in order to ſettle in a diſtant land, where they maintained a correſpondence of friendſhip and mutual advantage with thoſe who remained at home, and with their brethren in the other colonies ſprung from their parent ſtate; where, by proſecuting their own intereſt, they effectually promoted the happineſs of the parent ſtate, of the people among whom they ſettled, and of all thoſe with whom they had any intercourſe; and where they formed the point of union, which connected the oppoſite ends of the earth in the ſtrong band of mutual benefits. Such is the contraſt between a colony of barbaric hunters, paſtors, warriors, and robbers, and a colony of civilized and mercantile people.

Some Greek writers ſay, that Phidon king of Argos was the firſt who coined ſilver money, and invented weights and meaſures. As the Greeks had a good deal of intercourſe with the more enlightened nations of Aſia ‡, it is not probable that they could be without the uſe of money,

* If the works of any of the Carthaginian writers had come down to us, we might, between them and thoſe of their enemies, have come pretty near to the truth. Philinus a Sicilian Greek, who lived with the great Hannibal, and wrote a hiſtory of his wars, is mentioned reſpectfully by Polybius, who balances his partiality againſt the contrary partiality of the Roman hiſtorian Fabius Pictor.

† This deſcription exactly agrees with the picture of the early ſtate of Greece, as drawn by Thucydides in the beginning of his Hiſtory.

‡ We may be pretty ſure that meaſures, and ſcales and weights, were invented ſoon after the creation of the world. Abraham, who lived 1000 years before Phidon, had ſcales nice enough for weighing ſilver; and, no doubt, ſuch were in uſe long before his time.

and more eſpecially of weights and meaſures, till now: and we muſt ſuppoſe that Phidon rather introduced ſome improvements hitherto unknown in Greece, and has thence got the credit of being the inventor. [*Marmor Par.*—*Strabo, L.* viii, *p.* 549.—*Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* vii, *c.* 56.]

The invention of coin is by others aſcribed (and probably on no better foundation) to the people of Ægina, a ſmall rocky iſland in the bay between Athens and Argos, who were among the firſt of the Greeks that applied to commerce and navigation, whereby they made their little territory the center of the trade of Greece.

825—Caſtor aſcribes the ſovereignty of the ſea to the Phœnicians. He ſeems not to have known, that they really poſſeſſed it for ages before and after this time.

784—He next compliments the Egyptians with the ſame ſupremacy at ſea; and that at a time, when, there is good reaſon to believe, they did not poſſeſs a ſingle veſſel better than the miſerable craft, which they uſed upon the river.

753—The Mileſians are next repreſented as ſupreme in naval power; and they ſeem to have had ſome title to commercial fame, if we may eſtimate their commerce by the number of their colonies, which, according to Pliny [*Hiſt. nat. L.* v, *c.* 29] were above eighty (i. e. eighty towns) chiefly on the ſhores of the Propontis and the Euxine ſea.

According to Varro, the proclamations of the emperors, and moſt of the Roman writers, this year was diſtinguiſhed by the foundation of Rome *, which was deſtined by Providence to combine under one government, and unite in ſome kind of commercial intercourſe, all the countries on the coaſts of the Mediterranean ſea, together with ſome of thoſe on the Atlantic ocean.

750—Bochoris king of Egypt began to open his eyes to the miſtaken policy of his predeceſſors in regard to commerce, for the encouragement of which he made ſome good regulations. One of the laws enacted by him, or by his ſucceſſor Aſychis (if he was his ſucceſſor †) empowered his ſubjects to borrow money by giving as a ſecurity the

* There is every reaſon to believe, that the date of the foundation of Rome is as little known as that of the other villages of Italy, which never emerged from their original obſcurity; and that moſt of the events, related in the firſt five or ſix centuries of its ſuppoſed hiſtory, have as little foundation in truth as the early hiſtory of ſome nations now exiſting, which have been falſified in humble imitation of it. Indeed the number of 244 years, aſcribed to the reigns of ſeven kings of ſo ſmall a territory in ſuch times of rapine and violence, and thoſe elective kings, none of whoſe reigns could commence in early youth, and of whom four are ſaid to have been killed and one expelled, is alone ſufficient to overthrow the whole traditional part of the Roman hiſtory. From the acceſſion of Auguſtus there were twenty emperors in 244 years; and thoſe emperors did not expoſe their ſacred perſons to the dangers of war, as the chief of a gang of robbers (for ſuch was a king of Rome) muſt continually have done. Pliny makes Rome about half a century older than Varro does: and of the earlier authors, who mention the foundation of Rome, ſcarcely any two agree in the year, which is a clear proof that no one had ever thought of a date for it, till the ſplendour of their conqueſts, and conſequent vanity, inſtigated them to ſearch into, and ſupply from invention, an origin and early hiſtory of their city.

† There is ſome reaſon to believe, that theſe are only two names of the ſame prince.

embalmed bodies of their deceaſed parents, the moſt ſacred depoſit that could be imagined: but he alſo decreed, that the debtor, neglecting to redeem this pretious pledge, ſhould himſelf be deprived of the high-prized honours beſtowed in Egypt upon the meritorious dead. Still the Egyptians confined their ideas of commerce to home trade, or paſſive foreign trade.

734—The dominion of the ſea is next aſſigned to the Carians, a people formerly noted for their piracies; and there ſeems no good reaſon to believe, that their preſent power was of any other nature; [*Herod. L.* ii, *c.* 152] or that it ever was near ſo great and extenſive, as that of the buccaneers in later times was in the Weſt-India ſeas.

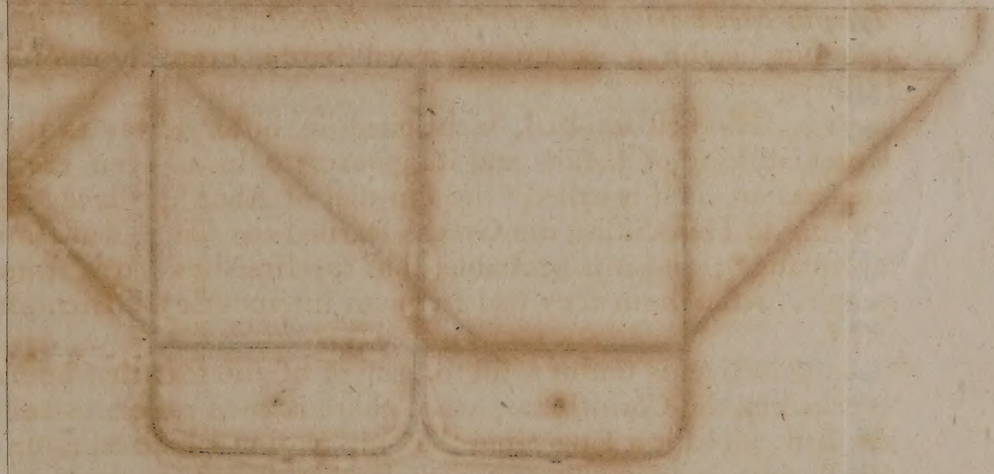
717—The commercial city of Tyre was attacked by Salmanaſar king of Aſſyria, who brought againſt it a fleet of ſixty (or ſeventy) veſſels, furniſhed and manned by ſome of the Phœnicians, who had ſubmitted to his dominion. The Tyrians, then the only people of Phœnicia free from the Aſſyrian yoke, with twelve ſhips completely defeated his fleet, and took 500 priſoners. So vaſtly ſuperior were free men fighting for themſelves and their families to ſlaves fighting for a maſter. [*Annales Tyrii in Menandri Chron. ap. Joſeph. Antiq. L.* ix, *c.* 14.] This, if I miſtake not, is the moſt antient naval battle, expreſsly recorded in any hiſtory.

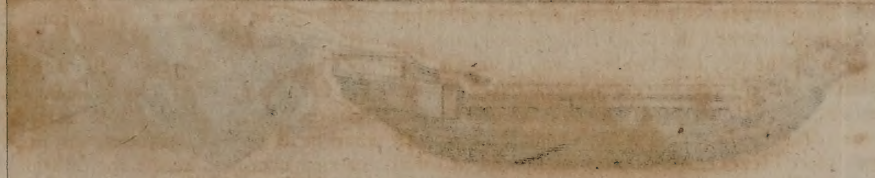
713—The firſt ſun-dial, mentioned in hiſtory, was in the palace of Hezekiah king of Judah, and it appears to have been erected by his predeceſſor, as it is called 'the ſun-dial of Ahaz.' [*Iſaiah, c.* 38.] According to Herodotus, the Greeks learned the uſe of dials from the Babylonians *; and it is probable, that the Iſraelites had it from the ſame people, with whom they had frequent intercourſe of friendſhip or hoſtility.

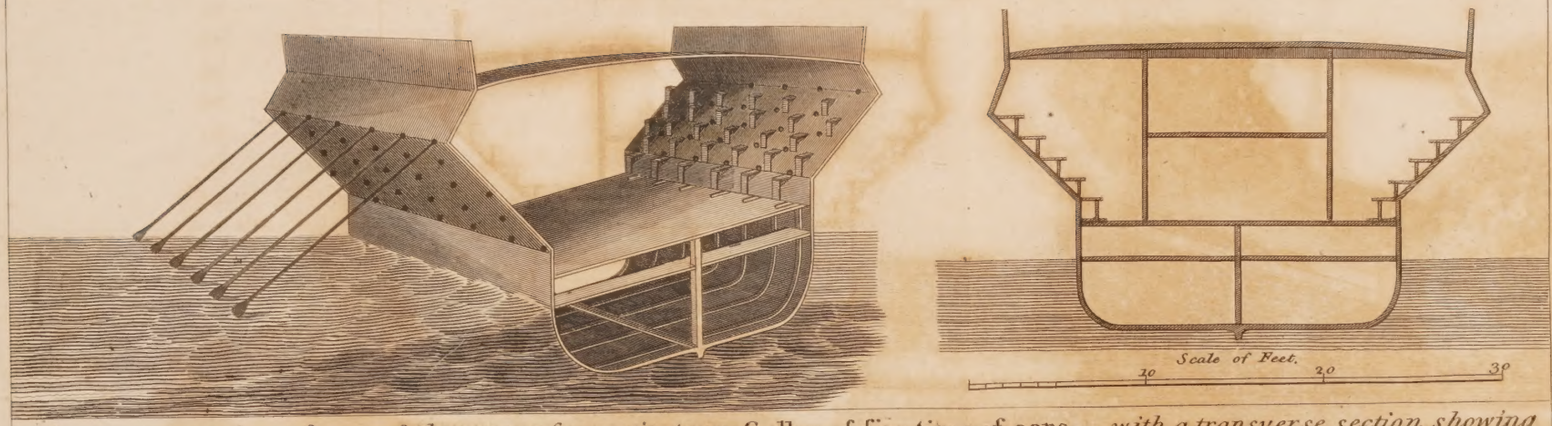
So defective is Caſtor's liſt of rulers of the ſea, that he has entirely overlooked the Corinthians, who, there is good reaſon to believe, were the firſt, and for a long time the only, nation of Greece, or indeed of all Europe, who made any conſiderable figure in naval tranſactions. The Greeks, in all ages timorous ſeamen, preferred land-carriage to the dangerous navigation (as they eſteemed it) round the rocky and tempeſtuous head-lands of the Peloponneſus †, and thereby threw the whole trade of their country into the hands of the Corinthians, who, occupy-

* Though Herodotus [*L.* ii, *c.* 109] ſays that the Greeks learned the pole, the gnomon, and the diviſion of the day into twelve parts, from the Babylonians, the later Greek writers have aſſumed the honour of the invention of the gnomon in favour of Anaximander, who flouriſhed about 170 years after Hezekiah, and who ſet up the firſt dial ſeen in Greece at Lacedæmon. [*Diog. Laert. L.* ii.] It is poſſible he might be an inventor of it; but it is more probable, that, being a native of Miletus, he had learned it from the Perſians or Babylonians.

† About 1800 years after the time now under conſideration, when the Romans had carried into Greece all the military and naval knowlege to be had in the Mediterranean, an imperial fleet was carried over-land acroſs the Iſthmus of Corinth to avoid the dreadful circumnavigation of the Peloponneſus. [*Gibbon's Rom. hiſt. V.* x, *p.* 138, *ed.* 1791.] Q. How large were thoſe imperial men-of-war?

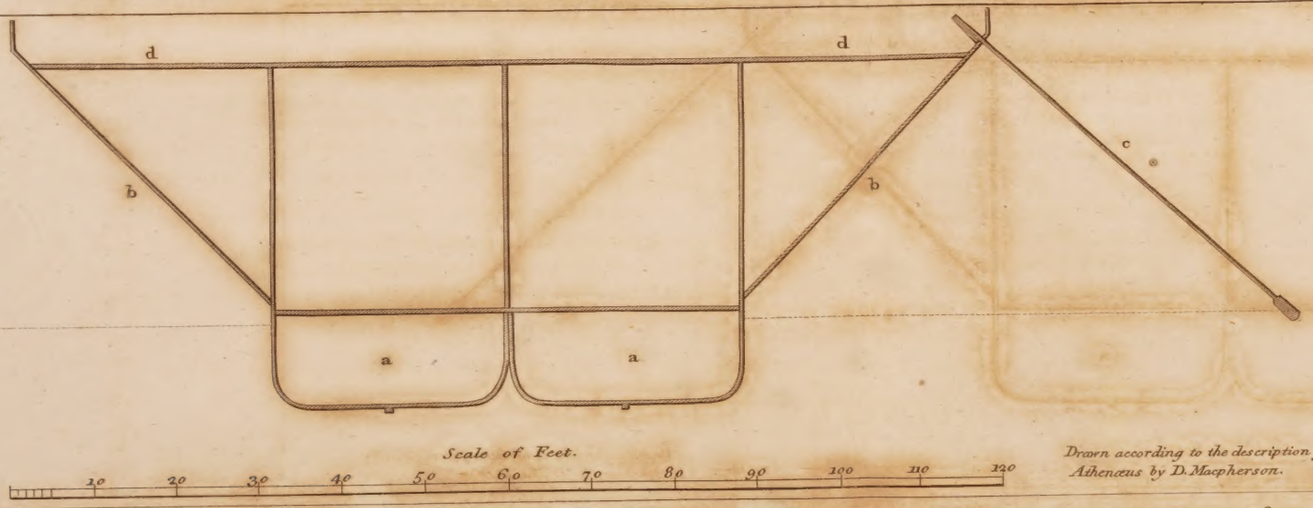






A perspective view of part of the waste of an antient war Galley of five tires of oars, *with a transverse section showing the position of the benches and oars, as explained by GENERAL MELVILLE, F.R.S. and A.S.*

Drawn from the General's Model by Mr. Myddelton.



Drawn according to the description given by Athenæus by D. Macpherson.

A transverse section of Ptolemy Philopator's double great ship *with forty tires of oars.* *See p. 98.*

a.a. *The two bottoms.* b.b. *The sloping sides. See the note in p. 99.* c. *One of the uppermost oars scarcely dipping in the water. The other oars are omitted.* d.d. *Beams, or perhaps deck, not mentioned by Athenæus, but certainly necessary to prevent the sides from falling down by the weight of themselves, the benches, the men, and the oars.*

Elevation, transverse section, and horizontal plane, of an antient round ship. *See p. 179.*

Drawn from the model in Greenwich Hospital (copied from a marble Model in Rome) by W.W. Macpherson.

Archer Sc.

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ing the iſthmus between two inlets of the ſea, whereby Greece is almoſt cut aſunder, poſſeſſed a moſt commanding ſituation for ſuch a trade. Indeed the obvious advantage of having harbours in two ſeas, whereby Italy and Aſia were equally acceſſible to them, appears to have induced the Corinthians in very early times to turn their attention to commerce and navigation; for we learn from Thucydides, that ſoon after the Trojan war they kept up ſome naval force for protecting their trade againſt pirates: and there is reaſon to believe, that they were diſtinguiſhed by ſome degree of opulence, even in that age, or at leaſt in Homer's time, as in his catalogue of the Grecian forces he beſtows upon Corinth the epithet of *the wealthy*, which it retained through all the viciſſitudes of its fortune, at leaſt till the firſt century of the Chriſtian æra. [*Strabo, L.* viii, *p.* 586.] Beſides the profit of their own trade, the Corinthians had a very conſiderable advantage by landing goods in the one harbour and re-ſhipping them in the other, which, Strabo ſays, was a common practice: and they alſo levied a duty upon all goods carried by land through their territories.

700—The Corinthians have the credit of having introduced in Greece a moſt important improvement in the conſtruction of ſhips or gallies of war, by ſubſtituting for the ſmall, and very narrow veſſels with one tire of oars on each ſide, hitherto uſed, a larger and loftier kind, called *trieres* or *triremes*, which were worked by three tires, or rows, of oars on each ſide *. It cannot be doubted, that this improvement in their

* The nature of the antient ſhips or gallies, called *triremes*, *quadriremes*, *quinqueremes*, &c. has exerciſed the induſtry of many learned men, who, being generally unacquainted with naval affairs, have run into ſome very groſs abſurdities.

The literal meaning of *triremis* ſeems to be a veſſel with three oars, or with three oars on each ſide: but no ſuch interpretation is admiſſible; becauſe it is known, that in very early times the Phœnicians had veſſels of fifty oars, in one of which Inachus is ſaid to have arrived in Greece; and becauſe the *triremes*, now firſt conſtructed, or now firſt introduced in Greece, by the Corinthians, muſt have been veſſels ſuperior to all that had ever been ſeen hitherto.

The moſt general ſuppoſition has been, that the *triremes* had three tires of oars, the tires being perpendicularly above each other, like the three tires of guns in a modern ſhip of the firſt rate, the *quadriremes* four tires, and ſo on. But, admitting (what perhaps no ſeaman will admit) the poſſibility of working *three* tires of oars ſo placed, what ſhall we ſay of *forty* or *fifty* tires? And (to ſay nothing of Pollux's *hekatonteres*, or ſhip of a hundred tires, which is ſurely fabulous) there was certainly a *quadragintaremis*, and even, according to Pliny, [*L.* vii, *c.* 56] a *quinquagintaremis*, or, agreeable to this ſuppoſition, veſſels of *forty* and *fifty* decks, of which, even the *middle* one, in order to allow ſufficient room for the length and ſweep or revolution of the enormous oars in the inſide of the veſſel, muſt have been vaſtly higher than the topgallant maſt of a modern firſt-rate ſhip.

Another ſuppoſition has been, that the antient gallies were called *triremes* from having three men to each oar, *quadriremes* from four, and ſo on to the higheſt rate. In ſupport of this hypotheſis it may be alleged, that the famous *quadragintaremis* of Ptolemy Philopator is thus accounted for by ſuppoſing fifty oars with 40 men to each, which thus require 2,000 men; and a ſecond ſet, or watch, to relieve them, makes 4,000, the number of rowers, which, according to Athenæus, actually belonged to that great floating palace. The *ordines remorum* raiſed above each other, frequently mentioned by the Roman writers, are ſuppoſed to mean the raiſed benches, on which each rower, according to his diſtance from the ſide, was elevated above his next neighbour, agreeable to the angle formed by the oar with the ſurface of the water.

The ſolution of this Gordian knot appears to have been reſerved for General Melville, governor-general of Grenada and the other ceded iſlands, a gentleman, who, by having frequent occaſion to

marine, added to their former naval ſuperiority, muſt have thrown into their hands a temporary dominion of the Grecian ſeas.

Aminocles, whoſe name is immortalized as the builder of the new ſhips, was alſo employed by the Samians, for whom he built four veſſels. Euſebius [N°. 1255] ſeems alſo to ſay, that the Athenians had ſome of his ſhips. But it is obſcurely expreſſed; and the time is too early by many years for the age of Aminocles, according to Thucydides.

Moſt of the maritime Grecian ſtates ſoon adopted the uſe of *triremes;* and ſucceeding ages varied and increaſed the number of tires of oars, as ambition, or as vanity, prompted, the rates of the veſſels being denominated from the number of tires, as modern ſhips of war are called two-deckers, three-deckers, &c. from their tires of guns.

It is proper to obſerve, that Damaſtes, an author contemporary with Herodotus, [*ap. Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* vii, *c.* 56] ſays, that *biremes* (veſſels with two tires of oars) were uſed by the Erythræans or Arabians: and

croſs the ocean, was enabled to unite nautical knowlege with acuteneſs of reſearch and great claſſical reading. He ſuppoſes, that the antient gallies were very flat in the bottom, and that their ſides were raiſed perpendicular to the height of only three or four feet from the ſurface of the water, above which they diverged with an angle of about 45 degrees. Upon this ſloping wall he places the ſeats of the rowers, about two feet in length, the rows or tires of them being raiſed only about 15 inches in perpendicular height above each other *, and the ſeats, as well as the row-ports, being arranged in quincunx or checker-wiſe, as the gun-ports of a modern firſt-rate ſhip. Thus the upper tire of oars in a *triremis* is only about 30 inches, in a *quadriremis* 45 inches, and in a *quinqueremis* 60 inches, in perpendicular height above the lower tire; while the combination of the quincunx arrangement and the oblique ſide gives every rower perfect liberty to act, no one being perpendicularly above his neareſt neighbour in the tire below him. By thus applying a greater number of oars and the force of a greater number of men, than could poſſibly act in a veſſel with upright ſides, they greatly increaſed the velocity or impetus, upon which in naval engagements they placed their whole dependence for the ſucceſsful performance of all their manœuvres, and for bilging their enemy's veſſels with the iron or braſen *roſtra* affixed to the heads of their own. But it muſt be acknowleged, that the uppermoſt oars in gallies of above five rows, though vaſtly ſhort of the length neceſſary upon the ſuppoſition of the ſides being perpendicular, were ſtill too long to be worked with much effect by one man, (nor does it appear that they ever employed more than one †) and that the angle they made with the water, being about 45 degrees, muſt have produced an effect ſomewhat between rowing and paddling, as theſe terms are underſtood by our modern ſeamen.

General Melville's ingenious diſcovery is not only clear of all the difficulties attending the other hypotheſes, but it alſo illuſtrates, and is illuſtrated by, many paſſages in antient writers, which are otherways inexplicable. It is further confirmed by antient ſculptures at Rome, by a medallion of Gordian at Naples, and by antient paintings at Portici, ſome of which, preſenting to view the ends of the gallies, exhibit their ſloping ſides with the oars iſſuing from them in exact correſpondence with the general's idea.

For the moſt valuable part of this note I am indebted to the polite and liberal communications of General Melville; who for illuſtrating the principles, on which the gallies were conſtructed, has a model of the fifth part of the waſte of a *quinqueremis*, which is a reduction, on the ſcale of about one inch to a foot, from one of the full ſize, formerly erected in the back-yard of his houſe in Great Pulteney ſtreet, whereon many gentlemen of claſſical and nautical knowlege ſaw the thirty oars (the fifth part of one hundred and fifty, which was the number of oars on one ſide) actually worked by thirty men, free of every impediment or interference, which might be apprehended from their crowded poſition.

* If we could depend on the text of Oroſius, [*L.* v, *c.* 19] where he ſays, that Antony's largeſt ſhips, many of which were, according to Florus, of *nine tires*, but according to Dion Caſſius of *ten tires* of oars, were only *ten feet above the water*, we muſt believe, that the tires could not be more than eight or nine inches above each other in perpendicular height. But x feet muſt ſurely be an erroneous reading for xv or xx, the v or x being loſt in tranſcribing.

† It is evident from the Tactics of Leo [*c.* 19] that there was but one man to an oar in his veſſels, none of which, it is true, ſeem to have had more than two tires of oars.

Clemens of Alexandria [*Stromat. L.* i, *c.* 16] aſcribes the invention of the *triremes* to the Sidonians. Indeed, it is not improbable, that an imitation of the Sidonian veſſels, introduced in Greece by the Corinthians, may have procured them the credit of the invention among the Greeks, who were never very ſcrupulous of ſtealing the honour of ſcience and invention from the *barbarians* *. Unfortunately no Sidonian hiſtorian has reached our times, to the very great loſs of hiſtory in general, and moſt eſpecially of commercial hiſtory.

676—The Leſbians are ſaid to have obtained the command of the ſea, of which they kept poſſeſſion no leſs than ſixty-nine years.

670—Pſammitichus, whoſe father was ſlain by Sabacus, an Ethiopian invader of Egypt, had paſſed the early part of his life in Syria, probably among the Phœnicians, who were as yet the only foreigners permitted to land upon the Egyptian ſhore. After his return to his native country he became one of twelve kings, who all reigned co-ordinate at the ſame time. Being expelled by his brother kings he again lived in exile among the marſhes at the mouth of the river, where he gave a kind reception to all traders, eſpecially Greeks and Phœnicians, and by exchanging the produce of his territory for the goods imported by them, he acquired great riches. At length ſome Ionian and Carian pirates, accidentally landing on the coaſt, together with ſome forces levied in Arabia, enabled him to revenge the affront put upon him, and even to make himſelf ſole king of Egypt. From this time he ſhewed favour to the Greeks, and as, by living among ſtrangers in a private character, he had acquired more liberal ideas, than were uſual among the Egyptians, of the advantages ariſing from a free intercourſe with foreign nations, he encouraged them to trade, and even gave them ſettlements and a harbour † in his country. He alſo placed ſome Egyptian boys under their care to learn Greek, that they might act as interpreters. [*Herodot. L.* ii, *cc.* 147-154—*Diod. Sicul. L.* i, § 66, 67] But ſtill the Egyptians perſiſted in neglecting the advantage beſtowed upon them by Nature in giving them the command of two ſeas, and had no ſhips of their own, except the craft for navigating the river.

* There is a kind of *triremis* (for I know of no Greek or Latin word for paddles) uſed now, and probably many centuries ago in the iſlands of the Eaſt Indies, which has a number of projecting croſs bars or outriggers, ſupporting at proper diſtances two long ſeats on each ſide parallel to the gunnels: and the veſſel is driven along with great velocity by ſix rows of paddlers, two of which ſit within her ſides, and four on the outſide ſeats over the water. They have ſometimes three rows on the outſide of each gunnel; and theſe may be called *quadriremes*.—Quere, if the Phœnicians, when in the Indian ocean in company with Solomon's fleet, may have ſeen theſe veſſels, and, improving upon the multiplied force of the paddles, have conſtructed their *triremes*, ſome of which, going to Greece, might furniſh a model to the Corinthians for, what they called, their invention. A deſcription and view of the Indian veſſels may be ſeen in *Steel's Elements of rigging and ſeamanſhip*. See alſo *Purchas's Pilgrimes, Book* ii, *p.* 55; and *Voyages to the Eaſt-Indies by Stavorinus, V.* ii, *pp.* 306, 421, *Note, in the Engliſh tranſlation*, where the names of *quadriremes* and *triremes* are actually applied to the veſſels called *corrocorros* by the natives of the Oriental iſlands.

† When Herodotus was in Egypt the houſes of the Greeks, and their harbour, or dock, were in ruins. [*Herodot. L.* ii, *c.* 154.]

664—The firſt naval battle known in *Grecian hiſtory* was fought between the Corinthians and their own coloniſts, who had ſettled in Corcyra. [*Thucyd. L.* i.]

641—Among the Greek traders, who availed themſelves of the indulgence of Pſammitichus, was Colæus of Samos, who acquired a great fortune, and the preſervation of his name in all ſucceeding ages, by an accident, which he muſt have conſidered at the time as the ruin of his voyage. On his way to Egypt he met with a gale of wind from the eaſt, which continued ſo long, that he was carried quite through the paſſage, now called the Straits of Gibraltar, to Tarteſſus on the ſouth-weſt coaſt of Spain; and thus he had the honour to be the firſt Greek, who ever ſaw the Atlantic ocean*. In this market, ſo unexpectedly found, he united the profits, which had been divided between the Greeks and the Phœnicians; and the goods he purchaſed, having never before been directly imported into any Grecian country, yielded a profit far ſurpaſſing the moſt lucrative voyage ever made by any Grecian merchant, excepting Soſtrates of Ægina, of whom, I believe, nothing elſe is known, but that his proſperity in trade was unparalleled. From a tenth part being preſented to Juno, we are luckily furniſhed with the knowlege of the profits made in this extraordinary fortunate adventure; and they amounted to ſixty talents, which, if they were Euboic talents of ſilver, contained a quantity of that metal equal to £11,625 ſterling. [*Herod. L.* iv, *c.* 152] From the curious hiſtory of this voyage we alſo know, what was reckoned a prodigious great fortune in the age of Herodotus. The Greeks, however, appear not to have availed themſelves of this accidental diſcovery by continuing the trade †.

616—Pſammitichus king of Egypt was ſucceeded by his ſon Necos. This prince, inheriting his father's deſire to increaſe the commerce of his ſubjects, in order to open a trade with the rich countries of the Eaſt, reſumed the grand deſign (originally conceived by Seſoſtris, and actually put in execution by him or his ſon) of uniting the navigation of the two ſeas by a great navigable canal. The conſtruction of canals, ſo familiar to the preſent age, was ſo little underſtood in the time of Necos, that the natural impediments were abſolutely inſuperable by the ſcience of his engineers; ſo that the undertaking was abandoned, after 120,000 workmen had loſt their lives by the intolerable labour. [*Herodot. L.* ii, *c.* 158.]

607—Necos, thus diſappointed of effecting a junction between the two ſeas, eſtabliſhed ports, and built a fleet of ſhips on each of them;

* The expedition, aſcribed to Hercules, belongs to Melcartus, who is alſo called the Tyrian Hercules. The Grecian fabuliſts availed themſelves of this identity to rob him of his actions, wherewith they have embelliſhed the motley hiſtory of their own demigod.

† This will be explained in a note on the imaginary Greek trade to Britain, under the year 550 before Chriſt.

and thus he put his kingdom in a fair way of being the center of the trade of the world, if he could have ſubdued the hatred of his ſubjects to the ſea. Having ſuppoſed the probability of Africa being ſurrounded by the ſea, excepting the iſthmus whereby it is joined to Aſia, he projected a voyage of diſcovery to aſcertain the truth, and to explore the coaſts of that continent. For ſuch an arduous naval undertaking he engaged Phœnician navigators, who ſailed from the Red ſea, and coaſting along the ſhore of Africa, returned by the Mediterranean, and in the third year from their departure arrived in the Nile. During this voyage, when the proper ſeaſon for ſowing came on, they made a temporary ſettlement on the land, and ſowed their corn. Then, after repairing their ſhips, and getting in their harveſt, they proceeded on their voyage. This circumſtance ſhows, that, though Egypt has in all ages been one of the fineſt corn countries in the world, neither the Egyptians nor the Phœnicians underſtood the method of preſerving corn at ſea, or of preparing bread for long keeping. Another moſt important circumſtance is related by Herodotus, to whom we are indebted for the knowlege of this voyage. He ſays, that the ſeamen reported, they had ſeen the ſun on their right hand, that is on the north ſide of them, when they were in the ſouth parts of Africa. This, he very honeſtly tells us, he does not believe: and ſome ſucceeding writers, on the ſtrength of his incredulity, which betrays the ignorance of one of the moſt knowing of the Greeks, have conſidered the voyage as entirely fabulous. But the very circumſtance, urged againſt the veracity of the voyage, eſtabliſhes it beyond the poſſibility of contradiction: for it may well be doubted, whether even the Phœnicians were then ſufficiently acquainted with the ſyſtem of the univerſe to know from theory the poſſibility of going to the ſouthward of the ſun, or to be able to invent ſuch a ſtory, had it not been true *. [*Herodot. L.* ii, *c.* 159; *L.* iv, *c.* 42] And this was unqueſtionably the very firſt circumnavigation of Africa recorded in hiſtory, and the only well-authenticated one, till Gama, above 2,000 years after, again aſcertained, that Africa is not joined to a ſuppoſed ſouthern continent.

The brief narrative of this voyage leads to a conjecture, which may almoſt be received as a certain truth; that the trade between Arabia and Egypt was ſtill carried on by caravans only, and that the Egyptians had no maritime intercourſe, either active or paſſive, with the Arabians. If they had had any ſuch intercourſe, they could not have been entirely ignorant of their nautical ſcience and voyages, and Necos would

* As the truth of this voyage has been called in queſtion in antient and modern times, it may be proper to obſerve, that, beſides the impoſſibility of its being fabricated, it was performed in the clear period of the Egyptian hiſtory, which begins with the reign of Pſammitichus. See *Herodot. L.* ii, *c.* 154. Some err as far on the other ſide, and ſuppoſe that Solomon's veſſels were in the practice of circumnavigating Africa, and that it even became a common voyage.

have applied to them for navigators rather than to the Phœnicians, who could have no knowlege of the navigation of the eaſt coaſt of Africa, except what they might perhaps derive from the journals of the navigators, who accompanied Solomon's veſſels almoſt four centuries before. But the Phœnicians appear to have been the only people known to the Egyptians as navigators. To them, therefor, Necos applied, and they, mindful of the advantages reaped by their anceſtors from a participation with Solomon of the uſe of a harbour in the Red ſea, gladly engaged in an adventure, whereby they hoped to have an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the rich countries, whence the Arabians obtained the pretious commodities, which every year drew great ſums of money from them. But we may be aſſured, that the Phœnician commander did not neglect to ſhip onboard each of his veſſels at leaſt two Arabian pilots, acquainted with the navigation of the Red ſea and a conſiderable extent of the eaſt coaſt of Africa, and with the nature of the tides (ſo dreadful to the Mediterranean navigators), the prevailing currents, and periodical winds.

The Greek colonies in Aſia, by their intercourſe with the Phrygians, Lydians, and other nations in their neighbourhood, who were in a more advanced ſtate of ſociety than themſelves, but more particularly by their commercial intercourſe with the Phœnicians and Egyptians, nations ſtill more civilized and enlightened, emerged from barbariſm long before the European Greeks, and greatly outſtripped them in the career of literature and philoſophy, as well as of commerce. And hence we find, that almoſt all the early poets, hiſtorians, and profeſſors of natural and moral philoſophy, whoſe great talents have raiſed a monument of everlaſting fame to Greece, were in reality natives of the Aſiatic coaſt, or of the adjacent iſlands *. Among the earlieſt of the Greek philoſophers was Thales of Miletus, deſcended of Phœnician parentage, who by travel and ſtudy among the Egyptians, and no doubt, among his Phœnician relations, acquired ſome knowlege of geometry and aſtronomy. He pointed out to the Greeks the conſtellation called *the leſſer bear*, by which the Phœnicians ſteered their courſe in the night; and he imparted to them the knowlege of the rotundity of the earth, the diviſion of it into five zones, and the Egyptian diviſion of the year into 365 days; notwithſtanding which they perſiſted for hundreds of years after his time in the erroneous calculation by 360 days. But, what chiefly commanded the admiration of an ignorant people, was his prediction of the *year* (601) in which a remarkable eclipſe of the ſun ſhould happen, and the accidental circumſtance of two armies, actually engaged in battle, ſeparating on account of the unuſual darkneſs. [*Herod. L.* i, *c.* 74.—*Diog. Laert. L.* i] His prediction of the eclipſe, coming no nearer than

* A great number of their names are collected by Blackwell in his *Enquiry into the life and writings of Homer, pp.* 12—15, *fourth ed.*

the *year* in which it ſhould happen, ſeems to infer, that his Egyptian or Phœnician maſters had but a dark conception of the theory of eclipſes, by the accurate knowlege of which the modern geographer is enabled to delineate with preciſion the ſurface of the earth, and the navigator can aſcertain his poſition, or direct his courſe through the boundleſs ocean with a much more aſſured confidence, than the antients could poſſibly have in their recollection of the appearance of the land, while directing their timid courſe along the winding ſhores of the Mediterranean.

594—Apries, who ſucceeded his father Pſammis as king of Egypt, had a fleet upon the Mediterranean, with which he carried on a war againſt the maritime cities of Sidon and Tyre, and fought a naval battle with them, in which, if we may credit Diodorus Siculus, he obtained the victory *. [*Herod. L.* ii, *c.* 161.—*Diod. Sicul. L.* i, *p.* 79. *ed. Amſtel.* 1746.]

588—The very antient and long-flouriſhing commercial city of Sidon appears to have been now eclipſed by the proſperity of her moſt antient colony of Tyre, whoſe commercial ſplendour is thus delineated by the prophet Ezekiel, [*c.* 27] who thereby gives us a brief ſketch of the ſtate of commerce throughout a very conſiderable part of the then known world.

The people of all the neighbouring countries were employed by the Tyrians in building and navigating their ſhips, which were magnificently adorned with ivory, purple, and fine linen; and their naval commanders were among the moſt reſpectable of the citizens, every office, and every line of duty, in the commercial departments being eſteemed honourable. On the other hand the univerſal predilection of the Tyrians for trade and navigation induced them to employ foreign mercenaries in their military eſtabliſhment †, obſerving however the precaution to collect them from a variety of nations, Perſians, Lydians, Africans, &c. whoſe diverſity of languages and intereſts might render it difficult for them to conſpire againſt the ſtate. Though their own veſſels were very numerous, and they were fully ſenſible of the great importance and value of the carrying trade, they gave free permiſſion to 'all the 'ſhips of the ſea with their mariners' to reſort to their harbour, and to buy and ſell in their city.

The imports from the various nations were as follows: fine linens ‡ from Egypt; blue, and purple, from the iſles of Eliſha; ſilver, iron,

* Diodorus ſays he took Sidon, and reduced the other cities of Phœnicia by the terror of his arms. He beat the fleets of Phœnicia and Cyprus in a great naval battle, and returned, loaded with ſpoil, to Egypt.

† The republic of Venice, the Tyre of the middle ages, followed the ſame ſyſtem of policy in their military eſtabliſhment. But no government can ever be aſſured of the fidelity of ſuch mercenaries.

‡ Or *byſſus*, apparently fine flax, as a raw material. See the text of Ezekiel in Jerom's tranſlation, and *Bochart, Geog. ſacr. col.* 155.

tin, and lead, from Tarſhiſh, brought by the Carthaginians *; ſlaves and brazen veſſels from Javan (or Greece), Tubal and Meſech; horſes, ſlaves bred to horſemanſhip, and mules, from Togormah; emeralds, purple, embroidery, fine linen †, corals, agates, from Syria, in exchange for the manufactures of Tyre; corn, balſam, honey, oil, and gums, from the Iſraelites, who, we thus ſee, were farmers, but not manufacturers; excellent wines, and fine wool, from Damaſcus; poliſhed iron ware, pretious oils, and cinnamon, from Dan, Javan, and Mezo; magnificent carpets (ſuch as are ſtill uſed in the eaſtern countries for ſitting upon) from Dedan; ſheep and goats for ſlaughter from the paſtoral tribes of Arabia; the moſt coſtly ſpices, ſome of them apparently the produce of India ‡, pretious ſtones, and gold, from the merchants of Sheba (or Sabæa) and Raamah (or Regma), countries in the ſouth part of Arabia; blue cloths, embroidered work, rich apparel, in corded cedar cheſts (perhaps original Indian packages) and other goods, from Sheba, Aſhur, and Chilmad, and from Haran, Canneh, and Eden, apparently trading ports on the ſouth coaſt of Arabia §. And here it is proper to remind the reader, that the Arabians, who furniſhed the greateſt and moſt valuable part of the articles enumerated ‖, appear to have been the only traders from the Weſt, whoſe voyages extended to India in the early ages ¶.

* Tarſhiſh appears here to be the ſouth part of Spain. I have inſerted the Carthaginians on the authority of Jerom's tranſlation.

† Jerom's tranſlation has alſo ſilk ('ſericum').

‡ The Greeks believed, that Arabia was the only country which *produced* frankincenſe, myrh, caſia, cinnamon, and ledanum, which were carried to Greece by the Phœnicians. [*Herodot. L.* iii, *c.* 107.]

§ In the enumeration of places the firſt Javan, the name of Greece in the Bible, appears to be different from the ſecond Javan, which was probably in the ſouth part of Arabia. And all the places mentioned after it, except the paſtoral part of Arabia and Aſhur, may be preſumed to have been ſituated in the ſame commercial country, whoſe extenſive commerce with India and the other oriental regions is deſcribed by Ariſtobulus, Agatharchides, and the Periplus of the Erythræan ſea, many ages after, in a manner perfectly agreeing with the preſent account. It is, moreover, worthy of remark, how well Ezekiel's account of the trade correſponds with the obſervation of Agatharchides, that the Sabæans, the chief people of the ſouth coaſt of Arabia, ſupplied the Phœnicians with the moſt profitable articles of their trade.

The reader, deſirous of information reſpecting the ſeveral countries mentioned by Ezekiel, may conſult Bochart, with the commentators on this portion of the Bible, and on the tenth chapter of Geneſis.

‖ Strabo, [*L.* xvi, *p.* 1128] gives us the route between Arabia and Phœnicia, as it was before the oriental trade was in a great meaſure engroſſed by the Greeks of Alexandria, viz. from Leukè komè, (White town), an emporium near the head of the Red ſea, to Petra the capital of the Nabatæan tribe, and thence to Rhinocolura (or Rhinocorura) a port of the Mediterranean ſea on the border of Phœnicia adjoining to Egypt. And this appears to have been the route by which the Tyrians received the goods mentioned in the text, and the greateſt part of their India goods, which they bought of the Arabians: for however high our opinion may be of the mercantile and adventurous ſpirit of the Phœnicians, it is evident, that they themſelves could not fail to India (unleſs as paſſengers or charterers, which the Arabs probably did not permit) as they do not appear, from any ſufficient authority, to have ever poſſeſſed a ſingle harbour on the coaſt of the Ocean or any of its gulfs, except the temporary conjunct uſe of one in the reign of Solomon king of Iſrael.

¶ It would by no means be extravagant to ſuppoſe that they traded to Ceylon, or even to the countries and iſlands far beyond it (as it ſeems doubtful if the beſt cinnamon has been in all ages a native of Ceylon) as early as the days of Solomon; for no ſuch ſpices were known (in Jeruſalem) as thoſe, which the queen of Sheba preſented to Solomon. [*II Chron. c.* 9.] It was not poſſible, that a people of ſuch commercial and nauti-

In this lively picture we ſee Tyre the center and the enlivening ſoul of a commerce, not leſs extenſive than the utmoſt limits of the then known world, directing and animating the operations of the merchants and manufacturers in the moſt diſtant regions, and through their hands diſpenſing to the induſtrious, in every buſineſs and profeſſion throughout the world, the bleſſings of a comfortable and independent ſubſiſtence for themſelves and their families; or in a word, enriching all the world by enriching herſelf, which is the grand and characteriſtical difference between the acquiſition of wealth by commerce, and the ſeizure of it by conqueſt.

Unhappily the vaſt wealth, which thus flowed into Tyre from all quarters, brought along with it its too general conſequence of extravagant diſſipation and diſſoluteneſs of morals.

585—The commercial proſperity of the Tyrians, hitherto almoſt uninterrupted, now ſuffered a ſhort eclipſe. Nebuchadnezzar, the mighty king of Babylon, ſat down before the city with an innumerable army. Though deprived of all ſupplies from the adjacent country by the enemy, the command of the ſea enabled the Tyrians to ſtand out no leſs than thirteen years againſt a monarch, whoſe territories were at leaſt a thouſand times as extenſive as theirs. But ſeeing that it would be impoſſible to repell ſuch an unequal landed force from their walls, they wiſely availed themſelves of the ſuperior value, which moveable property in ſuch an emergency has in the hands of a people poſſeſſing the command of the ſea: and they came to the reſolution of totally abandoning their city and territory on the continent, and eſtabliſhing themſelves on a ſmall iſland near the ſhore. For this purpoſe they kept up the defence for many years, during which the new city was built, and every valuable article removed to it. Then, after baffling the power of the great conqueror of the Eaſt during thirteen years, was the ſhell, or carcaſe, of old Tyre abandoned to his exhauſted and diſappointed army. And from her aſhes ſprung up a new Tyre, which, like the imaginary bird bearing her national name of *Phœnix*, was in all things the perfect reſemblance of her parent, and with little or no interruption continued in nearly the ſame career of commercial proſperity, till ſhe in her turn was ſubjected by the irreſiſtible power of Alexander.

573—The Egyptians diſpleaſed with the conduct of their king Apries, appointed Amaſis to be king inſtead of him. In his time Egypt is ſaid to have contained 1,020 inhabited towns. Having more enlightened ideas of commerce and maritime affairs than any of his predeceſſors, he eſtabliſhed an emporium at Naucratis, a town on the weſtern or Canopic mouth of the Nile, to which he made traders of all nations welcome, as the Chineſe do now at Canton; but, like his predeceſſor

cal knowlege and enterprise ſhould ſee the regular periodical changing of the monſoons without availing themſelves of the advantages offered by them to their navigation.

Pſammitichus, he ſhewed eſpecial favour to the Greeks, whom he allowed to ſettle in ſome other parts of his kingdom, while the veſſels of other nations, though driven by contrary winds into any of the prohibited mouths of the Nile, were compelled to go to Naucratis, in which alone they were permitted to tranſact any buſineſs. His fleet was ſufficiently ſtrong to extort a tribute from the Cyprians, though a maritime and commercial people. But as Egypt afforded no timber proper for building any veſſels better than thoſe uſed in the inland navigation of the Nile and the canals, the royal fleets of this king and his predeceſſors muſt have been built of imported timber, or more probably bought ready-built from the Phœnicians. No efforts, however, of the moſt enlightened of their kings could ever prevail upon the Egyptians to ſubdue their innate deteſtation of the ſea, and to take into their own hands the full poſſeſſion of the commercial benefits, to which they were invited by their natural advantages, but which their unconquerable prejudices threw into the hands of their wiſer neighbours. Perhaps if they had continued under their native kings, they would have ſeen the folly of confining themſelves to a paſſive commerce, when a moſt extenſive active commerce was ſo very much in their power. But it was only in the laſt ſtage of their exiſtence as an independent nation, that they began to extend their views beyond their own country; for ſoon after the death of Amaſis, Egypt became a province of the Perſian empire; and from that time to the preſent day it has continued moſtly under the dominion of foreigners.

In this age there flouriſhed ſeveral philoſophers, who eſtabliſhed regulations which had an influence on the commerce, as well as on the policy, of Greece, or who communicated to the Greeks, (from whom the other nations of Europe received it) the firſt knowlege of arts, which by the improvements of later ages have facilitated navigation, and thereby rendered eſſential ſervice to commerce.

The firſt of theſe was Solon, the celebrated legiſlator of Athens. That commonwealth was brought to the verge of ruin by the boundleſs rapacity and cruelty of creditors, and the deſperation of debtors. By the exiſting laws of Athens the former had a right to compell the ſervices of the later, and even to deprive them of their children, whom they exported as ſlaves. To theſe groſs enormities Solon put a ſtop by more equitable laws, and he reduced the intereſt of money to *twelve per cent**. In conſideration of the ſuperior intereſt, which men of property have in the national welfare, he decreed that the members of the ſenate and the areopagus ſhould be choſen from among ſuch citizens as had eſtates ſufficient to make them independent, thus holding out to the induſtrious

* It is ſaid that he alſo relieved the debtors by raiſing the nominal value of the mina from 73 to 100 drachmas, by which meaſure, it is added, the creditors ſuſtained no loſs. If Solon was ſo imprudent, it ſhows that the principles of money and commerce were totally unknown.

the proſpect of obtaining honours above their preſent condition. The value of trade began now to be known in Athens, as appears by one of Solon's laws, whereby a ſon, whoſe father had neglected to teach him any uſeful branch of induſtry, was exempted from the obligation of maintaining him when ſuperannuated. Solon alſo introduced the Egyptian law, which obliged all perſons to give an account every year, how they acquired their livelihood, and he eſtabliſhed regulations againſt prodigality and idleneſs *.

Pythagoras, a native of the flouriſhing iſland of Samos, paſſed the early part of his life in traveling for improvement. From the Chaldæans he learned aſtronomy, from the Phœnicians arithmetic, and from the Egyptians geometry. He taught the rotundity of the earth, and the exiſtence of the antipodes: and from ſome hints, to be collected from Philolaus and ſome others of his diſciples, there is reaſon to believe, that he had obtained ſome confuſed idea of the real motion of the planets in our ſolar ſyſtem, as it was demonſtrated in later ages by Copernicus. But theſe notions of Pythagoras, or of his teachers, were only the conjectures of ingenious men upon a ſubject which engaged much of their attention: they were far ſhort of ſcience founded upon experiment and demonſtration. Deſtitute of theſe only ſupports of ſcience, and apparently contradicted by the teſtimony of the eyes, the true ſyſtem of the univerſe, if it was indeed known, and faintly hinted to the Greeks, by the Pythagorean philoſophers, lay hid for many dark centuries, during which, if any heaven-born genius happened to obtain a glimpſe of the truth, the popes, who took upon themſelves to be the infallible directors of ſcience as well as of religion, generally took care to cruſh in the bud every attempt to enlighten the human mind.

Anaximander, a Mileſian and a diſciple of Thales, firſt ſhowed the Greeks the uſe of the dial, and taught the declination of the ecliptic. He exhibited in maps the form of the ſea and the land; and he even conſtructed a globe. Though theſe were great advances in the ſcience of geography, yet ſtill the progreſs of it among the Greeks was wonderfully ſlow.

Nearly contemporary with theſe was Anacharſis, the celebrated Scythian philoſopher. Some authors aſcribe to him the invention of the potter's wheel, and of a ſecond fluke for the anchor, hitherto made with only one †. But the potter's wheel is mentioned long before this time by Homer, and it is utterly incredible, that nautical improvements ſhould be invented by a man, who, from his ſayings, recorded by Dio-

* How different was the anticommercial ſyſtem of Sparta, which confined every man to the profeſſion of his father, and conſigned agriculture, trade, and the uſeful arts, to the hands of ſlaves.

† Pliny [*L.* vii, *c.* 56] aſcribes to Eupalamus the two-fluked anchor, (*bidentem*) and to Anacharſis the *harpagona*, which is a hooked inſtrument of ſome kind, but whether it may mean the grappling, which boats have for an anchor, is uncertain.

genes Laertius, profeſſed a great averſion to the ſea; or that the Phœnicians ſhould not many ages ago have found out, that an anchor with only one fluke had ſcarcely a chance of taking hold of the ground.

550—THE BRITISH COMMERCE,

which in the preſent day animates the moſt diſtant quarters of the globe by the vaſt extent of its operations, and covers the Ocean with the innumerable multitude of its ſhips, begins now to emerge from the thick darkneſs which had hitherto overwhelmed the tranſactions of the Phœnicians and their coloniſts with our iſlands, by means of a faint ray of light, proceeding from a poem upon the Argonautic expedition, written by Onomacritus in the character of Orpheus. This Grecian poet leads his heroes over every part of the world known to him; and, in the courſe of their adventures in the Atlantic ocean, he makes them paſs an iſland called *Iernè*, which is apparently *Ireland*. The ſtory, though ridiculouſly abſurd, is a valuable document of the moſt antient commercial hiſtory of Britain; as it affords a ſtrong preſumption, that Phœnician traders muſt have reſorted to the Britiſh iſlands for a very conſiderable time, ſeeing that even the Greeks had obtained ſome confuſed idea of the exiſtence of the moſt remote of the two principal Britiſh iſlands, which had tranſpired from ſome of the Phœnicians of Gadir, or the Carthaginians, the only Mediterranean navigators, by whom our iſlands could be viſited in early times*.

* The notion of an extenſive trade carried on with Britain by the Greeks in a very early age, and of the Britiſh language being compoſed in a great meaſure of words learned from tranſient Grecian ſeamen, (as if the Britons had till then been deſtitute of words to expreſs the moſt common objects of nature) though taken up by ſeveral authors of reſpectable abilities, in grateful partiality to the Greeks, as the authors of ſcience and literature to the other parts of Europe, appears to be contradicted by Herodotus; who, though he was the beſt Grecian geographer of his age, and had made every inquiry in his power, acknowleged, that he knew nothing of the Caſſiterides, (generally agreed to have been the Silley iſles, or the ſouth-weſt part of Britain) further than that tin was brought from them; a clear proof that no Greeks had any direct intercourſe with them. Moreover he tells us, that Tarteſſus, in the ſouth part of Spain, near the weſt entry of the Straits, was an untried and unknown emporium, when Colæus arrived at it by accident 641 years before Chriſt, which it could ſcarcely have been, if any Grecian veſſels had ever paſſed it in the way to the Caſſiterides, which, by every hypotheſis, were ſituated beyond the Straits. [*Herod. L.* iii, *c.* 115; *L.* iv, *c.* 152.] Polybius obſerves, [*L.* xvi, *exc.* 14] that, even in his time, (three centuries after Herodotus) though there was a conſiderable trading intercourſe with the people living on both ſides of the Straits of Abydos, (now the Dardanelles) there were very few who paſſed the Straits of Hercules; there was little intercourſe with the nations living in the extremities of Europe and Libya (or Africa); and the outer ſea (the Atlantic ocean) was unknown, that is to ſay, unknown to the Greeks, who knew the Straits of Abydos, for ſurely it was well known to the Phœnicians of Gadir. And this obſervation of ſo judicious and faithful an author is a deciſive proof, that the trade to Tarteſſus, ſo accidentally ſtumbled upon by Colæus, was not kept up by the Greeks, and that *there was no Grecian commerce with Britain.* Strabo alſo ſays expreſsly, [*L.* iii, *p.* 265] that the Phœnicians of Gadir monopolized the trade to the Caſſiterides, even after the Romans had veſſels on the Ocean; though he ſeems therein to have loſt ſight of the trade carried on acroſs the Channel, which will be noticed in due time.

Were it neceſſary to add any further proof, it might be obſerved, that Timoſthenes, Eratoſthenes, and the writers before them, knew very little of Spaniſh or Gallic affairs, and ſtill leſs of Germany, Britain, and the Getic and Baſtarnic na-

It is impoſſible to aſſign a date to the commencement of the Britiſh commerce; but the well-known adventurous ſpirit of the Phœnicians may warrant a conjecture, that they made voyages to our iſlands ſoon after their ſettlement at Gadir. As there was apparently no other country lying north or weſt from Spain but the Britiſh iſlands, which produced tin, it has been generally allowed, that thoſe which the Greeks, in imitation of the Phœnicians, called the Kaſſiterides, or Kattiterides, (*iſlands of tin*) were the iſlands of Silley, or the ſouth-weſt extremity of Britain. And theſe were firſt diſcovered by Midacritus*, a Phœnician navigator, apparently of Gadir, whoſe name this important diſcovery has immortalized. He found the iſlands abounding in tin, an article then ſo very valuable, that his countrymen moſt anxiouſly concealed the route to this new-found mine of wealth from all others; and, for many ages, they enjoyed the unrivaled and unknown monopoly of a very lucrative trade with the natives of the Tin-iſlands, from whom they received tin, lead, and hides, in exchange for earthen ware, braſen ware, and ſalt†. [*Plin. L.* vii, *c.* 56—*Strabo, L.* iii, *p.* 265.] From the cautious ſecrecy of the Phœnicians, it is very probable that the trade was carried on for ſeveral centuries, before the moſt diſtant hint of the exiſtence of ſuch a country could have reached any of the Greeks, who, with their Roman tranſcribers, are unfortunately the only authors now remaining to conduct us through the deep obſcurity of antient Britiſh hiſtory‡.

tions, as is obſerved by Strabo. [*L.* ii, *p.* 149] Timoſthenes was the commander of Ptolemy's fleet, and wrote a book upon harbours; and, it may be ſuppoſed, he could know very little of thoſe in the Atlantic ocean. But Eratoſthenes was a man of extenſive learning and great induſtry; and being librarian to Ptolemy Euergetes, he had the command of the greateſt library in the world, which may well be preſumed to have contained every Greek book worth tranſcribing. We may, therefor, be aſſured, that, if any knowlege of the Britiſh iſlands could have been found in the whole circle of Grecian literature, Eratoſthenes would neither have let it eſcape him, nor neglected to make a proper uſe of it in a work profeſſedly geographical.

* Bochart obſerves, that Midacritus is a Greek name; and he ſubſtitutes for it the Phœnician name of Melcartus: [*Geog. ſacra, L.* i, *c.* 39] but, granting this, the moſt ſanguine advocate for Britiſh antiquity cannot preſume to carry up the diſcovery of the Caſſiterides to the age of that Melcartus, or Hercules, who, according to the moſt antient Phœnician writer, Sanconiatho, lived in the earlieſt ages of the world.

† Strabo mentions theſe exchanges in the preſent tenſe. But, I believe, he copies from antient authors, as the ſtate of the trade was much altered before his time.

‡ In the early hiſtory of Britain two propoſitions have been aſſumed as hiſtoric truths, which ought previouſly to have been proved:—1) that the tin uſed in all the countries adjacent to the Mediterranean, was brought *from no other part of the world* but the Caſſiterides, which ſeems not to be true:—and, 2d) that the Caſſiterides were the iſlands now called Silley, which, though much more probable than any other hypotheſis concerning thoſe iſlands, ſtill is not abſolutely uncontrovertible.

The authority of Herodotus has been very unfairly, or at leaſt very inadvertently, adduced, as proving that *all* the tin uſed in the eaſtern countries was carried from the Caſſiterides. This miſinterpretation of the words of Herodotus carries the commencement of the trade beyond the æra of Moſes, by whom tin is mentioned, [*Numb. c.* 31] as it is alſo repeatedly by Homer. But ſuch a ſuppoſition, totally unſupported by Herodotus, (See p. 42 note) is proved to be erroneous by ſeveral authors of good credit. Several parts of Spain produced tin and lead. [*Strabo, L.* iii, *pp.* 219, 220—*Plin. L.* xxxiii, *c.* 16—*Stephan. de urb. vo. Tarteſſus.*] Tin was found among the Drangæ, a people near

548—The Lydians have already been remarked as a civilized people, who paid ſome attention to commerce; but it was chiefly of that paſſive kind which prevails in countries poſſeſſing rich mines, where the

the head of the Indus, and in the province of Nankin in China. [*Strabo, L.* xv, *p.* 1055—*Diod. Sic. L.* ii, § 36—*Thevenot, V.* ii, *p.* 127.] There was alſo an iſland in the Indian ſea, called Caſſitera, for its abundance of tin. [*Stephan. de urb.*] The iſland of Banca, on the eaſt ſide of Sumatra, produces great quantities of excellent tin, which affords a conſiderable revenue to the Dutch. [*Staunton's Account of an embaſſy to China, V.* i, *p.* 305.] *Quere*, If it is the Caſſitera of Stephanus?

The opinions reſpecting the poſition of the Caſſiterides, may be reduced to three:—1) that they were ſome ſmall iſlands adjacent to Spain:—2) that they were thoſe now called the Azores, or Weſtern iſlands:—3) that they were the Silley iſlands, or the ſouth-weſt extremity of Britain, or perhaps both of theſe.—But, 1) no iſlands near the weſt coaſt of Spain, (which includes the modern Portugal) are of any conſequence; nor is there the ſlighteſt authority for ſuppoſing, that any of them ever produced tin: though Don Joſeph Cornide, and ſome other Spaniſh writers, have, with great labour and ingenuity, but in direct contradiction to Poſidonius, Diodorus Siculus, and Strabo, endeavoured to prove, that the Caſſiterides were the ſmall iſlands on the weſt coaſt of Spain, which ſeem to be thoſe called by Pliny [*L.* iv, *c.* 22] the ſix iſlands of the gods, and diſtinguiſhed from the Caſſiterides.—2) The Azores being ſituated in the middle of the Atlantic ocean, above 600 geographical miles from Spain without any intervening land, it was abſolutely impoſſible for the beſt of the antient Mediterranean navigators to find the way to or from them: and no one, who adverts to the timid creeping courſes of the antients in the Mediterranean, (ſee *Antonini Iter maritimum*) where, if they ventured to ſtand acroſs out of ſight of land, they were ſure of falling in with *ſome land* on the oppoſite *continent*, will ſuppoſe they would venture to launch out in the boundleſs ocean in ſearch of *iſlands*, which if they miſſed, they would moſt probably have been ſwept away by the trade-winds to the Weſt-Indies. Even modern navigators, with all their ſuperior advantages of excellent inſtruments, accurate calculations, correct charts, and improved knowlege, beſides lofty maſts which enable them to ſee diſtant lands, ſometimes miſs iſlands. How, then, can we ſuppoſe it poſſible, that the Azores could be diſcovered by the Romans, the moſt ignorant and awkward ſailors in the Mediterranean; and they were ſtill more ignorant and awkward in the Ocean, as appears by their miſmanagement of Cæſar's ſhips on the coaſt of Kent. Yet we know for certain from Strabo, [*L.* iii, *p.* 275] that the Romans, by perſevering in repeated trials, which could only be repeated coaſting voyages in various directions, actually diſcovered the Caſſiterides: and there needs no better proof againſt the identity of the Caſſiterides and the Azores, which, moreover, produce no tin, nor have the ſmalleſt appearance of having ever produced any.—3) Though Herodotus [*L.* iii, *c.* 115] acknowleges his ignorance of the ſituation of the Caſſiterides, yet he pretty evidently claſſes them with the unknown countries in the northern parts of Europe. Poſidonius, an author copied by Strabo, [*L.* iii, *p.* 219] and apparently alſo by Diodorus Siculus, [*L.* v, § 38] ſays, that tin is produced in a country *north* of Luſitania (Portugal), and in the Caſſiterides, and is alſo brought from the Britiſh iſlands to Maſſilia.—Diodorus [*L.* v, § 22] alſo deſcribes the people near Belerium (Cape Cornwall) as the miners and ſellers of the tin, wherein he exactly agrees with the deſcription of the natives of the Caſſiterides in other authors. It is alſo worthy of remark, that he gives them the character of being more civilized than the other Britons, in conſequence of their intercourſe with foreign merchants.—Dionyſius Periegetes ſays, [*v.* 561] the wealthy ſons of the illuſtrious Iberians, dwell in the Heſperides, the native country of tin, (Heſperides, Oeſtrymnides, and Caſſiterides, appear to have been ſometimes uſed ſynonymouſly. See *Euſtathii Comment. in Dionys.*) and he immediately paſſes to Britain and Ireland.—Strabo [*L.* ii, *p.* 181; *L.* iii, *p.* 265] deſcribes the Caſſiterides as producing cattle, tin, and lead; and he places them in the great ocean, to the *northward* of the Artabrians, who occupied the north-weſt part of Spain (now Gallicia), and *in the ſame climate, or latitude, with Britain.*—All theſe authors wrote before the Romans began to make any conqueſts in Britain.—Pomponius Mela [*L.* iii, *c.* 2] places the Caſſiterides in the Celtic ſea, which name can only apply to the ſea adjacent to Gaul, Britain, and the north part of Spain, the countries occupied by the Celtic nations.—Feſtus Rufus Avienus, in an account of the Oeſtrymnides, profeſſedly taken from Himilco, the Carthaginian diſcoverer, is ſo confuſed and ungeographical, that it is impoſſible to fix their ſituation. But the mention of the iſlands of the Hiberni, and Albiones, (apparently Ireland and Britain) as being near them, their mines of tin and lead, their leather boats, the commercial ſpirit of the people, and the reſort of the Tarteſians, (Phœnicians of Gadir) and of the Carthaginians, anſwer ſo well to the deſcriptions of the Caſſiterides by other authors, and alſo to the Silley iſlands, that we may believe Richard of Cirenceſter, (who, though a late author, yet, writing from Roman materials, may be ranked among the antients) when he ſays,

ſovereign and the nobles, or proprietors of the mines, are enormouſly rich, and the people in general miſerably poor. Though the riches of Crœſus, king of Lydia, have become proverbial, his ſubjects were content with very ſimple houſes; for, in the royal city of Sardis, the few which had brick walls were thatched with reeds, and the great bulk of the houſes were built of them entirely. This antient and opulent kingdom, was now reduced by Cyrus, king of Perſia, to be a province of his growing empire. But ſtill the great nobles were allowed to retain their wealth; and we find mention of a Lydian in the following age, called Pythius, who was eſteemed the richeſt man in the world, next to the king of Perſia. [*Herod. L.* i, *c.* 84; *L.* v, *c.* 101; *L.* vii, *c.* 27.]

543—The inhabitants of Phocæa, a Grecian city on the Aſiatic coaſt, were a commercial people, and the firſt of the Greeks who traded to remote countries, performing their voyages in long veſſels of fifty

[*L.* i, *c.* 6] that the Sygdiles (Silley iſlands) were called alſo Oeſtrymnides, and Caſſiterides Moreover, in Richard's map the Pyrenean mountains run far into the ſea, (as deſcribed by Mela in his account of Spain) extending to within about 100 miles of the ſouth-weſt part of Britain, and only about 60 from the ſouth part of Ireland; and the Caſſiterides are ſcattered at about equal diſtances from all the three.

From an attentive conſideration of all circumſtances, I believe, it will appear moſt probable, that the Tin-iſlands, or Caſſiterides, of the antients were the iſlands of Silley, or the ſouth-weſt part of Britain, which, being deeply indented by arms of the ſea, muſt have appeared like iſlands to the firſt diſcoverers: or, perhaps, both theſe were included under the ſame general name. The Caſſiterides being deſcribed by Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, and Solinus, as appendages of Spain, or oppoſite to it, need not ſurpriſe or ſtagger any one who is accuſtomed to the irregularity of the antient geographers, though Ptolemy even goes ſo far as to fix them by their preciſe latitude and longitude within a ſmall diſtance of the north-weſt part of Spain, when we conſider that the ſame great geographer deſcribes the Ebudæ (Weſtern iſlands of Scotland) as appendages of Ireland, and very far diſtant from that part of Scotland, from which they are ſeparated only by narrow ſounds; that Pomponius Mela places Thulè (Shetland) cloſe upon the coaſt of the Belgæ, or near the mouths of the Rhine; and that Strabo, the beſt of the antient geographers, deſcribes Britain, Ireland, and Thulé, as appendages of Gaul, to ſay nothing of greater errors in his geography of countries nearer to his own. Neither is it a very material objection, that ſome authors mention both the Caſſiterides and Britain, as producing tin, and as unconnected with each other. For it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the name of Caſſiterides (or Tin-iſlands) became obſolete when the real name of the iſlands was known, and when the Caſſiterides, after the deſtruction of Carthage and the conqueſt of Spain by the Romans, being no longer the great emporium of the tin trade, were loſt ſight of by writers; though they ſtill retained their ſuppoſed place in geographical deſcriptions, and were copied by every ſucceeding geographer; as Frizeland, another iſland of diſputable poſition, has been in later times. The poſition of the Caſſiterides by Poſidonius, Diodorus, and Strabo, anſwers to no other place ſo well as the ſouth-weſt part of Britain, or Silley; for there is no other land producing tin and lead, ſituated in the latitude of Britain, and to the *northward* of the north-weſt part of Spain, and divided from it by the Ocean, a name not to be applied to the channels between the main land of Spain and the petty iſlands adjacent to it. For theſe reaſons, though the accounts of the Caſſiterides be obſcure, as may be expected of a relation coming down to us from hand to hand by means of the later Greek writers, ſubjects of Rome, wherein the only people qualified to give information had found an intereſt in withholding or perverting it, I venture to conſider it as almoſt certain, that the modern Cornwall, and the Silley iſlands were the ſtaple of the firſt foreign trade of the Britiſh iſlands, and were called by the Phœnicians, the Tin-iſlands; and by the Greeks, as ſoon as they heard of them, Caſſiterides, or rather Kaſſiterides, and Kattiterides; and it may be obſerved, that the word is not genuine Greek, but Phœnician. See *Bochart, Geog. ſacr. col.* 650.

We need not ſuppoſe it impoſſible, that Cornwall ſhould be called by a name inferring it to be an iſland, or iſlands, when we recollect the name of Peloponneſus, (the iſland of Pelops) in antient Greece, and the iſlands of Thanet, Purbeck, Portland, and Dogs, in modern England, none of which are, ſtrictly ſpeaking, iſlands.

oars, in the management of which they were very expert. Before this time they had made voyages to both the coaſts of Italy, to Kyrnos, (called by the natives, as now, *Corſica*) where they had lately ſettled a colony, to the ſouth part of Gaul, and even to Spain. Encouraged by the wonderfully-proſperous voyage of Colæus, they had even paſſed the Pillars of Hercules, and traded to Tarteſſus, where they were received very favourably by the king of the country, who, being deſirous of bringing a competition of traders to his dominions, and apprehending no danger from ſtrangers whoſe only object was commerce, endeavoured to attach the Phocæans by the offer of a tract of land in his country. This, however, they declined; but, by the very advantageous trade, which they carried on with the Tarteſſians, their city flouriſhed exceedingly, till it was deſtroyed by the army of Cyrus.

So determined were the Phocæans againſt living under ſubjection to a foreign prince, that in the courſe of a day, which was granted them by Harpagus, the Perſian general, to conſider of a ſurrender, they embarked the whole of their families and all their property that was moveable onboard their veſſels, and left their empty city to be taken poſſeſſion of by the Perſians. Being diſappointed by the jealouſy of the Chians of a ſettlement in ſome ſmall iſlands in the neighbourhood, they again put to ſea, and bound themſelves by an oath never to return to their native country, till a large ſtone, which they threw into the water, ſhould riſe up and ſwim upon the ſurface. In this ſpirit they launched out in the Mediterranean, and arrived at Corſica, where they ſettled among their countrymen, who had been eſtabliſhed there about twenty years before. [*Herodot. L.* i, *cc.* 163, 164, 165.—*Juſtini L.* xliii, *c.* 3.]

538—For above three centuries after the increaſe of their population by the arrival of Eliſſa, the Carthaginians had advanced in a ſteady, quiet, and progreſſive, augmentation of their commercial proſperity, and in that happy hiſtorical obſcurity, which infers, that they were not diſturbed by wars of any conſequence. The redundance of their population during this period puſhed abroad in peaceable commercial ſettlements*; and the iſlands of the Mediterranean, the north and ſouth ſhores of all the weſt part of that ſea, and even the ſhores of the Ocean, were overſpread and enlivened by Carthaginian colonies. From the total deſtruction of the Carthaginian records we are deprived of all knowlege of the hiſtory of thoſe colonies, excepting ſuch of them as happened to come in colliſion with thoſe of the Greeks: and an inſtance of that kind now attracts the notice of hiſtorians. The Phocæans, who had lately arrived in Corſica, became very troubleſome neighbours to the former

* The invitation of the Phocæans by the Tarteſſian king to ſettle in his dominions ſeems to infer, that the Carthaginians had not begun to make any hoſtile encroachments on the natives of Spain: if they had, he would have thereby been warned of the danger to be apprehended from allowing foreigners to eſtabliſh themſelves too near him.

inhabitants, among whom there was a colony of Carthaginians, and anther of Tyrrhenians. In order to ſuppreſs the piracies of the Phocæans, the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians provided a fleet, each of the allies furniſhing ſixty veſſels. The Phocæans with a fleet, *alſo of ſixty veſſels*, met them in the Sardinian ſea. In the engagement forty of the Phocæans veſſels were deſtroyed or taken, and the remaining twenty had their roſtra, or beaks, ſhattered, and were rendered uſeleſs. Notwithſtanding the original inferiority, and the almoſt-total deſtruction of the Phocæan fleet, the victory is aſcribed to them by Herodotus, (who indeed calls it a Cadmean victory) [*L.* i, *cc.* 163-167] and ſeemingly alſo by Thucydides. [*L.* i.] But with all our veneration for the two oldeſt and moſt reſpectable of the Grecian hiſtorians, it is impoſſible for the moſt inattentive reader not to be ſtruck with the groſs inconſiſtencies of this narrative. We are not told of any loſs ſuſtained by the allied fleet; and yet one hundred and twenty veſſels were vanquiſhed by the remaining twenty Phocæan wrecks! I ſay nothing of the ſuperiority, which every thinking perſon will ſuppoſe, that the Carthaginians eſpecially muſt have poſſeſſed in the conſtruction of their veſſels, and in their naval tactics, nor of the utter improbability of their being ſo ſhamefully vanquiſhed on their own element: neither do I lay any ſtreſs upon the ſuſpicious circumſtance of three fleets, of ſixty veſſels each, being fitted out at the ſame time, as if by a general agreement *; but proceed to conſider the conſequence of the battle, which was, that the ſurviving Phocæans and their families with their remaining veſſels abandoned the iſland entirely, and found ſettlements near the ſouth end of Italy. This is an inconteſtible proof that the Phocæans were completely defeated; which, if it needs any corroboration, has the teſtimony of Diodorus Siculus, who ſays expreſsly, [*L.* v, § 13] that the Phocæans, after occupying the iſland for ſome time, were expelled by the Tyrrhenians.

A colony of Phocæans, who, according to ſome authors, were a detachment of thoſe who were expelled from Corſica, ſailed to the ſouth coaſt of Gaul, where they founded Maſſilia (*Marſeille*), a city, which has in all ages kept up a high character as the ſeat of ſcience, commerce, and naval power †. [*Strabo*, *L.* iv, *p.* 270—*Mela*, *L.* ii, *c.* 3—*Juſtini L.* xliii, *c.* 3.]

The Tyrrhenians, Etrurians, Etruſcans, or Tuſcans, appear, from the hints to be found in antient authors, to have poſſeſſed the greateſt part, if

* Neither have I troubled the reader with the miracle, which followed as a ſuitable appendage to this wonderful *victory*, which in its circumſtances is very like a ſtory extracted from Philinus by Polybius as a glaring inſtance of partiality.

† Euſebius, probably following Timæus, dates the foundation of this flouriſhing commercial city in the forty-fifth olympiad, or, about 600 years before the Chriſtian æra. It is indeed probable that it was built by a Phocæan colony in more antient times, as related by Juſtin, and that the refugees from Corſica made ſo conſiderable an addition to the original colony, that their arrival was afterwards conſidered as the commencement of the ſtate, which appears to have been alſo the caſe with ſome other communities. Herodotus, though willing to do all the honour in his power to the Phocæans, has not a word of Maſſilia.

not the whole, of Italy before the Trojan war. They ſent colonies into the neighbouring iſlands, and were ſovereigns of the ſea in a very early age. [*Diod. Sicul. L.* i, § 68—*Liv. Hiſt. L.* v, *c.* 33.] The cities of Piſa, and Labron or Liburn-um, which retain their original names, with little or no variation, to the preſent day, the later being now called Livorno (and by us Leghorn) and which were among the moſt proſperous trading communities in the middle ages, were two of the many flouriſhing cities founded by them in very remote times. Their alphabet is thought by ſome learned men to be the moſt antient of all thoſe whereof ſpecimens have come down to us. The arts and ſciences were cultivated to an aſtoniſhing degree of perfection among them, as appears by innumerable ſpecimens, ſtill remaining in many cabinets in Italy and elſewhere *. And as it is known that they were powerful at ſea and had many colonies, it is at leaſt probable that they carried on a conſiderable commerce †. It was from them that the Romans learned the art of war, and, in ſhort, all the knowlege that they acquired previous to their conqueſt of Greece.

The kingdom of Babylon had flouriſhed for ſome centuries in great ſplendour and opulence; but, from want of records, the ſources of its wealth are unknown to us. It was now ſubjected by Cyrus, whoſe dominions were more extenſive, and his power much greater, than thoſe of any monarch who had ever lived before him. The only action of his life, falling within the plan of this work, was an eſtabliſhment ſimilar to the modern poſt, whereby the moſt ſpeedy intelligence was conveyed throughout the whole extent of his vaſt empire. It is probable, that the goodneſs of the roads, and the houſes of accommodation for travelers at convenient diſtances, were owing to this inſtitution of Cyrus. Of theſe houſes, which are, perhaps, the ſame which are now called *carvanſerais*, there were one hundred and eleven between Sardis, the capital of Lydia, and Suſa, the reſidence of the Perſian kings, on a road of 450 paraſangs, or 13,400 Greek ſtadia ‡, which are nearly equal to 1,340 geographical miles. [*Herod. L.* v, *c.* 52.]

* A very great variety of ſpecimens of their ſculpture and pottery may be ſeen in the numerous plates of Dempſter's *Etruria regalis* and Gori's *Muſeum Etruſcum*. A moſt magnificent diſplay of the Etruſcan arts from the muſeum of Sir William Hamilton has ſince been publiſhed by Mr. D'Hancarville. And improved copies of many Etruſcan vaſes, &c. have lately been made in England by Mr. Wedgwood.

The very remarkable proficiency of the Etrurians in almoſt all the arts at a time when the light of ſcience was but dawning in Greece, and every other part of Europe was ſunk in barbariſm, gives conſiderable probability to the opinion of their Aſiatic origin, whether the Lydians, or the Phœnicians, or both, were their anceſtors. As their empire declined long before the age of any of the Roman writers, who have tranſmitted to us a few fragments of their hiſtory, taken from Etrurian authors or from tradition, what little we know of it is totally deſtitute of chronology. Every thing that could be collected concerning this extraordinary people may be found in Dempſter's elaborate work *De Etruria regali*.

† Homer is ſaid to have viſited the coaſts of Spain and Etruria in a Grecian trading veſſel. [*Herodoti Vita Homeri.*] It was a cuſtom in Etruria to ſubject bankrupts to the ſcorn of the boys, who, ran after them with empty purſes in their hands. [*Heraclid. Pont. ap. Athen.*] Such a cuſtom muſt have been an excellent remedy againſt voluntary bankruptcy.

‡ Theſe numbers are the totals as given by Herodotus. Owing to errors of tranſcribers there is

524—The conqueſts of Cyrus having reduced Tyre and the neighbouring Phœnician communities to a ſtate of vaſſalage, the whole of their ſhipping was thenceforth liable to be preſſed into the ſervice of the Perſians, who had no naval force, but what they obtained from their vaſſals and allies. Cambyſes, the ſon and ſucceſſor of Cyrus, having conquered Egypt, and thinking himſelf capable of governing the whole world, ordered the Phœnicians to proceed to Carthage, and to reduce it under his obedience. But they, though his vaſſals and tributaries, had the courage to refuſe obedience to his order, alleging how impious it would be in them to attack their own colony: and Cambyſes did not venture to provoke the reſentment of thoſe in whoſe hands his only naval ſtrength lay, by inſiſting upon their compliance. Thus were the Carthaginians reſcued from the calamities of war, perhaps from ruin, by the only conſiderable naval force in the world, beſides their own, being in the hands of their friends. Happy would it have been for the Perſian land forces, if they alſo had been incapacitated from undertaking the expeditions commanded by their frantic ſovereign. The main diviſion of his army, with a moſt aſtoniſhing perſeverance of obedience, attended him in an expedition againſt Ethiopia, till they were driven to the dreadful neceſſity of devouring a tenth part of their own number. The other part of the army, being ordered to deſtroy the temple of Jupiter Ammon, penetrated into the deſert on the weſt ſide of Egypt, and were never more heard of; the probable ſuppoſition being, that they were all, to the number of fifty thouſand men, buried alive under the drifting ſands.

The Carthaginians, happily ſituated beyond the reach of the deſolating ſwords of the conquerors, who ſucceſſively overturned the empires of Aſia, had probably, during ſome ages, enjoyed a ſtate of general tranquillity and commercial proſperity *. Here, therefor, I propoſe to collect ſuch notices of their manufactures, commerce, and nautical diſcoveries, as I have been able to glean from the authors of antiquity, though I cannot pretend to place them in chronological order.

It is reaſonable to believe, that moſt, if not all, of the manufactures of Sidon and Tyre were tranſplanted to Carthage: and even the ſcanty and malicious notices of their enemies univerſally acknowlege the ſuperiority of the Carthaginians in works of taſte and elegance. Their coins, ſome of which are preſerved in cabinets and copied in engravings, are the only ſpecimens of their workmanſhip, which the preſent age can

a diſagreement between them and the particulars, which has puzzled the commentators. Some of the ſtages are evidently omitted.

* At leaſt ſo we may infer from the ſilence of the Greek and Roman authors, who thought nothing worthy of being recorded but war and ſlaughter. Juſtin, indeed, ſays [*L.* xviii, *c.* 7] that the Carthaginians were afflicted with the peſtilence and civil wars, and that, to appeaſe the offended deities, they had recourſe to the abominable wickedneſs of offering human ſacrifices, not ſparing even their own children. But all Roman calumnies upon Carthage muſt be read with diſtruſt: and Juſtin's civil wars are apparently contradicted by the ſuperior authority of Ariſtotle. [*De repub. L.* ii, *c.* 11.]

poſſibly ſee; and they are equal to be the beſt productions of the Greek and Roman mints, when they had attained the higheſt degree of perfection in ſculpture and pictureſque repreſentation.

The women of that part of the Carthaginian territory, which was near the lake Tritonis, wore goat-ſkins ſtained red. Perhaps the beautiful leather, which we call Morocco, is a continuation of the ſame manufacture *. The Zygantes, another African nation, beſides having plenty of the honey prepared by bees, had a much greater quantity made by the hands of men, which muſt have been ſugar (perhaps not brought to a grain) prepared from the liquor of the ſugar-cane; [*Herod. L.* iv, *cc.* 189, 194] and this is, I believe, the very firſt notice of ſugar to be found in hiſtory †.

We know few particulars of the ſhips of the Carthaginians, which, we may, however, be aſſured, could be nothing inferior to the very beſt then in the Mediterranean ſea; as they were acknowleged by Polybius [*L.* i, *cc.* 7, 16, 20] to be poſſeſſed of hereditary pre-eminence in nautical ſcience, and the undiſputed dominion of the ſea. Their ſhips carried carved figures on their heads or their ſterns, as ſhips do now, and as probably the ſhips of other nations did then. According to Ariſtotle, they were the firſt who raiſed their ſhips of war from three to four rows of oars.

They appointed two commanders to every ſhip, the ſecond being to ſucceed the principal in caſe of death. This ſecond officer ſeems anſwerable to the mates in our merchant ſhips, or the ſecond captains of the French. The appointment being noted as a ſingularity of the Carthaginians by Ælian, [*Var. hiſt. L.* ix, *c.* 40] it may be preſumed, that other nations had no ſuch eſtabliſhment for ſecuring a ſucceſſion of command, and, indeed, there is no ſuch ſecond officer mentioned in that part of the Rhodian law (even when aſſumed in later times into the Roman code) which aſſigns the ſhare, or pay, of each man onboard a ſhip, the pilot being therein rated next after the commander.

The Carthaginians were well acquainted with the advantages of conſtructing harbours, or wet docks, completely ſheltered from the violence and ravages of the ſea, by digging them entirely out of the main land,

* The manufacture of Morocco leather in thoſe parts of Africa was noticed in the early part of the fourteenth century by Abulfeda, and in the commencement of the ſixteenth by Leo Africanus; and alſo in modern times in the *Proceedings of the African aſſociation*, and in *Park's Travels*.

† This information, being undoubtedly derived to Herodotus from the Carthaginians, may be fairly preſumed to carry the fact to at leaſt 500 years before the Chriſtian æra, and is therefor above 200 years older than the mention of ſugar by Nearchus, or that by Theophraſtus, which is ſometimes adduced as the earlieſt notice of it.

That the ſubſtance, mentioned by Herodotus, was no other than ſugar, is pretty certain from the uniform practice of the Greek and Roman writers, who had no other word than honey to expreſs ſugar, till they got the genuine name of *ſacchar* from the Eaſt. The learned Caſaubon, in his note on the paſſage of Strabo, [*L.* xv, *p.* 1016] where Nearchus is quoted, has collected a variety of inſtances of the name of honey being applied to ſugar, when it is expreſsly ſaid to be made from canes: and the canes themſelves were called honey canes ('cannæ mellis') by the writers of the middle ages, when they were beginning to be cultivated in Europe. See *Falcandi Hiſt. Sicul. col.* 258. *ap. Muratori Script. V.* vii.

and ſecuring them by walls, quays, or keys, for their veſſels to lie at when loading and diſcharging: and they called ſuch harbours by an appellation, which has come down to us under the hellenized name of Kothon or Cothon *. [*Strabo, L.* xvii, *p.* 1190, *ed.* 1707—*Servius in Virg. Æn. L.* i, *v.* 431.]

We are told by the orator Ariſtides, who lived ſo late as the ſecond century of the Chriſtian æra, that the Carthaginians had a kind of money made of leather. As they ſurely were not in want of the pretious metals, ſuch leather money muſt have been a kind of promiſſory tickets or notes, ſomewhat of the nature of modern bank notes.

The Carthaginian territory, which comprehended the north front of Africa from the Straits to the border of Cyrenaica, a province of the Macedonian kingdom of Egypt, was remarkably fertile; and we may be ſure that the cultivation of it was not neglected †. The produce of ſome parts of this extenſive coaſt was ſo luxuriant, that the Carthaginians jealouſly prohibited ſtrangers from landing, leſt the ſight of ſo delightful a country ſhould allure them to attempt making ſettlements on it. Beſides furniſhing corn and other proviſions for the capital city of Carthage, and many other great towns on or near the coaſt, this rich country ſupplied corn and other articles in great abundance for exportation. South from it lay the boundleſs interior country of Africa, which appears to have been better known to the Carthaginians, than it is now to us amidſt the blaze of diſcoveries, of written and of printed information: and there can be little doubt, that they carried on an extenſive, and mutually-beneficial, trade with the ſwarthy inhabitants of thoſe vaſt regions ‡.

* The conſtruction of wet docks has been revived in the preſent age; and it is one of the antient arts, of which the moderns have aſſumed the honour of being the original inventors. It is, however, very probable, that the method of locking in the water by gates is a modern improvement, and a very capital one, on the Carthaginian wet dock.

† Mago, a Carthaginian author, wrote a treatiſe on agriculture, which was thought worthy of being preſerved, when all the other books found in the libraries of Carthage were preſented to the African princes, and being tranſlated into Latin under the authority of the Roman ſenate. He is quoted by Varro, Columella, and Pliny. Leo Africanus deſcribes a book, extant in his time (A. D. 1506) in Barbary, called the *Theſaurus of agriculture*, which had been tranſlated from the Latin when Manſor was king of Granata. [*Leo Africanus, p.* 80, *ed. Elz.* 1632.] Quere, if this might be the work of Mago, returned to Africa, where it would be more uſeful than in Italy?

Some of the other Carthaginian writers, whoſe names only have eſcaped the wreck of time, were, beſides Hanno and Himilco of whoſe works we have ſome mutilated tranſlations or fragments, Philinus, Clitomachus, Eumachus, Procles, and the great Hannibal. The works of Charon, a Carthaginian hiſtorian, who, we are told by Suidas, deſcribed the tyrants of Europe and Aſia, and wrote the lives of illuſtrious men and women, if they had come down to us, would have been a moſt valuable addition to our ſtock of antient hiſtory, eſpecially as an antidote to Grecian and Roman miſrepreſentation. The excellent comic poet Terence, though ranked among Roman writers, was a native of Carthage.

It cannot be thought foreign to the plan of this work juſt barely to obſerve here, that the conſtitution of Carthage was eſteemed one of the moſt perfect in the world by ſo great a maſter in the ſcience of politics as Ariſtotle; who remarks, that there had never been any commotion ſo violent as materially to diſturb the public tranquillity, or to enable any tyrant to ſuppreſs the liberty of the people, and eſtabliſh arbitrary power. [*Ariſt. de repub. L.* ii, *c.* 11.]

‡ We may preſume, that they had commercial intercourſe with the Negroes, before they employed

With reſpect to the commerce of the Mediterranean, which the other Phœnician communities, the Greeks and their colonies, the Tyrrhenians, and the reſt of the inferior trading nations, ſhared with them, we know few or no particulars, further than that after the decline of Tyre the greateſt part of it was in the hands of the Carthaginians. The ſhores and iſlands of the weſtern half of that ſea had been in a great meaſure ſettled by their own colonies, or thoſe of their Tyrian anceſtors, before the Greeks began to extend their navigation and colonies to Sicily and the ſouth part of Italy.

We learn from Strabo, [*L.* iii, *p.* 265] that the Phœnicians of Gadir were the firſt who traded to the Caſſiterides, and that they carefully concealed the route to them from all other navigators. It follows of courſe, that thoſe iſlands were unknown to the Carthaginians for at leaſt ſome time. The Carthaginians, vexed to ſee themſelves outdone in any point of commercial knowlege or enterpriſe, deſirous of ſharing in the advantageous trade of the Caſſiterides, and eager to diſcover the whole extent of the world, ordered two voyages of diſcovery to be undertaken at the ſame time. They ſeem to have known nothing of the ſituation of the country they wiſhed to find, except that it was beyond the Straits in the Ocean; but as all iſlands, acceſſible to the antient navigators, muſt have been in ſight of other lands, they concluded, that by exploring the coaſt of the Ocean both northward and ſouthward, it muſt certainly be diſcovered. Therefor they ordered Himilco to direct his courſe northward from the Straits, and Hanno to purſue the oppoſite courſe along the weſtern ſhore of Africa. Both commanders executed their orders; and both publiſhed accounts of their diſcoveries. That of Himilco was extant in the fifth century, when ſome extracts of it were inſerted in a geographical poem by Rufus Feſtus Avienus, from which we learn that he arrived in rather leſs than four months at the iſlands of the Oeſtrymnides (which were two days ſail from the large ſacred iſland inhabited by the *Hibernians*, near to which was the iſland of the

them as mercenary ſoldiers; and they had them in that capacity in their army in Sicily about 480 years before Chriſt. [*Frontini Strat. L.* i, *c.* 11.]

Herodotus [*L.* ii, *c.* 32] deſcribes a great river on the ſouth ſide of the African deſert, running *from weſt to eaſt*, and a city on its banks inhabited by Negroes. This river we now know to be the Niger. But its courſe was reverſed by ſucceeding writers, who affirmed that it ran *weſt* to the Atlantic ocean; and it remained a ſubject of doubt and diſpute, till the late laborious and dangerous journey of Mr. Park added a new proof of the ſuperiority of the information conveyed to us by the venerable father of hiſtory, which, there can be little doubt, came to him from the Carthaginians: for the ſtory, received by him through a long ſeries of relators of various nations and languages, of five reſtleſs young men having ſet out from the country of the Naſamones, they knew not whither nor wherefor, to explore the deſert, is quite improbable; whereas, if we compare it with the knowlege, which, it appears from Herodotus and other antient authors, the Carthaginians had of the continent of Africa, we need not heſitate to aſcribe the diſcovery of the River Niger to their trading caravans. It muſt be obſerved, that this great river is called Nil-il-abeed, and that the Mauritanian prince Juba, as quoted by Ammianus Marcellinus, fixes the head of the Nile *on the authority of Phœnician information*, in the weſt part of Africa, as Ptolemy alſo does thoſe of two rivers, which he calls Gir and Nigir. The Gir, he obſerves, *is ſaid* to be abſorbed at the eaſtern extremity of its courſe; but he ſays nothing of the termination of the Nigir. His two rivers running to the eaſt are apparently taken from different accounts of the one great inland river of Africa.

Albions) where they found copious mines of tin and lead, and an high-ſpirited and commercial people, who uſed boats covered with leather. This deſcription, though the poſition of the iſlands is deſcribed in a manner remarkably obſcure, anſwers to no other country ſo well as our *Britiſh iſlands;* and it is extremely probable, that Himilco eſtabliſhed a Carthaginian colony, and ſettled the firſt commercial intercourſe between Britain and Carthage *.

The object of Hanno's voyage being to make diſcoveries, and eſtabliſh colonies, on the weſt coaſt of Africa, 30,000 people embarked with him in 60 ſhips of 50 oars each †. On various parts of the coaſt he founded at leaſt ſeven towns, or trading poſts, whereof the fartheſt, reckoned as many days' courſe beyond the Straits as Carthage was within them, was on a ſmall iſland lying in a bay, to which he gave the name of Kerné (or Cerné), and apparently that which is now called Mogadore ‡. From

* Dionyſius Periegetes [*v.* 563] deſcribes the iſlands of the Heſperides (which he ſeemingly places near to Britain) as 'the native country of 'tin, inhabited by the wealthy ſons (or deſcend-'ents) of the illuſtrious Iberians,' who were apparently the people deſcribed by Skylax and Avienus, as living near Gadir, beſide the leſſer river Iberus, now Rio Tinto in Andaluſia. From the antient Iberians Tacitus conjectures the Silures (the old inhabitants of South Wales) to be deſcended. [*Vit. Agric. c.* 11.] The chief iſland of the cluſter near the ſouth-weſt extremity of Britain is called Sigdelis in Antonine's Maritime Itinerary, Silura by Solinus, [*c.* 24] Sillinæ by Sulpicius Severus, [*L.* ii] and is now called Silley. Avienus ſays, [*Ora maritima, v.* 113] that the Tarteſians (ſo he calls the people of Gadir) were accuſtomed to trade to the Oeſtrymnides, and he then adds, that the huſbandmen or planters ('*coloni*') and people of Carthage alſo went to them, which ſeems to infer the eſtabliſhment of a permanent colony. It appears extremely probable, that Heſperides, Oeſtrymnides, and Caſſiterides, are but different names of the ſame cluſter of iſlands, the chief one of which got the name of Silura, Silleni, or Silley, which name now comprehends the whole: and, if ſo, Avienus perfectly agrees with Strabo, who ſays that the firſt voyages were made to theſe iſlands from Gadir.

The ſettlement of a colony of farmers muſt have required a more extenſive territory than the Silley iſlands, though they may perhaps have been much larger formerly than now. [See *Whitaker's Hiſt. of Mancheſter, pp.* 385, *et ſeqq.* where in p. 392 by 'one fadam water' we muſt underſtand one fathom of *depth*, and not of *breadth*.] The probability of ſuch a ſettlement corroborates the ſuppoſition, that the Phœnicians of Gadir and Carthage conſidered the extremity of the main land of Britain as a part of the iſlands. [See above, p. 45, Note.]

Ocampo, a Spaniſh author, has compoſed a Routiere of Himilco's voyage: but, as his only foundation is the obſcure and mutilated work of Avienus, it is almoſt needleſs to ſay, that it can only contain ingenious conjecture in place of ſatisfactory elucidation.

† Of Hanno's voyage we have only a Greek tranſlation, or rather abridgement. We may therefor ſuſpect the number of people to be erroneous, as it is not probable that ſo many would embark before the coaſt was explored, the ſtations for the new coloniſts choſen, and the plan of the emigration and ſettlement duely arranged. As the numbers ſtand, the veſſels muſt have carried 500 perſons each, beſides proviſions, materials for building, and other bulky ſtores. Mr. Le Roy endeavours to account for the great number of paſſengers in each ſhip by obſerving, that not many days elapſed before the number was leſſened by the ſettlement of Thymiaterium, that in a ſhort time all the propoſed ſettlers were landed, and that, as they undoubtedly ſailed in the fineſt ſeaſon of the year, the people would find no incovenience in living upon deck. [*Navires des anciens, p.* 192.]

‡ Polybius, who ſailed along the coaſt, deſcribes Kerné [*ap. Plin. L.* vi, *c.* 31] as oppoſite to Mount Atlas, and about a mile from the main land; and with him Ptolemy nearly agrees, who plainly places Kerné north from the Fortunate iſlands or Canaries. Theſe marks, and the conſideration, that the Carthaginians would probably not make as much *real* diſtance on an unknown, as on a known, coaſt, may almoſt fix the much-conteſted poſition of Kerné, which can anſwer to no other place ſo well as the little iſland of Mogadore, the harbour of which is a ſmall bay between it and the coaſt of Morocco. It is wonderful, that men of learning, with the clear evidence of Polybius and Ptolemy, and ſome other antient authors, before their eyes, ſhould let their fancy run ſo wild, as to take the conſiderable iſland of St. Thomas, almoſt under the equinoctial line, or Madeira, alſo

Kerné Hanno proceeded ſouthward along the coaſt inhabited by the Negroes for twenty-ſix days, during which, according to the computation of a day's courſe by Herodotus, he may have run 1,820 miles, or 1,300, as Skylax calculates the courſe. In his way he diſcovered ſome iſlands, two days' courſe from the continent, called Gorillas by Hanno's interpreters, and by later writers Gorgades, and apparently the ſame which have been alſo called the Heſperides, the Fortunate iſlands, and Canaries *, being the only iſlands of any conſequence viſible from the main land of Africa †.

an iſland of ſome extent and too far from the coaſt to be reached by the antient navigators, or even the vaſt iſland of Madagaſcar on the *eaſt* ſide of Africa, for Kerné, a ſmall iſland of a few furlongs in circumference on the *weſt* ſide of that continent. But, unfortunately men of great learning are ſometimes very bad geographers.—In the year 1765 the emperor of Morocco appointed Mogadore to be the port for the foreign trade of his dominions.

* Some modern authors ſuppoſe the Biſſago, or Biſſao, iſlands near the Rio Grande, and others, the iſland of St. Thomas, to be the Gorillas.

† Several attempts have been made to fix the æra of the voyages of Himilco and Hanno, which, proceeding upon erroneous principles, muſt have erroneous concluſions. Becauſe Hanno and Himilco are mentioned together as Carthaginian generals in the time of Agathocles, a Sicilian king about 320 years before Chriſt, theſe naval commanders muſt be the ſame. Becauſe Pliny has ſaid, that theſe voyages were performed, when the Carthaginians were in great proſperity, and the Carthaginians had ſome ſucceſs in a war againſt Agathocles, that muſt ſurely be the time. The obvious objection to the firſt argument is, that Hanno and Himilco were names as common in Carthage as John and Thomas are in this country; and to the ſecond, that the Carthaginians enjoyed great proſperity for ſeveral centuries, before they were known to the writers of Rome, in whoſe ideas proſperity conſiſted in working the miſery of millions.

The account of Hanno's voyage is quoted in the work *upon marvellous things*, aſcribed to Ariſtotle, but with more probability believed to be the compoſition of his pupil Theophraſtus, who flouriſhed about 300 years before the Chriſtian æra.—From Herodotus we learn, that the Carthaginians carried on a trade with the natives of the weſt coaſt of Africa (which will be noticed preſently) apparently founded upon the diſcoveries of Hanno, which muſt have thus been before the age of Herodotus. —Several of the towns built by Hanno, and ſome particulars of the trade carried on with the Negroes, apparently at thoſe towns, are mentioned in the geographical work, which we have under the name of Skylax. If it were certain that thoſe parts of the work were the genuine compoſition of that Skylax, who was in the ſervice of Darius Hyſtaſpes, the voyages of Hanno and Himilco muſt have been performed at leaſt 500 years before Chriſt.—It is very probable, that the name of Iernè, mentioned by Onomacritus about 550 years before Chriſt, (ſee above, p. 42) was derived from an account of Himilco's voyage; as we may believe, that the Carthaginians were more frequently in the harbours of Greece and the Grecian part of Sicily than any other Phœnician navigators, to whom the Britiſh iſlands were known. A paſſage of Strabo [*L.* i, *p.* 83] ſeems to carry Hanno's diſcovery ſeveral centuries higher, for, ſays he, 'People talk of 'Minos's command of the ſea, and the navigation 'of the Phœnicians, who *ſoon after the Trojan war* 'proceeded even beyond the Pillars of Hercules, 'and built towns there and on the middle of the 'coaſt of Africa.' As he claſſes theſe voyages with thoſe of Bacchus, Hercules, Jaſon, &c. for antiquity and diſtance, the towns muſt apparently be underſtood to have been on the exterior (or oceanic) coaſt of Africa, whereof Hanno was certainly *the firſt diſcoverer by navigation from the Mediterranean*; and thence it follows, that he muſt have flouriſhed at leaſt 1,000 years before the Chriſtian æra. And, if there be any truth in the ſtory of the Atlantic iſland having been heard of in Egypt ſeveral centuries before the age of Solon, the diſcovery of it, or the idea of its exiſtence, real or fabulous, muſt apparently have been poſterior to Hanno's voyage, which is thus carried up to an antiquity fully equal to that inferred from Strabo. Notwithſtanding all the abſurdities in the ſtory of that iſland, it may have been one of the iſlands on the weſt coaſt of Africa, perhaps one of the Canaries, or Madeira. Neither is it impoſſible, that a ſtorm might have carried a veſſel far out of ſight of land, and thrown her upon an unknown part of ſome of our Britiſh iſlands, from which ſhe could return home by coaſting along the ſhores of Gaul, Spain, &c. The ſtory of its immenſe extent, greater than Aſia and Africa together, is not to be minded; for the magnitude of a country cannot be known from a tranſient viſit. They, who ſuppoſe it to have been ſome part of America, are not aware of the impoſſibility of returning acroſs the great ocean without a compaſs, and ſailing in direct oppoſition to the perpetual trade winds.

Velaſquez, a Spaniſh author, fixes the voyage of

According to authors quoted by Strabo, [*L.* xvii, *pp.* 1182, 1185] the Tyrians (i. e. Carthaginians) had planted colonies along the weſtern ſhore of Africa to the extent of thirty days' courſe; and there were 300 of their towns on that coaſt, a definite number being uſed for an indefinite one, which infers that there were very many; though 100 trading poſts would be abundantly ſufficient for ſuch an extent of coaſt *.

When the Carthaginians arrived at Kerné, their cuſtom was to land their goods, and ſtore them in tents on the beach, whence they carried them over to the African ſhore in boats or ſmall craft. They exchanged wine, the ointments of Egypt, the earthen ware and tiles of Athens, and other manufactures, for hides of cattle, deer, lions, elephants, and other wild animals, which abound in that country, for ivory, and probably, though not mentioned, for gold or gold duſt. A part at leaſt of this trade was carried on at a great city of the Africans, to which the Carthaginians navigated. [*Skylax.*]

There was another branch of the African trade, apparently more remote, which I ſhall relate in the words of the father of hiſtory.—'The 'Carthaginians report, that there is a country in Africa beyond the Pil-'lars of Hercules, in which, when they arrive, they land their merchan-'dize, and range it along the ſhore. Then returning onboard their 'ſhips, they announce their arrival to the natives by making a ſmoke. 'Theſe immediately repair to the beach, and having laid down a quan-'tity of gold beſide the goods, they retire a little way back from the 'ſhore. The Carthaginians then land, and examining the gold, if they 'think it a ſatisfactory price, they carry it off: if not, they return on-'board, and the natives add to the gold, till the ſellers are ſatisfied. 'Neither party offers the leaſt injury to the other, nor will the Afri-'cans touch the goods, till the Carthaginians declare their ſatisfaction 'in the price by receiving the gold.' [*Herod. L.* iv, *c.* 196.] This narrative of ſo honourable a commercial intercourſe, which ſeems to be continued down to the preſent age †, from an author, far ſuperior for

Hanno 400 years before Chriſt. The opinions of ſeveral other Spaniſh writers are collected by Campomanes in the prologue to his *Antiguidad maritima de Cartago*. Mr. de Bougainville is of opinion that the voyage was performed 703, 570, or 510, years before Chriſt; and of the three dates he thinks 570 the moſt probable. [*Memoires de l'academie des inſcript. v.* xxvii, § 4.] Mr. Le Roy dates it 610 years before Chriſt. [*Marine des anciens peuples, p.* 201.] Such minute accuracy is evidently unattainable.

* In the time of Strabo (at the commencement of the Chriſtian æra) almoſt the whole of thoſe ſettlements were deſtroyed, and the celebrated iſland of Kerné was forgotten, or at leaſt unknown to him. Some of the trading poſts on the African coaſt near the Straits, however, were ſtill in exiſtence. [*Strabo, L.* i, *p.* 82; *L.* xvii, *pp.* 1181, 1182.]

† The ſame ſilent trade is ſtill carried on by the Moors of the weſt coaſt of Africa with the Negroes on the River Niger, perhaps the deſcendents of thoſe with whom the Carthaginians traded; and the ſame commercial honour and ſtrict integrity on both ſides ſtill regulate their intercourſe. At a fixed time a large caravan of Moors arrive at the appointed place of the trade, where they find gold duſt laid down in ſeparate heaps. Beſide each of theſe they lay down ſuch quantities of cutlery and trinkets as they think equivalent, and next morning they find their goods carried off, if approved, or elſe a diminution of the quantity of gold duſt. [*Shaw's Travels, p.* 302.—*Cadamoſto in Purchas's Pilgrimage*, p. 810.] The relations

authenticity and impartiality to any of the Roman writers, may ſerve as an antidote againſt their wretched calumnies of Carthaginian perfidy, Carthaginian falſehood, treachery, &c. continually repeated by them, and inconſiderately echoed by many modern writers.

The trade carried on upon the weſt coaſt of Africa, of which we can only glean theſe few hints, was undoubtedly the fruit of Hanno's diſcovery. We muſt regret, that the intercourſe with the countries diſcovered by Himilco, with which the moſt antient hiſtory of our own iſland is apparently very cloſely connected, is buried in ſtill deeper obſcurity. But it is very evident, that theſe two voyages on the Atlantic ocean added almoſt a new world to the commerce of the Carthaginians, which was the more lucrative, that they had the trade almoſt free from foreign competition: and the ſouthern branch of it, which may be preſumed to have been entirely without a rival, appears to have been aſſiduouſly cultivated, and long perſevered in *.

Such is the poor account, which I have been able to collect from antient authors of the greateſt commerce, that ever was carried on by any nation of the weſtern world from the dawn of hiſtory till times comparatively modern; a commerce, which, by the unrivaled extent, and the judicious management, of it, relieved all nations of their ſuperfluities, ſupplied all their wants, and everywhere diſpenſed plenty and comfort; whereby, through the good offices of thoſe univerſal agents and carriers, the Indian, the Ethiopian, the Negro, the Briton, and the Scythian, living in the extremities of the world, and ignorant of each-other's exiſtence, contributed to each-other's felicity by increaſing their own †.

524—At this time commerce with its uſual ſupporters, the arts and ſciences, appears to have made conſiderable progreſs among the Greeks, and particularly among thoſe of Aſia and the iſlands, who were in general opulent and powerful at ſea; at leaſt, we may conſider them as ſuch, if compared with their anceſtors. Polycrates, who, from a private ſtation, had raiſed himſelf, by means of the wealth inherited from his father, to the ſovereignty of Samos, a conſiderable iſland near the coaſt of Aſia, poſſeſſed ſuch a naval force, that, beſides his uſual fleet of one hundred veſſels of fifty oars each, he fitted out forty triremes, which he ſent to aſſiſt Cambyſes in his expedition againſt Egypt, not as a vaſſal,

of theſe authors afford a noble confirmation of the veracity of Herodotus and his Carthaginian informers. Another ſimilar trade carried on in Æthiopia is mentioned by Coſmas Indicopleuſtes.

* It is remarkable that Ptolemy's latitudes of places on that part of the weſt coaſt of Africa, to which the Carthaginians traded, are more correct than in moſt other parts of his work; a proof, among others, of the ſuperiority of the nautical ſcience of the Carthaginians.

† Chriſtopher Hendreich, in a work entitled *Carthago*, wherein he profeſſes to collect what antient authors have written upon Carthage, has next to nothing upon the moſt important ſubjects of the manufactures and commerce of the Carthaginians; and nothing upon their navigation and colonies, except a promiſe (not performed) of *proving, that America was moſtly peopled from Carthage.* Hanno is only named; Himilco not at all; and not a word of the trade at Kerné.—Campomanes, a Spaniſh writer, has collected ſeveral detached incidental notices of particular articles of the Carthaginian commerce in a work entitled *Antiguidad maritima de Cartago, p.* 40. *et ſeqq.*

but as an independent ally. Herodotus, whoſe teſtimony, in all matters wherein only Greeks are concerned, outweighs an hundred of ſuch authors as Caſtor Rhodius, ſays expreſsly, [*L.* iii, *c.* 39] that, to the beſt of his knowlege, Polycrates was the firſt of the Greeks, after Minos, who conceived the deſign of eſtabliſhing a naval force, ſufficiently reſpectable to command the ſea, by which the Ægæan ſea muſt undoubtedly be underſtood *: and the ſovereignty muſt as certainly be reſtricted to a ſuperiority over the other Grecian ſtates; for he could never pretend to come in competition with the Phœnicians, who, though depreſſed by their ſubjection to the Perſian empire, poſſeſſed more commerce and ſhipping than all the Greeks taken together.

The Samians were famous for their manufactures of gold and ſilver ware †, and fine earthen-ware, which, like the china or porcelain of modern times, was in high requeſt for the ſervice of the table many ages after this time at Rome ‡. A particular earth of Samos, ſuppoſed to poſſeſs ſome medicinal virtues, was alſo exported. [*Plin. L.* xxxv, *cc.* 12, 16.] Theſe, with their corn and fruit, which were abundant, formed the cargoes, which the Samian merchants exported as far as Egypt, and, at leaſt once, even as far as Tarteſſus. (See above, p. 34.) With reſpect to the progreſs of the mechanic arts in this iſland, it will ſcarcely appear credible, that the engineers of Samos were capable of perforating a high mountain with a tunnel of eight feet in height, and as much in breadth, and of the length of ſeven furlongs, containing an aqueduct, which ſupplied the town with excellent water. They alſo conſtructed a mole of great height, which ran out a quarter of a mile in the ſea, to protect their harbour ‖. In ſuch works the Samian artiſts, whom I ſhall have further occaſion to mention, excelled all the reſt of the Greeks. [*Herod. L.* iii, *c.* 60.]

The people of Chios had ſome trade and ſhipping; and it was the apprehenſion of ſuffering by the too near neighbourhood of rival traders, which made them reject the propoſal of the Phocæans, when they abandoned their own city, for the purchaſe of ſome ſmall iſlands belonging to them. The art of inlaying iron was invented by Glaucu an artiſt of this iſland.

The natives of Ægina had been a commercial people ſome centuries ago, as has been already obſerved; and they ſtill retained that character. According to Caſtor they became ſovereigns of the ſea

* If the teſtimony of Herodotus needs to be ſupported againſt Caſtor, Thucydides and Strabo may be adduced.

† Theodorus, a Samian goldſmith, was ſo famous, that a golden goblet, made by him, was reckoned one of the moſt pretious articles in the palace of the kings of Perſia. [*Chares, ap. Athenæum, L.* xii.]

‡ Pliny [*L.* xxxv, *c.* 12] aſcribes to Euchir and Eugrammus, two Samian artiſts, the honour of introducing in Etruria the manufacture of the beautiful earthen-ware, for which that country was ſo famous.

‖ The remains of thoſe wonders of antient art are ſtill viſible, and agree with the deſcription of them by Herodotus.

509 years before the Chriſtian æra. Moſt of the other iſlands had at this time ſome ſhipping and trade.

514—Darius king of Perſia, deſirous of an opportunity to diſplay his warlike proweſs, reſolved to invade the Scythians of Europe, in order, as the Greeks tell the ſtory, to revenge upon them an invaſion of Aſia by their anceſtors about *one hundred and twenty years before*. For this purpoſe he collected a fleet of ſix hundred veſſels, furniſhed by his maritime vaſſals of Phœnicia, Ionia, and the iſlands: but the tranſportation of his army was effected by the ingenuity of Mandrocles, a Samian engineer, who conſtructed a bridge connecting the European and Aſiatic ſhores of the Thracian Boſphorus. The wiſe conduct of the Scythians, who defeated Darius without fighting him, made him next look to the eaſtward for an extenſion of his empire Previous to his expedition he fitted out ſome veſſels at Caſpatyrus (a town on the River Indus, or Sind) under the command of Skylax of Caryandia, whom he directed to explore the banks of that river and the maritime country weſtward from its mouth. He performed his voyage in two years and a half, and concluded it (a°. 506) in that part of the Red ſea, whence the Phœnicians in the ſervice of Necos king of Egypt had ſet out in the circumnavigation of Africa. This Skylax is believed to have been the original author of a geographical work, ſtill extant, which if really his, is older by ſome centuries than any other work profeſſedly upon geography, which has come down to our times *. The report made by Skylax ſtimulated the ambition and the avarice of Darius, who made himſelf maſter of the whole fertile and populous country ſouth-eaſt of Perſia to the Ocean, and apparently as far as the Indus. The territory acquired in this expedition conſtituted the richeſt province of the Perſian empire. [*Herod. L.* iv, *c.* 44, 84, 87; *L.* iii, *c.* 94.]

Darius ſeems to have undertaken the conqueſt of the Indian territories adjacent to Perſia, partly with a view to promote the commerce of his ſubjects, and to facilitate their intercourſe with a country, which has in all ages been a principal object of commercial attention, as well as of military depredation. This appears the more probable from his reſuming the undertaking of a navigable canal between the Nile and the Red ſea, The canal, originally planned by Seſoſtris or his ſon, was afterwards carried on by Necos, but abandoned, as already related. It branched off from the eaſtern mouth of the Nile a little below the ſeparation of its ſtream, and following the level of the country, terminated in the Red ſea about forty miles below the head of its weſtern branch.

* This work, which is quoted with the name of Skylax by Ariſtotle, [*Politic. L.* vii, *c.* 14] has had the misfortune to be ſo much corrupted by the interpolations of tranſcribers, that its authenticity has been queſtioned by ſome critics; and others have aſcribed it to another Skylax of Caryandia who lived about 350 years later: but this opinion reſts chiefly upon the lateneſs of ſome paſſages, which are probably interpolations.

Its breadth permitted two triremes to paſs each other, and its length required four days to navigate it *.

If the Phœnicians ever had any colonies in the iſlands of the Perſian gulf, as is ſuppoſed by ſome authors, the ſettlement of them may be perhaps placed about this time, when Darius king of Perſia, who was ſovereign of Phœnicia, and the north coaſt of that gulf, with the adjacent coaſt as far as the Indus, appears to have been deſirous of eſtabliſhing an extenſive commerce in his dominions, for the management of which he could find none ſo proper as the Phœnician merchants. The exiſtence of Phœnician colonies in the Perſian gulf appears to be founded chiefly upon two iſlands in it being called Tyrus or Tylus, and Aradus, as is ſuppoſed, from Tyrus and Aradus on the Phœnician coaſt, and upon the ruins of ſome temples, ſaid to be built in the Phœnician manner, being found upon them. Strabo, however, ſays, the people of thoſe iſlands reverſed the ſtory, and claimed the honour of being the anceſtors of the Tyrians and Aradians of the Mediterranean coaſt. [*Strabo, L.* xvi, *p.* 1110—*and ſee Bochart, Geog. ſacr. col.* 689]. But it muſt be acknowleged, that there is no very good authority for any connection between the Phœnicians and any people in the Perſian gulf.

Tylus appears to have been rather occupied by the Arabians, as it is called an Arabian iſland by an antient author; and its inhabitants were a commercial, or at leaſt a maritime, people, who built veſſels of a kind of wood (perhaps the teek of India) ſo durable, that, after remaining above two hundred years in the water, they were perfectly ſound and undecayed. [*Theophraſtus, L.* v, *c.* 6.]

Some idea of the value of money in thoſe days may be obtained from the amount of the revenue of the Perſian empire under Darius. It was then almoſt at the zenith of its power. It extended from the Ocean on the ſouth to the Scythian deſerts on the north; and from the banks of the Indus it ſtretched weſt to the Ægæan and Euxine ſeas, and to the confines of the Carthaginian territories in Africa. The twenty dependent ſatrapies or governments, into which the countries conquered by the Perſians were divided, yielded a revenue amounting to 14,560 Euboic talents of ſilver, which, together with ſome payments in kind, ſcarcely exceeded three millions of our money; a ſum not equal to the annual ſubſidy, which in our own times has been given to a foreign prince for the pay of his mercenary troops by an iſland, inferior in population and extent to ſome of the ſatrapies of the Perſian empire. It is evident, that the neceſſaries of life could be purchaſed for a very ſmall

* Such is the account of this famous canal, as deſcribed by Herodotus, [*L.* ii, *c.* 158; *L.* iv, *c.* 39] who very probably ſaw it, with veſſels going from ſea to ſea upon it. But Diodorus Siculus and Strabo affirm, that Darius did not complete the work, being terrified by ſome, who told him, that the water of the Red ſea was higher than the land of Egypt; and they give the honour of completing the work to the Ptolemys, who probably cleaned out the ſoil depoſited in it by the Nile.

quantity of ſilver, when ſuch a revenue not only ſufficed to the ſovereign of one of the greateſt empires known in antient hiſtory for the purpoſes of government, the maintenance of a ſtanding army, the indulgence of luxury, and the diſplay of unrivaled magnificence, but alſo enabled him to lay up vaſt treaſures. This account is furniſhed by Herodotus, [*L.* iii, *c.* 89] apparently from an authentic record. He alſo informs us, that the proportional value of gold and ſilver was as one to thirteen.

508—From the affairs of the Eaſt our attention is now called to the Weſt by the firſt intercourſe recorded in hiſtory between the Romans and Carthaginians. A treaty of friendſhip, or, as far as a covenant with ſuch a people, as the Romans then were, could be ſo called, a *commercial treaty*, was concluded in the time of Brutus and Horatius *, whoſe names ſtand in the firſt year of the Roman liſt of conſuls. As it is the moſt antient commercial treaty now extant, and alſo the moſt antient authentic monument of Roman or Carthaginian hiſtory, and is not a hundredth part of the length of a modern treaty, it undoubtedly merits to be inſerted entire in commercial hiſtory. Polybius has given us the words of it, which he copied, as exactly as the then obſolete ſtate of the language would permit, from the plate of braſs, on which it was preſerved in the Capitol. In Engliſh it is as follows:

'Let there be friendſhip between the Romans together with their 'allies and the Carthaginians together with their allies, on the follow-'ing terms and conditions. Let not the Romans nor their allies navi-'gate beyond the Fair promontory †. If they be driven by ſtorms, or

* According to Livy, Horatius was the *ſucceſſor* of Spurius Lucretius, who ſucceeded Brutus, or of Brutus himſelf; for he leaves it uncertain. Unleſs we will charge a wilful falſehood upon Polybius, who flouriſhed about 150 years before Livy, and is beyond compariſon more authentic, we muſt believe, that Brutus and Horatius were in *joint* authority at the concluſion of the treaty with the Carthaginians, and at the conſecration of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Yet Livy, and Dionyſius of Halicarnaſſus, a writer even more romantic than Livy, are the authors generally followed by later compilers of Roman hiſtory. On ſuch authority we are told, that Collatinus was rewarded for his voluntary reſignation of the conſulſhip with a preſent of twenty talents out of the public treaſury and five talents out of the private purſe of Brutus, being together near *five thouſand pounds* of our money; a greater ſum than the whole Roman treaſury of that time can be rationally ſuppoſed to have contained. If this ſtory were credible, it would deſerve a place in the text, as throwing ſome light on the value of money. But it is utterly inconſiſtent with the ſimplicity of life and general poverty aſcribed to the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters of the early Roman hiſtory. (See a collection of inſtances of laudable poverty by Valerius Maximus, *L.* iv, *c.* 4.) About fifty years after this time, when the Romans had collected the plunder of ſeveral of the neighbouring towns, we are told, that the ſenate in a conſultation fixed the bail to be given by the ſon of the famous Cincinnatus, when accuſed of no leſs a crime than murder, at 3,000 aſſes of braſs, and obliged ten of his friends to be ſecurities for the payment of ſo large a ſum, which, taking it at the higheſt calculation, was but a few pounds over a tun of braſs. [*Liv. L.* iii, *c.* 13.] Innumerable inſtances of ſuch inconſiſtencies might be pointed out in the romantic part of the Roman hiſtory.

† The point of Africa neareſt to Sicily, called alſo the Promontory of Mercury, and now Cape Bon, as is evident from the remark of Polybius upon this treaty. Doctor Shaw, if he had conſulted Polybius inſtead of Livy, need not have been miſled by the ſuppoſed identity of *Candidum* and Καλον to place this promontory on the weſt, inſtead of the eaſt, ſide of the bay of Carthage. [*Travels in Barbary, &c. p.* 142.]

'chaſed by enemies, beyond it, let them not buy or receive any thing, 'but what is neceſſary for repairing their veſſels, and for ſacrifice; and 'let them depart within five days from the time of their landing. Who-'ever ſhall come on the buſineſs of merchandize, let him pay no duties 'but the fees of the broker and clerk. Let the public faith be ſecu-'rity to the ſeller for whatever is ſold in preſence of thoſe officers; that 'is to ſay, whatever is ſold in Africa or Sardinia. If any Romans come 'to that part of Sicily, which is ſubject to Carthage, let them have im-'partial juſtice. Let not the Carthaginians do any injury to the people 'of Ardea, Antium, Laurentum, Circæium, Tarracina, nor any of the 'Latins who ſhall be ſubject to Rome. Let them not attack the free 'towns of the Latins. If they ſhall take any of them, let them de-'liver it to the Romans free of any damage. Let them build no fort 'in the land of the Latins. If they make a hoſtile landing in the 'country, let them not remain all night in it.' [*Polyb. L.* iii, *c.* 22.]

It appears from this treaty, that the Carthaginians, as the ſuperior people, had dictated the terms of it; and it is probable, that it was merely their mercantile jealouſy, which prompted them to prohibit the Romans from trading to the rich countries lying around the bay of the Leſſer Syrtis, which for their extraordinary fertility were called the *Emporia*, or the markets, though the Romans may not then have had any notion of attempting ſuch diſtant voyages *. This genuine monument of antiquity alſo informs us, that the Carthaginians had ſome time before departed from the ſimplicity of their commercial ſyſtem, and converted their mercantile poſts into military garriſons for enſlaving the people with whom they traded; and that Sardinia (of which Corſica, or a part of it, ſeems to have been an appendage) and alſo a part of Sicily, were reduced under their dominion. Their ſucceſs in thoſe encroachments brought on a thirſt for conqueſt; and that brought on their ruin. But theſe matters will be more properly introduced afterwards. I now return to the Eaſt †.

At this time the attention of the Grecian hiſtorians is engroſſed by the war between the Greeks and Perſians, which continued, with intervals of inſincere pacification, till the Perſian empire was entirely ſub-

* About a dozen of years after this treaty a college of merchants is mentioned, as then eſtabliſhed at Rome: but we have no other authority for it than Livy, [*L.* ii, *c.* 27] who has perhaps antedated an inſtitution eſteemed antient in his own time.

On ſimilar authority we are told, that a great quantity of corn, bought with money drawn from the Roman treaſury, was imported from Sicily, on which occaſion the celebrated general Coriolanus and ſome others propoſed holding up the price of bread, in order to keep the populace in ſubjection.

Both theſe events are placed in an age wherein Rome knew nothing of trade, had no hiſtorian of her own, and had not attracted the notice of any foreign writer, at leaſt, not of any one who has come down to our times, for her moſt important events.

† At this time accordiug to Plutarch, in his life of Valerius Poplicola, in Rome a ſheep was worth ten oboli, and an ox an hundred oboli, which laſt ſum is equal to about half a guinea.

verted by the aſtoniſhing ſucceſs of Alexander. The torch of war was kindled by the revolt of the Ionians, who diſpatched Ariſtagoras as their ambaſſador to ſolicit the aſſiſtance of the European Greeks.

502—The wonderful proficiency of the Babylonians in aſtronomy in a very early age has already been noticed. The application of the ſame principles to the ſurface of the earth conſtitutes the ſcience of geography, which deſcribes the figure and extent of the various countries, iſlands, rivers, ſeas, &c. The artiſts of Babylon were probably thoſe, whom the Perſian monarchs employed to conſtruct the maps engraved on plates of braſs, which the governors or ſatraps appear to have received along with their commiſſions, and which contained the Perſian dominions, or, as Herodotus expreſſes it, [*L.* v, *c.* 49] all the lands, ſeas, and rivers, in the world. Ariſtagoras, who before the revolt was vaſſal king or governor of Miletus, carried his braſen map with him to Sparta in order to explain the facility with which the Greeks might make themſelves maſters of the Perſian empire. But the Spartans, whoſe ſingular conſtitution rejected what they eſteemed ſuperfluous knowlege, as well as ſuperfluous wealth and luxury, paid no attention to his geographical demonſtration, nor would they liſten to a propoſal, which was to carry them a three-months journey from home *. Ariſtagoras had better ſucceſs with the other ſtates of Greece, and the Athenians in particular determined to aſſiſt the Ionians with twenty ſhips; and thoſe ſhips, Herodotus obſerves, proved the ſource of the calamities, which afterwards fell upon both Greeks and Perſians.

500—In a naval engagement on the coaſt of Cyprus, we are told, that the Phœnician fleet was defeated by that of the Ionians, among whom the Samians made the moſt diſtinguiſhed figure. Nor need we wonder, that the Phœnicians, no longer the invincible ſovereigns of the ſea, but degraded to the condition of vaſſals of Perſia, ſhould be found inferior, even on their own element, to the Greeks, now faſt riſing to the character of an enlightened, free, and commercial, people.

497—The Ionians and their allies of the iſlands directed all their exertions to the improvement of their maritime power, on which they placed their principal dependence in their attempt to ſhake off the Perſian yoke. They accordingly collected a fleet of 353 warlike veſſels, whereof 100 were furniſhed by the iſland of Chios, 70 by Leſbos, and 60 by Samos. Theſe were oppoſed by 600 ſhips belonging to the maritime vaſſals of Perſia, and chiefly under the direction of the Phœnicians. It is probable, that, if the commanders of the Grecian fleet

* When Herodotus [*L.* viii, *c.* 132] repreſents the Greeks a few years after this time as ignorant of every country beyond Delos, and believing that Samos was as diſtant as the Pillars of Hercules, the reflection muſt ſurely be confined to the Spartans, whoſe king Leutychides was then commander of the Grecian fleet. It could not apply to the reſt of the Greeks, who were in general acquainted with the ſea; and it is difficult to conceive that even the Spartans could be ſo exceſſively ignorant.

had acted with unanimity, they would have been victorious. But corruption and diſcord ruined their fleet. The Greeks were defeated (a°. 496), chiefly by means of the Phœnician naval forces; and the Perſian fetters were riveted upon the Ionian ſtates more firmly than before. [*Herod. L.* vi, *cc.* 6-42.]

Darius, having ſuppreſſed the Ionian rebellion, determined to take vengeance upon the Greeks, and particularly the Athenians for their interference. The expedition conducted by his ſon-in-law Mardonius was defeated by a ſtorm, which daſhed 300 of his ſhips and 20,000 of his ſoldiers againſt the rocks of Mount Athos (a° 494). The next attempt was ſtill more unfortunate. The battle of Marathon (a° 490), which raiſed the glory of Athens to the ſkies, and rendered the power of Perſia contemptible in the eyes of Greece, is known to every reader of hiſtory.

The Athenians are now entitled by their attention to commerce and navigation to be conſidered as a naval power. By the advice of Themiſtocles, who uſed to ſay, that the war with Perſia was not ended, but only beginning, they applied the produce of their ſilver mines to the improvement of their marine eſtabliſhment. Being more deſirous of military, than of commercial, pre-eminence, they took upon them to revenge the cauſe of Greece upon ſuch of the iſlands as had yielded to the Perſians. Ægina, though but a ſmall rocky iſland, had long maintained a commercial and naval ſuperiority over the other ſtates of Greece. It had ſubmitted to the Perſians; and being thus obnoxious to the Athenians as an enemy as well as a rival, it was ſubdued by their fleet. They next ſuppreſſed the Corcyreans, a people, who, uniting merchandize with piracy, had long inſulted the neighbouring ſhores of Greece, Italy, and Sicily, with impunity. [*Plutarch.* in Themiſt.—*Corn. Nep.* in Themiſt.]

The Athenians, in expectation of the ſtorm which was to burſt upon them from the Eaſt, perſevered in the improvement of their fleet. They built two hundred veſſels of a burthen ſuperior to any hitherto ever ſeen in Greece; and their ſhips, and the valour of their ſoldiers and ſailors, were, humanly ſpeaking, the preſervation of Greece from Perſian ſlavery.

481—Xerxes, the mighty monarch of Perſia and of a great part of Aſia, the heir of his father's revenge as well as of his crown, could not enjoy his felicity, while he ſaw the ſmall ſtates of Greece independent of his overgrown empire. Having ſpent ſome years in preparation, he led ſeveral millions* of his devoted ſubjects of all ranks, ſexes, and

* Herodotus [*L.* vii, *cc.* 186, 187] calculates the whole number of the men whom Xerxes dragged along with him to be 5,283,220, beſides women, and eunuchs, of whoſe numbers no calculation could be made. Perhaps a large allowance ought to be made for Grecian exaggeration in this account.

ages, to take poſſeſſion of that country. His navy conſiſted of 1,207 *triremes*, or ſhips of war carrying three tires of oars, and 3,000 tranſports, which were all furniſhed by the nations bordering on the eaſt part of the Mediterranean and Ægæan ſeas and the ſouth ſhore of the Euxine ſea, all of whom were ſubject to him. Of the triremes the Phœnicians furniſhed 300, diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the fleet by their velocity; and among them the Sidonian veſſels were the beſt. Five veſſels, furniſhed, and commanded in perſon, by Artemiſia queen of Caria, were eſteemed next to thoſe of the Sidonians. The quota of the Egyptians was 200 ſhips; but it is reaſonable to believe, that, on being taxed with that number, their money was employed in procuring them from the commercial people of Phœnicia or Carthage. Smaller numbers were provided by the other ſubject ſtates according to their abilities. [*Herodot. L.* vii, *cc.* 89-99, *and* 23.] The innumerable multitudes dragged after the ſtandard of the Perſian monarch, better calculated to ſettle an hundred populous colonies than to effect one conqueſt, were almoſt totally deſtroyed by famine, by the rigour of the ſeaſons, by the winds, by their ignorance of the country which they invaded, and partly by the wiſe conduct and wonderful valour of the Greeks. About one third of the formidable armada, which the Ægæan ſea was ſcarcely ſpacious enough to contain, was wrecked on the coaſt of Theſſaly; and moſt of the remaining ſhips were deſtroyed or taken in repeated engagements with the Greeks, among whom the chief praiſe was due to the Athenians, who on this occaſion placed their whole dependence on their WOODEN WALLS*, and, as their city was deſtroyed, were very properly conſidered by Themiſtocles their general, as a floating nation.

480—The event of this memorable expedition was the very reverſe of what Xerxes and his venal flatterers predicted. Greece remained free; and the empire, which he ſought to extend, after being devoured by his innumerable army, and debilitated throughout its vaſt extent by the loſs of its beſt men, was curtailed by the independence of the Grecian colonies in Aſia.

This was incomparably the moſt brilliant period of the Grecian hiſtory, and the time, when the Greeks might with conſiderable propriety have aſcribed to themſelves the dominion of the ſea. About this time alſo they attained, and for a conſiderable time ſupported, that high rank in literature, that ſuperiority in the fine arts, and that ardent love of liberty, which have ennobled the Grecian character, and rendered it the object of reſpect and admiration in all ſucceeding ages.

* The Athenians, having conſulted the oracle at Delphi, were told, that they muſt fly from their houſes, and ſeek refuge within their *wooden walls*. They were much puzzled about the meaning of the reſponſe, till Themiſtocles (whoſe money had, no doubt, procured the imaginary-divine approbation of his own opinion) convinced them, that their ſhips were the *wooden walls*, to which they were to owe their preſervation. [*Herod. L.* vii, *cc.* 140-143.] This was apparently the firſt occaſion on which our favourite metaphorical appellation for a naval force was uſed.

At the ſame time that Xerxes with the collected force of Aſia ſuffered ſuch ignominious defeats from the valour of Greece, the Carthaginians were ſeduced from their proper ſphere of mercantile activity, and tempted to enter into plans of conqueſt, either by the entreaties of a fugitive prince expelled from one of the ſmall Sicilian territories, as ſtated by Herodotus, or by a treaty with Xerxes, as aſſerted by Diodorus Siculus, or by the co-operation of both cauſes. According to Herodotus, Amilcar, the Carthaginian general, invaded Sicily with an army of 300,000 men collected from the various nations of Africa, Iberia (or Spain), Liguria, Sardinia and Corſica (or Kyrnos), with a proportional fleet. The Grecian accounts, (and unfortunately we have no other) though differing widely in the particulars, agree in aſſerting that the Carthaginians were as unſucceſsful as the Perſians; that their whole fleet was burnt by a ſtratagem of Gelon king of Syracuſe; and every man of them either killed, or reſerved to be the ſlaves of the Sicilian Greeks.

According to the ſpeech which Herodotus puts into the mouth of Gelon, he poſſeſſed a very conſiderable maritime power; and he offered, on condition of being inveſted with the ſupreme command of the allied forces, or at leaſt of the combined fleet, to join the Greeks with two hundred triremes and a great land army, and alſo to ſupply the whole united armies with corn during the Perſian war. He at the ſame time referred to ſome advantages he had obtained in a former war againſt the Carthaginians. This muſt give us a high idea of the fertility and reſources of the Syracuſian territories. [*Herod. L.* vii, *cc.* 158, 160.]

477—The Athenians, whoſe maritime gallantry and conduct had been the chief cauſe of the defeat of Xerxes, ſtill perſevered in their attention to their marine. They improved their harbour called the Piræus, ſo as to be capable of containing a large fleet within its fortifications; and they were henceforth regarded as the moſt powerful ſtate in Greece. But it muſt be acknowleged, that their views were more directed to naval pre-eminence for the ſake of conqueſts, than for the extenſion of commerce.

474—The confederated Greeks of Europe, Aſia or Ionia, and the Iſlands, ſeeing the neceſſity of a joint ſtock to be employed for the general ſervice in providing, victualling, and arming, their fleets, reſolved that a contribution ſhould be levied from each community. To adjuſt the due proportion, payable by every ſtate, they unanimouſly choſe Ariſtides, an Athenian general, who for his integrity was honoured with the title of the *Juſt;* a title infinitely more glorious than the frequently-proſtituted one of *Great:* and he, with the ſatisfaction of all concerned, fixed the whole ſum at 460 talents, which is ſomewhat leſs than

£90,000 ſterling *. [*Thucyd. L.* i.—*Corn. Nep* in Ariſt.] Such was the ſum which the free ſtates of Greece found ſufficient, under the prudent and economical direction of Ariſtides †, to defray the annual expenſe of a ſucceſsful war againſt the ſovereign of the greateſt empire in the world.

Some time in the reign of Xerxes (who was murdered by one of his courtiers) a voyage of diſcovery was undertaken, to the command of which Sataſpes, a noble Perſian, was appointed, as a puniſhment for a crime committed by him. The voyage being intended to reverſe the route of that performed by order of Necos, king of Egypt, Sataſpes departed from the Nile, and paſſing the Pillars of Hercules, coaſted along the ſhore of Africa, till he came to a people, whom he deſcribed as of very diminutive ſtature, and clothed in red garments, or Phœnician garments, or garments made from the palm tree ‡. But Sataſpes, diſliking his employment, returned home by the ſame way he had gone out, and was crucified for his reward. No better event could be expected of an enterpriſe, the command of which was eſteemed, not an honour, but a diſgrace. How very oppoſite were the Perſian and the Phœnician ideas of naval command! [*Herod. L.* iv, *c.* 43.]

471—Cimon, the Athenian commander, with the confederate fleet of Greece, was everywhere victorious. He expelled the Perſian garriſons from all the maritime towns of the Ægæan ſea. Extending his victorious progreſs along the ſouth ſhore of the Aſiatic peninſula beyond the ſettlements of the Grecian colonies, he with 250 ſhips belonging to the Athenians and their allies encountered the Perſian fleet, and took or deſtroyed almoſt the whole of them, whereby he made a prodigious addition to his fleet. On the very ſame day by a ſucceſsful ſtratagem, wherein he employed his prize ſhips, he alſo defeated the land army of the Perſians at the mouth of the river Eurymedon (a°. 470.)

449—The Athenians continued to be in general ſucceſsful in many naval battles with the Perſians: and at laſt that triumphant republic dictated to the ambaſſadors of Artaxerxes, the no-longer-haughty monarch of Perſia, the terms of a pacification, whereby he became bound never to ſend a veſſel into the Ægæan ſea, and to acknowlege the independence of the Greek colonies in Aſia.

446—The Athenians having become the greateſt maritime power of

* This ſum did not, as ſome ſuppoſe, include pay for the Grecian allied army. 'Pay was not 'yet introduced into the Grecian ſervice, becauſe 'the character of *ſoldier* was not ſeparated from 'that of citizen.' [*Gillies's Hiſt. of Greece, V.* ii, *p.* 63. *ed*, 1792.] But very ſoon after this war it was introduced.

† This honeſt ſtateſman, who for ſome years managed the joint treaſury of the whole Grecian confederacy, left not wherewith to bury himſelf: and the Athenians beſtowed 3,000 drachms (£96:17:2) on his two daughters for their portions. [*Plut. in Ariſt.*]

‡ The Greek word φοινικῆν bears all theſe meanings. The natives of Congo on the weſt coaſt of Africa uſe cloth made of the palm tree. [*Purchas's Pilgrimes, L.* vii, *c.* 4, § 7.] And Captain Cook found ſome nations in the South ſea dreſſed with cloth made of palmeto leaves.

Greece, and, if we may truſt the uncontradicted evidence of Greek writers, of the whole world, without neglecting their warlike eſtabliſhment, now turned their attention to commerce. Their merchant ſhips are ſaid to have covered the ſea, and traded to every port, while their ſhips of war rode triumphant in the Ægæan and neighbouring ſeas. The voluntary contribution, which the allies had charged upon themſelves for ſupporting the Perſian war, was ſtill kept up, and even augmented, though the original cauſe no longer exiſted, and was paid to Athens, as a conſideration for her protection, by the ſtates of Ionia, and the iſlands, which were now rather the ſubjects than the allies of the Athenians. The tribute thus extorted, and the produce of their ſilver mines, together with the ſpoils of the unfortunate vaſſals of Perſia, may be fairly preſumed to have been the chief ſources of the luxury, which from this time prevailed among them. For, as their narrow territory could not poſſibly produce many articles for exportation, and we have no authority to ſay that they were manufacturers, or that they underſtood the buſineſs of carrying the redundant productions of one country to ſupply the defects of another, they could not be much enriched by their commerce, which ſeems to have conſiſted of little more than the importation of luxuries from the different ports of the Mediterranean. One article of Grecian exportation, and apparently the principal one, was wine, of which they carried great quantities, put up in earthen jars, twice a year to Egypt. [*Herod. L.* iii, *c.* 6.]

445—Herodotus, the father of Grecian hiſtory, read his work, or ſome part of it, to a public aſſembly of the Athenians, who were ſo delighted with it, that they conferred on him a gift of ten talents (£1,937 : 10 ſterling) out of the public treaſury; [*Plut. de Herodoti malignitate, in Opp. ed. Xylandri*, 1599, *p.* 862] a prodigious fortune, when about twopence of our money was ſufficient for a perſon's dayly ſupport, and ſevenpence was an ample and honourable allowance for the expenſes of thoſe of ſuperior rank. [*Wallace on the numbers of mankind*, *p.* 125.] Herodotus is not only valuable as the oldeſt Grecian hiſtorian extant, but alſo as a geographer, his work containing an account of all the countries then known by any of the Greeks. In his geography he is frequently more accurate than writers, who lived in times vaſtly more enlightened, and wrote expreſsly upon geography *. He ſaw with his

* The deſcription of the Caſpian ſea by Herodotus is a remarkable inſtance of his geographical ſuperiority. He ſays, that it is an inland ſea or lake, which has no communication with any other; that its length would require fifteen days, and its greateſt breadth eight days for a veſſel with oars to traverſe it; each day's courſe being 700 ſtadia, or about 70 geographical miles. [*Herodot. L.* i, *c.* 203, *L.* iv, *c.* 86.] Strabo, Mela, Dionyſius, Pliny, and Arrian, all aſſert, that it has a communication with the Northern ocean: Ptolemy, though he miſplaces it, yet truely calls it a lake. Herodotus had ſome knowlege of the black natives in the ſouth parts of Hindooſtan, and of their manufactures from cotton which he truely deſcribes as growing upon trees. He alſo deſcribes, from information obtained from natives of Africa, a great river in the heart of that continent, *flowing from weſt to eaſt*, on the banks of which there was a city inhabited by black people. This

own eyes many of the countries, which he deſcribes; and he was at great pains to obtain the beſt information: yet he acknowleges, that he could not diſcover the ſituation of the iſlands called Caſſiterides from which tin was brought, nor that of the country, which produced the amber: a pretty clear proof, that the Greeks had no commerce, or intercourſe with either of them. The cenſure thrown upon Herodotus as a fabuliſt proceeds only from ſuperficiality and ignorance; and his general veracity is acknowleged and reſpected by the moſt judicious and critical writers.

431—An interval of petty hoſtilities among the Greeks was ſucceeded by the Peloponneſian war, wherein the Lacedæmonians and their allies, ſupported by the wealth of the Perſian empire *, exerted themſelves to wreſt from the Athenians the ſovereignty, which they had aſſumed over the maritime ſtates of Ionia, the iſlands, and the whole of the neighbouring coaſts. This was moſtly a naval war; yet the events of it had no other connection with commerce, than the uſual conſequence of interrupting and diſtreſſing it. It preſſed with particular hardſhip upon the Phœnicians, who, as the principal maritime ſubjects of Perſia, were obliged to furniſh moſt of the naval armaments, whereby their ſhipping was in a great meaſure drawn off from its own proper deſtination to be ſubſervient to the ambition of Perſia and Lacedæmon. The war, after raging for twenty-ſeven years, was concluded (a°. 404) by the deſtruction of Athens. The Lacedæmonians immediately aſſumed the ſame power over the maritime ſtates, the abuſe of which by the Athenians had been the pretence for the war: and they exerciſed it with ſuch rigour, that the governments of the Perſians and of the Athenians were thought very mild by thoſe, who now groaned under their tyranny.

From the very imperfect knowlege, we have of the more valuable pacific and commercial tranſactions of the Carthaginians, we may venture to aſſign the preſent time as the æra of their greateſt commercial ſplendour. Their mother country was depreſſed by its ſubjection to Perſia. The Athenians, after having expelled the Perſians, and the Phœnicians as being their ſubjects, from the Grecian ſeas, and having reigned triumphant for ſeventy-two years, during which they engroſſed the commerce of the Ægæan ſea, but with a more anxious ſolicitude

important geographical fact, wherein he is ſupported by the teſtimony of Pliny and Ptolemy, has been contradicted in later ages, even down to the very time that Mr. Park was abſolutely engaged in exploring the courſe of this famous river, the Nil-il-abeed, Joliba, or Niger, who has unqueſtionably aſcertained the correctneſs of the information given us by Herodotus. [*L.* ii, *cc.* 32, 33.—*Plinii Hiſt. nat. L.* v, *c.* 9; *L.* viii, *c.* 21.—*See the account of Mr. Park's travels in Africa, pp.* 25, 53.]

* The Lacedæmonians raiſed the pay of their ſailors from three oboli (not quite 4*d*) to four oboli (about $5\frac{1}{5}d$). But this was not conſidered as neceſſary for their ſupport, or as an equivalent compenſation for their ſervice: it was a mere waſte of the Perſian treaſure, calculated to corrupt the ſailors of their Athenian rivals, and to entice them to deſert.

exerciſed a dominion of avaricious tyranny over the nations bordering on it, were now humbled by the numerous enemies, whom the inſolence and tyranny of their proſperity had raiſed up againſt them. The Spartans, who had ſucceeded to the dominion of the Ægæan ſea on the downfall of the Athenians, were ignorant of the commercial advantages, which a more enlightened people might have derived from it. Therefor now the Carthaginians ſeem to have had no rivals in the Mediterranean, and their ſhips might ſail without interruption, or even competition, to every port in it.

394—The naval battle at Cnidos deprived the Spartans of the ſovereignty of the Grecian ſeas: and, if we conſider the obſtinacy of their anticommercial prejudices, and their late ignorance of every branch of nautical knowlege, we muſt think it wonderful, that their valour could maintain the ſuperiority ſo long.

370—About this time flouriſhed Plato, one of the moſt celebrated of the Grecian philoſophers. Like other Greeks deſirous of knowlege, he traveled into Egypt *; where he and Eudoxus, who became a famous aſtronomer, having by an initiation of thirteen years acquired the confidence and goodwill of the prieſts of On, or Heliopolis, they imparted to them, as a ſpecial favour and a great myſtery, the diſcovery, (apparently new to themſelves †, though long before known to the Babylonians) that the true period of the annual revolution was about ſix hours more than 365 days. Dionyſius king of Syracuſe invited Plato to his court; but ſoon after, being offended that he did not flatter him, he ſold him for a ſlave at the price of five minæ, or about ſixteen pounds ſterling. Notwithſtanding this rough treatment, Plato ventured to accept an invitation from Dionyſius the younger, who received him on his landing with the moſt diſtinguiſhed honours, and for ſome time regulated his conduct by his advice. So highly ſenſible was he of his happineſs in having ſuch a counſellor, that, according to Diogenes Laertius, he preſented him with a ſum of money exceeding eighty talents (about £15,500 ſterling). Thus we ſee, how very differently the ſame man was valued as a ſlave and as a philoſopher. But ſome authors ſay, that Plato refuſed to accept the gift.

* Plutarch in the Life of Solon relates a report, that Plato's chief errand to Egypt was to diſpoſe of a quantity of oil. But that ſtory does not very well correſpond with a reſidence of thirteen years; and ſtill worſe with his plan of a well-regulated commonwealth, from which he excluded commercial purſuits and maritime power. [*Plato de leg. L.* iv.]

† The Egyptians, from whom Herodotus learned what he knew of aſtronomy, had in his time apparently come no nearer to the exact length of the year than 365 days. The Greeks in general did not come ſo near: moſt of them, notwithſtanding the improvements aſcribed to Cleoſtratus and Meton, perſiſted for ages in a calculation of years, which required the frequent interpoſition of intercalary months to bring them near to the true courſe of the ſun and the moon. [*Herod. L.* i, *c.* 32, (in which the numerals are corrupted) *L.* ii, *c.* 4.—*Strabo, L.* xvii, *p.* 1160.] It is alſo worthy of remark, that the Greek language in the time of Herodotus had not a word to expreſs an eclipſe; or he would not have been obliged to deſcribe it [*L.* i, *c.* 74] by ſaying, that the day became night.

About the ſame time Eudoxus, the fellow traveler and fellow ſtudent of Plato, improved ſcience in Greece by the introduction of the celeſtial ſphere, by a reformation of the erroneous calculation of the year, (which however ſeems to have been little attended to) and by his writings upon aſtronomy, geometry, and geography.

351—The Sidonians, provoked by the intolerable tyranny of the Perſian governors, conſpired with the Egyptians to throw off the yoke. Their defection drew upon them the innumerable army of Perſia, led on by the great king in perſon, to whom the city was betrayed by the treachery of one of the commanders of their mercenary allies, and, what is more ſurpriſing, by their own king. The conduct of the Sidonians on this occaſion was the very reverſe of the wiſdom of the Tyrians when beſieged by Nebuchadnezar, and the determined reſolution of the Phocæans when they found themſelves unable to reſiſt the army of Cyrus. In order to prevent any perſon from withdrawing from the defence of the city, they burnt the whole of their ſhips, (an action ſcarcely credible of a maritime and commercial people) by which raſh conduct, and their inſuperable averſion to Perſian ſlavery, they were driven to the deſperate reſolution of ſetting fire to their own houſes, and ſacrificing themſelves, their wives, and their children on the great altar of liberty compoſed of their whole city. Thus fell the great Sidon, after it had been, during a long ſucceſſion of ages, the commercial capital of the Eaſt: and even its aſhes, which contained great quantities of melted gold and ſilver, afforded a valuable prize to the enemy. It was afterwards rebuilt by ſuch of its citizens as, by being abſent on voyages, happened to eſcape the ſelf-devoted extermination. But it never recovered its former ſplendour, and was more celebrated in after ages for its manufactures of glaſs, than for commercial enterpriſe or proſperity.

348—The Romans and their allies, who are not named, entered into a ſecond treaty with the Carthaginians and their allies, of whom the Tyrians and Uticans are named. In this the navigation of the Romans was reſtricted to more confined limits than in the former treaty, they being only permitted to trade to the port of Carthage and the Carthaginian territories in Sicily, and prohibited from landing in any other part of Africa, or in Sardinia, unleſs compelled by neceſſity, in which caſe their ſtay was not to exceed five days. The Carthaginians were to enjoy an equal liberty of trade in Rome; and if they ſhould take any Latin city, not ſubject to Rome, they were not to keep poſſeſſion of it, but reſt ſatisfied with the plunder and priſoners *.

* Polybius, [*L.* iii, *c.* 24] gives the words of this treaty, but without the date. It muſt be the ſame which Livy [*L.* vii, *c.* 27] dates 348 before Chriſt. Livy ſays, that the Carthaginians ſent ambaſſadors to Rome to petition the friendſhip and alliance of the Romans; a mode of application rather at variance with the tenor of the treaty. Oroſius [*L.* iii, *c.* 7] erroneouſly calls it the firſt treaty.

338—The Romans, having ſubdued the Latins, got poſſeſſion of ſix warlike gallies, which formed the navy of Antium *, a maritime town, and the capital of that people. Part of them they carried into their own harbour; and part they burnt, and with their armed beaks, or roſtra, they adorned their tribunal in the forum. So little did they know what to do with ſhips! This circumſtance, if truely related, might induce us to believe, that the Carthaginians had not yet ſeen any reaſon to be very jealous of the maritime power of the Romans. [*Liv. L.* viii, *c.* 14.—*Flor. L.* i, *c.* 11.]

333—The commerce of the eaſt end of the Mediterranean, after flouriſhing for ages in the hands of the Phœnicians and their coloniſts, had ſuffered for two centuries under the tyranny and commercial ignorance of the Perſian ſatraps, when Alexander aroſe, whoſe immoderate ambition and aſtoniſhing ſucceſs were deſtined to change the face of the eaſtern world. That conqueror, ſenſible, that if he left the maritime provinces in the allegiance of Perſia, he ſhould run a riſk of his communication with Greece being intercepted, his army and himſelf being cut off, or the war being transferred to his own country, inſtead of puſhing forward after the battle of Iſſus for the capital of Perſia, turned his march ſouthward along the ſhore of Phœnicia. The poor remains of the Sidonians and the other towns on the coaſt ſubmitted without reſiſtance, and even joined his forces againſt their own countrymen. But he met with a very different reception from the Tyrians, who offered to be his friends, but firmly refuſed to be his ſubjects. Alexander, aſtoniſhed at ſuch boldneſs in a community of merchants, threatened to deſtroy their city. The Tyrians on the other hand made every preparation for a brave defence, and ſhipped off great numbers of their women and children, conſigning them to the care of the Carthaginians, who were prevented by ſome domeſtic commotions from furniſhing aſſiſtance to their parent ſtate. In order to get at the ſea-girt city, Alexander, effected what none but Alexander would have conceived the idea of undertaking. With the ruins of old Tyre and the timber of Lebanon he conſtructed a cauſeway, or mole, acroſs the rapid ſtrait of half a mile in breadth, which divided the iſland from the continent, notwithſtanding the ſtrenuous oppoſition of the Tyrians, who omitted nothing, that valour, aſſiſted by ſcience and ingenuity, could perform. They employed divers to cut the cables of Alexander's ſhips; and they deſtroyed his works and his people by a fire-ſhip †, by flaming arrows, by balls of red-hot iron, by hooked poles, by nets, and by three-forked ſpears with lines, ſuch as are uſed for ſtriking fiſh: and,

* Antium appears from the firſt treaty between Carthage and Rome to have been ſubject to the later 170 years before this time. See above, p. 61.

† This, if I miſtake not, is the earlieſt notice of that engine of deſtruction. For a particular deſcription of it ſee *Arrian, L.* ii.

when the Macedonians ſcaled the walls, they poured down upon them ſhowers of burning ſand, which penetrated to the bone with excruciating torture. But after a gallant defence of ſeven months Tyre ſunk under the collected maritime power of the Eaſt, and the attack of an enemy, who aſpired to the conqueſt of the world: the city was deſtroyed, and the citizens were butchered or enſlaved, except a few, who took refuge in a temple, and, according to Curtius, fifteen thouſand, who were carried off by the Sidonians, repenting, but too late, of the part they had taken in the deſtruction of their friends (a°. 332).

Thus fell Tyre, 'the renowned city, which was ſtrong in the ſea,' 'whoſe merchants were princes, whoſe traffickers were the honourable 'of the earth,' after oppoſing to the conqueror of the Eaſt, a more vigorous reſiſtance than he experienced from the whole power of Perſia. And it muſt be allowed, that her fall was more glorious to the vanquiſhed than to the conquerors; and that Alexander, with all his military conduct, and perſevering valour, could ſcarcely have accompliſhed the deſtruction of Tyre, if the other maritime ſtates, inſtead of conſpiring againſt her, and depriving her of the dominion of the ſea, had united to repell the invader, and ſecure their own independence.

332—From Phœnicia Alexander marched into Egypt, which ſubmitted to him without a blow. Though then but a very young man, his judgement perceived at once, what the highly-extolled wiſdom of Egypt had for ſo many years been blind to, that that country was formed by nature to command and unite the commerce of the whole world. No one of the many mouths of the Nile * was capable of being formed into a harbour, fit to receive the ſhipping expected to frequent the deſtined port. But on a part of the ſhore, weſt of all the mouths, and almoſt uninhabited, where the Egyptian kings had built a fort to repell the pirates of antient Greece, he found a harbour, protected by the iſland of Pharos, and formed by nature for the ſituation of the commercial capital of the world. On this ſpot he immediately erected a city, which was carried on with a regularity of plan, and beauty of execution, hitherto unequalled, under the direction of Dinocrates, a mathematician and architect, who had been employed to rebuild the temple of Diana at Epheſus. Canals connected it with the Nile, and with the lake of Marœa, or Mareotis, which afforded inland navigation to ſo great an extent of country, that Strabo thought the port on this inland ſea more wealthy than that on the great one. Though the new city, which was called Alexandria, was ſoon deprived of the advantages flowing from the favour of its founder by his death; yet, by the foſtering care of his ſuc-

* The general depth of the main channel of the Nile, is only from three to eight cubits. The boats of Ptolemy Lagus croſſed the Peluſiac branch, by ſetting with poles againſt the bottom, which, in many places, has not three feet of water. Even the Canopic mouth, the largeſt of the whole, is remarkably encumbered with ſhoals. [*Diod. Sicul. Olymp.* 118.—*Shaw's Travels*, *p.* 435; and *ſupplement*, *p.* 47.—*Purchas's Pilgrimes*, *L.* vi, *p.* 902.]

ceſſors, but much more by the advantages inſeparable from its ſituation, it became, in time, the principal mart of the Eaſt. And it continued, notwithſtanding the convulſions of empire, to be for many centuries the point of union between the remoteſt regions of the eaſtern and weſtern worlds.

331—Alexander, freed of all apprehenſion from maritime enemies, by the deſolation of Tyre, and the ſubmiſſion of the other Phœnician communities, together with Cyprus, Rhodes, and the neighbouring ſtates, met with ſcarcely any oppoſition in his great deſign of ſubverting the Perſian empire, which the deciſive battle of Gaugamela effected. In the capital cities he found gold and ſilver to the value of thirty millions of pounds ſterling. This ſum, amounting to the revenue of many years, ſhows, that the Perſian monarchs, with all their magnificence and profuſion, were really economiſts, and that their expenditure was greatly within their income *.

327—Alexander, having overrun almoſt the whole extent of the Perſian empire, attacked and ravaged the country watered by the branches of the Indus, which is called the Panjab. Having defeated ſome of the Indian kings in battle, he diſplayed his *generoſity*, by permitting them to retain their own dominions, which he probably ſaw the impoſſibility of keeping in ſubjection to himſelf. Such conduct, however criminal in the eye of reaſon, was productive of ſome advantage, by conveying to the weſtern world, in the works of ſeveral writers who attended Alexander, the earlieſt knowlege of many particulars of the ſtate of that rich and populous country, wherein the arts and ſciences had flouriſhed for many centuries before they began to dawn upon Europe.

326—It was probably with a view to commerce, as well as to conqueſt, that Alexander undertook in perſon a voyage of diſcovery down the great river Indus. At the head of the Delta of that river, he built a fort at Pattala, and alſo conſtructed a harbour, or naval arſenal. [*Arrian, L.* vii;—*Agatharchides, L.* v, *c.* 51.] This place was apparently the modern Tatta, four miles below the head of the Delta; and having the advantage of a vaſt inland navigation through a rich and populous country, together with eaſy acceſs to the Ocean, and thereby to In-

* Having now gone through the hiſtory of the Perſian race of kings, it is proper to obſerve, that I have been obliged to follow the Grecian writers, the account given by the modern Perſian hiſtorians being ſo totally different, that it is utterly impoſſible to connect any event in it with the received hiſtories of other nations, if we only except the conqueſt of the country by Eſcander, for ſo they call Alexander. The incidental notices of Perſian affairs in the Bible, have terribly diſtreſſed the critics and chronologers, in attempting to reconcile them with Grecian hiſtory. The generally-received identity of Coreſh, the great friend of the Jews, with Kyros or Cyrus, the great hero of Grecian hiſtory, and of Grecian and modern romance, is attended with great difficulties. The name of Ahaſuerus has been given to at leaſt three of the Perſian kings of Grecian hiſtory. Neither have the names or actions mentioned in the Bible any greater agreement with thoſe related by the Perſian hiſtorians. The ſuppoſition of Mr. Richardſon, that titles have been ſometimes ſubſtituted for names, ſeems the only poſſible way to get out of the labyrinth.

dia, Perſia, and Arabia, it became a celebrated emporium, and remained a place of conſiderable commerce, till the modern compendious voyages to the further parts of India carried moſt of the trade away from it.

When Alexander arrived at the Ocean, he ordered Nearchus, a Cretan officer, to take the command of the fleet, and proceed weſtward, along the ſhore, to the head of the Perſian gulf. The voyage was accordingly performed, and accounts of it, and of the countries and people diſcovered in it, were written by Nearchus, and by Oneſicritus, alſo an officer in the fleet.

Alexander propoſed to diſpatch Nearchus on a ſecond voyage round the coaſt of Arabia and up the Red ſea, that he might obtain more ample knowlege of the coaſts of the Indian, or Erythræan, ſea, for the purpoſes of commerce and government. But that expedition, together with all the ambitious projects, and alſo, as there is good reaſon to believe, the many commercial ſchemes of Alexander, were interrupted by his death, in the thirty-third year of his age (a°. 324) *. This extraordinary man, who was neither ſo perfect a character as his panegyriſts make him, nor ſuch a mere madman as others have raſhly called him, appears to have been ſenſible of the great importance of commerce. It was impoſſible for him not reflect, that the vaſt and populous empire of Perſia, and all the nations he had ever attacked, either in Europe or in Aſia, had ſunk under his power with leſs oppoſition than he had met with from the ſingle mercantile city of Tyre. The reflection could not fail to impreſs him with a very high idea of the reſources to be derived from a flouriſhing and well-directed commerce; and of the great exertions, even of military force, which a community of merchants were capable of making, when compelled to employ their money, the ſinews of trade, and alſo of war, in the defence of their native country. The foundation of Alexandria has been already related: and many others of his actions ſhow, that, amidſt all his plans of war and conqueſt, he never loſt ſight of a grand deſign of making the commerce of his ſubjects ſtill more extenſive than his empire. With this view he built about ſeventy towns in ſituations well adapted for commercial intercourſe. With this view he opened the navigation of the Euphrates, the Tigris, and the Eulœus, which were ſaid to have been obſtructed by the blind policy of pre-

* Among the weſtern nations who ſent congratulatory, or adulatory, addreſſes to Alexander, were the Romans, according to Clitarchus, an hiſtorian who attended him in his expedition, and, by Pliny's account, the ſecond Greek writer who mentioned the Romans; the firſt being Theopompus, who only recorded the capture of Rome by the Gauls. [*Plin. L.* iii, *c.* 5.] Neither of theſe notices was very flattering to the pride of the conquerors of the world, whoſe romantic hiſtorian, Livy, has amuſed himſelf [*L.* ix, *c.* 17] with making up a liſt of Roman heroes contemporary with Alexander, who would have conquered him, if he had preſumed to come in their way. Livy did not know, or was willing to forget, that the Romans were repeatedly defeated, not by Alexander, but by Alexander's veteran warriors, 7,000 of whom were in the army of Pyrrhus king of Epirus.

ceding ſovereigns, in order to prevent the arrival of foreign veſſels*. He had two veſſels of five tires of oars, three of four, twelve of three, and thirty veſſels of thirty oars each, built by the Phœnicians, and afterwards taken aſunder, carried over-land to Thapſacus on the Euphrates, there ſet up, launched on the river, and floated down to Babylon: and he built a fleet of veſſels of the cypreſs wood of Babylonia, having procured carpenters, ſeafaring people, and people acquainted with the capture of the purple ſhell-fiſh, from Phœnicia and Syria. He alſo conſtructed a harbour, capable of containing a thouſand veſſels, at the inland city of Babylon. He moreover ordered by his will, that harbours, and yards for ſhip-building, ſhould be made in proper places throughout his empire; and that a great road ſhould be extended along the north ſhore of Africa from Egypt to the Ocean, in which plan the conqueſt of the Carthaginian territories was to be included.

Alexander's voyages, the menſuration of all his marches made by the beſt artiſts he could procure, and the information obtained by the men of ſcience in his army, were the foundation of what knowlege the Greeks had of the geography of Aſia, and probably alſo of general geography. His preceptor, Ariſtotle, in his work upon the heavens, [*L.* ii, *c.* 14] proves the earth, which we inhabit, to be a globe, the circumference of which was reckoned by mathematicians 400,000 ſtadia (about 40,000 miles). He alſo ſays, there is nothing improbable in the opinion of thoſe who believe, that there is only one ocean, and that the Columns of Hercules (or the Straits of Gibraltar) are very near to India. —Behold the earlieſt dawn, at leaſt the earlieſt known to us, of that geographical ſcience which, after a lapſe of about eighteen centuries, ſtirred up in Chriſtopher Colon the ambition of being the leader of European navigators to India by a weſtern courſe †.

In the important ſcience of aſtronomy Alexander poured a copious ſtream of new light upon Greece by tranſmitting to Ariſtotle an exact copy of the celeſtial obſervations, which had been made at Babylon during the courſe of *above nineteen centuries.*

From the knowlege conveyed to Europe by the hiſtorians and artiſts in the ſervice of himſelf and his ſucceſſors, corrected and aſſiſted by ſome very antient monuments of the literature and ſcience of India, which have lately been acquired, we are enabled to form ſome idea of the antient ſtate of that country.

* Such is the motive aſſigned for the obſtruction of the ſtreams by the hiſtorians of Alexander. [*Arrian*, *L.* vii—*Strabo*, *L.* xvi, *p.* 1078.] But, as ſuch obſtructions are ſtill kept up on the Euphrates and Tigris for the purpoſe of ſpreading the water over the adjacent level country, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the antient dikes were conſtructed for the ſame uſeful purpoſe. [See *Tavernier*, *V.* i, *p.* 227—*Voyages de Niebuhr*, *V.* ii, *pp.* 198, 307.]

† The paſſage of Ariſtotle here quoted, which ſhows that ſome others had alſo turned their attention to ſuch ſubjects, is aſſigned as one of the chief foundations of Colon's belief of the practicability of a weſtern voyage to India, in the ſeventh chapter of his hiſtory, written by his ſon.

At the time of Alexander's invaſion the juriſprudence and police of India were regulated with admirable wiſdom, matured by the accumulated experience of many centuries of civilization and eſtabliſhed government. The large extent of the ſtates or kingdoms, the perfection of their agriculture and manufactures, and the very flouriſhing ſtate of the arts and ſciences, afford evident proofs of this truth *. Their fertile fields, and their judicious cultivation, produced annually two crops of grain of various ſorts, whereof rice conſtituted the chief article of their ſubſiſtence. From rice they extracted a ſpiritous liquor, as well as from the ſugar-cane; from which they alſo made ſugar, which Nearchus [*ap. Strab. L.* xv, *p.* 1016] calls honey of canes, its proper Indian name of ſacchar (σακχαρ) being yet unknown to the Greeks. The rent of land was generally one fourth part of the produce. The cultivators of the earth, together with their lands and their productions, were exempted from the toils, the dangers, and the ravages, of war. The valuable cotton ſhrub ſupplied them with clothing, which was chiefly calico, either pure white, or adorned with figures of various colours, ſuch as is now worn by women of all ranks in this country, in imitation of the productions of the Indian looms. Their dreſs was alſo ornamented with gold and jewels. They uſed umbrellas, a ſimple and elegant defence from the ſun and the rain, which we have juſt begun to enjoy, after it has been ſome thouſands of years common in the Eaſt. Their roads were carefully kept in repair, and regularly furniſhed with mile-ſtones. Houſes of reception for travelers (called *choultries* at preſent, and probably then alſo) were eſtabliſhed at proper diſtances. The intereſt of money was regulated by law, as was alſo the rate, or premium, due for the advance of money upon bottomry; circumſtances which ſhow, that commerce was well underſtood, and had long flouriſhed †. Their ſculptures on the hardeſt gems, many of which are of very high antiquity and great elegance, and their ingenious works in various metals, and in ivory, were admired by the Greeks ‡. Their architecture, military and religious, was on ſuch a large ſcale, as could only be executed by great communities, living under regular governments. Their literary compoſitions, in the earlieſt ages to which our imperfect information extends, but many centuries prior to the irruption of Alexander, appear, by the ſpecimens we have lately been favoured with, to be ſuch as could only be produced among

* Doctor Robertſon alſo conſiders the diſtribution of the people into diſtinct hereditary caſts, who were bound by their religion invariably to follow the profeſſions or trades of their anceſtors, as a proof of very antient civilization; [*Hiſtorical diſquiſition, p.* 230, *ed.* 1794] though the wiſdom of ſuch a policy ſeems at leaſt very doubtful.

† In this commercial nation contracts for bottomry were not regularly legal till the reign of Charles I. How many centuries we were behind the Indians in commercial policy!

‡ The preſent age may alſo ſee and admire the gems in the great treaſury of them, collected by Mr. Taſſie of Leiceſter ſquare. The legends on them are in the Sanſkreet, which, though antiently the univerſal language of a great part of Aſia, has long been known only to the moſt learned of the Brahmins.

a people of elegant manners, and cultivated taſte, improved by ages of refinement. In moral and natural philoſophy they are acknowleged to have been the maſters of the Grecian ſages, the greateſt of whom, notwithſtanding the vaſt length and labour of the journey, traveled to India, that they might drink the ſtreams of wiſdom and learning pure at the fountain. In the eminently-uſeful and moſt perfect ſcience of ARITHMETIC the uſed the ſimple and comprehenſive ſyſtem of nine figures and a cypher, now common among us, which is ſo infinitely ſuperior to the tedious and clumſy numerical notation of the Greeks and Romans by letters *. They alſo underſtood that more abſtruſe ſpecies of arithmetic, called algebra, which they appear to have communicated to the reſt of the world. The rotundity of the earth was known to them. Their aſtronomical calculations, which include the moſt profound knowlege of arithmetic and trigonometry, riſe up to a height of antiquity, which may ſtagger credibility, and which, if infallibly proved to be genuine, (and they have ſtood the teſt of very ſtrict examination by ſome great aſtronomers) go far to overturn the authenticity of our generally-received moſt antient chronology; for they exceed the antiquity of the Babylonian calculations by almoſt *nine centuries*. (See above, page 3.) And here it is proper to obſerve, that the fanciful figures, aſſigned to the twelve diviſions of the zodiak, appear, from recent diſcoveries of very antient monuments, to have been copied by the Greeks, or their authors, from the Indian aſtronomers; though we have all along ſuppoſed them ſprung from the fabulous mythology of Greece †.

* 'According to a new though probable no-'tion, maintained by M. de Villoiſon, (*Anecdota 'Græca, tom.* ii, *p.* 152—157) our cyphers are not 'of Indian or Arabic invention. They were 'uſed by the Greek and Latin arithmeticians long 'before the age of Boethius. After the extinc-'tion of ſcience in the Weſt, they were adopted by 'the Arabic verſions from the original MSS. and '*reſtored* to the Latins about the xith century.' [*Gibbon's Hiſtory of the Roman empire, ed.* 1791, *V.* x, *p.* 8, *note.*]

The celebrated Huet had nearly the ſame *notion* with Villoiſon. He ſays, that, though it is the opinion of all learned men, that the numeral figures now in uſe were brought into Spain by the Moors, who had them from the Arabs, who had them from the Indians; and, though he agrees that the Spaniards learned them from the Moors, and they from the Arabs, he maintains, that the Indians learned them from the Arabs, and the Arabs from the Greeks, from whom they alſo derived all their learning: but they had ſo much altered the forms of the figures from thoſe of the Greek numeral letters, that they can ſcarcely be recognized in their imitations of them (which, to be ſure, is no wonder, for there is no likeneſs). And for all this he adduces the authority of Theophanes, a Conſtantinopolitan writer of the ninth century, who ſays, that the Arabs have retained the Greek numerals, *having no characters in their own language for marking numbers.* [*Huetiana, art.* 48.] And ſo we are to believe, on the authority of Theophanes, ('the father of many a lie,' *Gibbon, V.* ix, *p.* 253) that the Arabian merchants, who appear from the books of Geneſis and Job, from Agatharchides, the Periplus of the Erythræan ſea, Strabo, Pliny, &c. to have been the firſt, and, for ſeveral thouſands of years, the greateſt importers of Indian goods, and the band of connection between the eaſtern and weſtern parts of the world, were deſtitute of figures to keep their accounts, till they learned them from the Greeks!

'The Arabians, not long after their ſettlement 'in Spain, introduced this mode of notation into 'Europe, and were candid enough to acknowledge, 'that they derived the knowledge of it from the 'Indians.' [*Robertſon's Diſquiſition, p.* 288, *ed.* 1794—and ſee *Montucla, Hiſt. de mathematiques, V.* i, *p.* 360.]

† There is a curious paſſage in Ammianus Marcellinus, [*L.* xxiii] wherein he ſays, that Hyſtaſpes, the father of Darius, traveled into India, and was inſtructed by the Brachmans (or Bramins) in the knowlege of the mundane ſyſtem and the motions of the ſtars, as well as the pure rites of religion.

With all theſe high acquiſitions in philoſophy, literature, arts, ſciences, and manufactures; in ſhort, with every requiſite of national grandeur and felicity, they carried the pacific virtues to ſuch an exceſs, and conſequently were ſo ignorant of the art of war, that in all ages every adventurous plunderer, who could collect fifty or a hundred thouſand robbers under his command, and could ſurmount the natural obſtructions of rugged mountains and great rivers, has found it an eaſy matter to ſeize the wealth of an induſtrious and gentle, but effeminate, people. Yet, notwithſtanding the frequent repetition of thoſe robberies, the Indians, by the fertility of their ſoil, the frugality of their expenſes, particularly in their ſubſiſtence, and above all, by the unrivaled excellence of their manufactures, and the greatneſs of their trade, though generally a paſſive one, have in all ages quickly recovered from the effects of the depredations, and ſoon become more wealthy than their plunderers *.

Such were the people, whom the comparatively rude and ignorant Greeks inſolently termed *barbarians;* in which they are followed by too many of the Europeans, even of the preſent day, who conſider, as creatures of an inferior ſpecies, the deſcendents of artiſts and ſages, who were unqueſtionably the teachers of thoſe, from whom we derive our firſt knowlege of arts, ſcience, philoſophy, and letters.

Though the Greeks cannot ſtand a compariſon with the people of the Eaſt in the depth of ſcience, and far leſs in the perfection of manufactures, yet, till the reduction of their country by the Romans, they preſerved a diſtinguiſhed pre-eminence above all the nations of Europe, (unleſs the Etrurians ought to be excepted) in literature and ſcience; while in the fine arts, and in moſt works of taſte, they attained a degree of excellence, ſurpaſſing that of the oriental nations †.

At this time, and probably for many centuries before ‡, the ſouthern

* National induſtry is a gentle, regular, and never-failing ſtream, producing a gradual and certain accumulation of wealth; whereas the horridly-ſplendid acquiſition of conqueſt, is an inundation, which, after ſuddenly creating an ocean of ſuperabundance, leaves behind it a ruined and barren deſert.

† It cannot, however, be denied, that the Greeks of Alexander's age were wonderfully ignorant of many things, which they might have known from Herodotus. Had they attended to the information tranſmitted by him, they need not have ſuppoſed, that Alexander was the firſt, who, after their fabulous Bacchus and Hercules, reached the River Indus: they need not have ſuppoſed that river to be the Nile, becauſe they ſaw crocodiles in it, nor have been terrified by the tides at the mouth of it; nor would Alexander have been in doubt, whether the Caſpian ſea was an inland lake, or a branch of the ocean. [See *Herod. L.* i, *c.* 203; *L.* ii, *c.* 11; *L.* iv, *c.* 44.]

For the hiſtory of Alexander, I have moſtly followed Arrian. The ſketch of the antient ſtate of India is chiefly compiled from Arrian, Strabo, Pliny, &c. who have preſerved fragments of the works of Nearchus, Oneſicritus, Megaſthenes, and other writers of Alexander's age; and I am indebted for the moſt of the recently-obtained information, to Doctor Robertſon's elaborate appendix to his *Diſquiſition on ancient India*, to which the reader may apply for more ample information, and for the authorities.

‡ 'The labour of Egypt, and merchandize of 'Ethiopia, and the Sabeans, men of ſtature,' were noted by Iſaiah, [*c.* 45] who lived 800 years before the Chriſtian æra; and Agatharchides, 650 years after him, deſcribed the Sabeans as remarkably ſtout men, and the greateſt merchants in the world.

Arabians, whoſe great proficiency in manufactures, ſcience, and commerce, in the early ages has been already noticed, were the merchants who managed the commercial intercourſe between the weſtern parts of the world and India. '*Hitherto no one had ever ſailed from India to Egypt,* '*neither had any perſon from Egypt ever ventured as far as India,*' the utmoſt extent of their navigation being the port called Arabia the Bleſſed, or the Happy, in the country of the Sabeans, a little way beyond the ſtrait or mouth of the Red ſea, wherein all the rich productions and manufactures of India, and all thoſe which were carried from Egypt, as well as the ſpices, aromatics, and other produce of the adjacent country, were collected and exchanged; that port being then, what Alexandria became in after ages, the commercial center of the eaſtern and weſtern worlds *. [*Periplus Maris Erythræi, p.* 156, *ed. Blancardi.*]

The Gerrhæans, a Babylonian colony ſettled in that part of Arabia which lies on the ſouth coaſt of the Perſian gulf, were engaged in the ſame trade, and carried their merchandize in boats up the Euphrates to Babylon, and alſo as far as Thapſacus, 240 miles higher up the river in the Palmyrenian territory, where they were landed, and thence diſpenſed by land carriage through all the neighbouring countries, [*Ariſtobulus ap. Strabo, L.* xvi, *p.* 1110—*Agatharchides, L.* v, *c.* 50, *ap. Photium*] and probably, by means of the Palmyrenian merchants, into Europe.

The foundation of the commercial city of Maſſilia by a colony of Aſiatic Greeks from Phocæa in the time of Cyrus has already been noticed. There is little or no mention of the early commercial tranſactions of the Maſſilians in any hiſtory now extant; but it is probable that they went on in a peaceful career of commercial proſperity. It was about this time, or perhaps before it, that, emulous of the fame, and deſirous of participating in the advantageous trade, of the Phœnicians of Gadir, and perhaps of the Carthaginians, in the remote countries unknown to the other Mediterranean nations, they determined, with a ſpirit worthy of a great commercial ſtate, to ſend perſons properly qualified to make diſcoveries in the Ocean to the ſouthward and northward of the Straits. Of the ſouthern voyage we know nothing but the name of Euthymenes † the commander. The conduct of the more arduous northern expedition was committed to their illuſtrious citizen, Pytheas, a philoſopher and diſcoverer, whoſe works, if extant, would throw great

* I have placed this important notice of the commercial pre-eminence of Arabia Felix only coeval with the infancy of Alexandria. It unqueſtionably includes the time preceding the eſtabliſhment of that city; and *the modern fancies of great commercial intercourſe between antient Egypt and India vaniſh before it.* The judicious reader will perhaps think that it might with propriety have been carried ſome centuries higher, on the authority of Iſaiah; and we ſhall ſoon ſee reaſon to believe that the boaſted oriental trade of Egypt under the Ptolemies extended no farther than Arabia about 170 years after the foundation of Alexandria, and that there is even no good hiſtoric proof of any *direct* intercourſe between Egypt and India prior to the ſubjection of the former to the Romans.

† This is probably the ſame Euthymenes who is mentioned by Plutarch, Seneca, and Artemidorus of Epheſus, as a geographical writer.

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light on the early hiſtory of Britiſh commerce *. From the imperfect, diſguiſed, and miſrepreſented, quotations of them to be found in ſeveral antient authors †, we learn, that he coaſted along the whole of the ſhore of Britain, where he remarked the extraordinary riſe of the flood tides ‡. From Britain he paſſed in ſix days to Thulè, which is evidently Shetland; and there he obſerved the great length of the days in ſummer, when the ſun roſe in three hours after his ſetting, as he actually does in the north part of Shetland §. He even penetrated into the Baltic ſea to the country of the Guttones, now called Guddai, and the iſland called Abalus and Baltia, (apparently the peninſula now called Samland) the ſhores of which produced amber, an article of luxury highly eſteemed by the antients, among whom many fables were current concerning the country where it was found, and the mode of obtaining it. He alſo deſcribed the abundance of honey, for which that country is ſtill remarkable, and the practice, ſtill common in it, of making drink from honey and from corn. He was the firſt man of Grecian origin who could nearly aſcertain the place of the north pole in the heavens: and ſuch was his aſtronomical accuracy, that his obſervation of the latitude of Maſſilia was proved, by that of the great philoſopher Gaſſendi in 1636, to be *within one mile of the truth*; a difference which might be effected by the change of the buildings of the city in the courſe of ages. His theory of the tides, the very exiſtence of which was ſcarcely known to any of the Greeks, appears, through the

* Pytheas could not well be later than he is here placed, becauſe his work was quoted by Dicearchus, who flouriſhed about 310 years before Chriſt. [*Strabo, L.* ii, *p.* 163.] He might be earlier, for the account of the Northern ocean by Hecatæus of Abdera, a writer contemporary with Alexander, is probably copied from him. The confuſed ſtory of an iſland north of Gaul, *not leſs than Sicily*, (the greateſt of all the iſlands known to the Greeks) might perhaps be an embelliſhment by Hecatæus of the account of Britain by Pytheas. [*Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* iv, *c.* 13.—*Æliani Hiſt. anim. L.* xi, *c.* 1.—*Diod. Sicul. L.* ii.] See alſo Bougainville, [*Mem. de litterature, V.* xix, *p.* 148] who thinks he muſt have lived before Ariſtotle.

† *Eratoſthenes, Polybius, Strabo, Pliny, Plutarch, Cleomedes, Hipparchus ad Aratum, Athenæus, Geminus, Appollonii ſcholiaſtes, Artemidorus*, &c.

‡ Eighty cubits, as copied from Pytheas by Pliny, according to the editions. [*Hiſt. nat. L.* ii, *c.* 97.] This being evidently erroneous, Doctor Forſter, with great probability, ſuppoſes, that inſtead of *octogenis cubitis* (eighty cubits), the true reading ought to be *octo vicenis cubitis* (twenty-eight cubits), or 42 feet, the height to which the ſpring tides actually riſe at Briſtol.

§ The voyage of Pytheas has been miſrepreſented by antient ignorance in detracting from the extent of it, and by modern ignorance in enlarging it beyond the bounds of poſſibility. Becauſe he ſaid that he ſailed in ſix days from Britain to Thulè, it has been ſuppoſed in later times that Thulè muſt have been Iceland; to which a modern navigator, furniſhed with a compaſs and other inſtruments, and having a previous knowlege of the courſe and diſtance, may ſail from the north part of Britain in about ſix days and nights. Thoſe critics did not conſider, how many days would be neceſſary to creep through the utterly-unknown and dangerous channels of the Orkneys, and from thence to Fare iſle and Shetland. They did not conſider, that, though he could proceed from Maſſilia to the northern extremity of Shetland with land conſtantly in ſight, he could not poſſibly go any farther. They were not aware, that a voyage to Iceland, which is ſeveral hundreds of miles from the neareſt European land, was an *abſolute impoſſibility* to a Mediterranean navigator before the invention of the compaſs. And, what was, if poſſible, a greater neglect than all theſe, they did not attend to what is ſaid by Pytheas himſelf, who, in one of the plaineſt quotations given from him by Strabo, [*L.* ii, *p.* 175] calls '*Thulè the moſt northerly of the Britiſh iſlands.*'

disfigured accounts of it tranſmitted to us by the ignorance of ſucceeding writers, to have been perfectly juſt.

Such were the philoſophical, geographical, and commercial, diſcoveries of Pytheas, whoſe voyage, even when diveſted of the imaginary extenſion of it to Iceland by modern authors, if we duely conſider the ſtate of geography, aſtronomy, and navigation, in that age, may without heſitation be pronounced equal for enterpriſe and conduct to any of the circumnavigations of our own age, not even excepting the voyage of Captain Cook into the inhoſpitable and forbidding regions of the Antarctic ocean *.

We know little or nothing of the advantages derived from the diſcoveries of Pytheas by the Maſſilians. It is, however, very probable, that they were the foundation of the great trade in tin, which they afterwards carried on with Britain.

314—Tyre, notwithſtanding the ruin brought upon her by Alexander, again lifted up her head: again the little iſland was covered with buildings, which, to accommodate the crowded population, were reared aloft in the air to a prodigious height †. The merchants, who in their childhood had been ſaved from the butchery of Alexander's army at Carthage and Sidon, recovered the commerce of their fathers, and Tyre reſumed its rank as the firſt mercantile city in the eaſtern part of the Mediterranean. It had recovered ſuch a ſhare of the Oriental trade, (or rather the trade with the ſouth part of Arabia) which was conducted by means of land carriage from Rhinocorura on the confines of Egypt and Phœnicia to the Elanitic branch of the Red ſea, and thence by a navigation of ſeventy days to the mouth of that ſea, that it actually ſupported a competition with Alexandria, though reared and nouriſhed by the foſtering hands of victorious ſovereigns, and fed with the plunder of the Eaſt: ſo difficult is it to turn aſide the ſtream of com-

* This great philoſopher and diſcoverer has born an ample ſhare of the malevolence and detraction uſually attendant on real merit. He has been accuſed of groſs and intentional falſification by Strabo and ſome other antient writers of great abilities, merely becauſe the facts, which he truely related, were incomprehenſible to their very limited knowlege of the laws of nature and the univerſe. But, on the other hand, Eratoſthenes, one of the moſt judicious and accurate writers of antiquity, conſidered the work of Pytheas as an oracle: and even Strabo reluctantly does him the juſtice to credit his account of the northern nations, of the truth of which, by the bye, he was no competent judge. It is little to the credit of ſome modern writers that they have implicitly followed thoſe antient authors in abuſing the *Captain Cook* of antiquity. His character, and the mercantile enterpriſing ſpirit of his countrymen, are worthy of a reſtoration to due honour by the hiſtorical criticiſm and philoſophical ſcrutiny of the preſent age. And it will not be thought out of place to obſerve here, that 'the academy of Marſeille, deriving a worthy pride from this ſpirit of enterpriſe in their anceſtors, animated with a liberality and nobleneſs of ſentiment which nothing but an inward conſciouſneſs of kindred merit could give, have this year, (1787) in a manner that does them great honour, propoſed, as a ſubject for a prize, the euloge of the Britiſh navigator Cook.' [*Governor Pownal's Notices of the Provincia Romana of Gaul*, 1787.]

The beſt account of Pytheas that I have ſeen is in *Foſter's Voyages in the North*, *B.* i, *c.* 2.

† According to Strabo, [*L.* xvi, *p.* 1098] the houſes of Tyre were ſaid to be higher in his time than thoſe of Rome; and there it was neceſſary to reſtrain builders by law from exceeding the height of ſeventy feet. See *Gibbon*, *V.* v, *p.* 287, *ed.* 1792.

merce from the channel in which it has been accuſtomed to flow. But now the freſh calamity of another ſiege by Antigonus, one of the moſt powerful of Alexander's ſucceſſors, again reduced the queen of the ſea almoſt to ruin; and the Tyrians, after ſuſtaining a ſiege of fifteen months, were obliged to ſubmit to the controul and inſult of a garriſon placed in their city by Antigonus (a°. 313). [*Diod. Sicul. L.* xix—*Strabo, L.* xvi, *pp.* 1098, 1113, 1128.]

304—Antigonus was not equally ſucceſsful in his attempt to ſubjugate the Rhodians. Thoſe commercial people, who were famous for the wiſdom of their laws and police, the ſtrength, beauty, and convenience, of their city and harbour, the extent of their trade, and the greatneſs of their naval power, had preſerved a ſtrict neutrality with all the contending princes, who were then tearing the empire of Alexander in pieces, and employed their ſhips of war only againſt pirates, the general enemies of all mankind. Antigonus, having demanded their aſſiſtance againſt Ptolemy king of Egypt, was ſo incenſed at their refuſal, that he immediately ſent a fleet to block up their harbour, and to ſeize all veſſels bound to Egypt. This did not, however, prevent the Rhodians from diſpatching their veſſels for Egypt as uſual; but they had the precaution to ſend a ſufficient convoy of warlike ſhips, which beat off the hoſtile fleet, and ſaw their merchant veſſels ſafe into Egypt. Antigonus now ſent againſt the Rhodians a more formidable fleet and a great army, under the command of his warlike ſon Demetrius, who was renowned for his ingenuity in conſtructing veſſels of war, and engines for the deſtruction of fortifications. The naval forces of Demetrius were augmented by the acceſſion of moſt of the pirates of the Mediterranean ſea, eager to revenge upon the Rhodians the ſevere reſtraint they had ſuffered from their fleets, and alſo longing to ſhare the plunder of a community, whoſe induſtry, prudence, and commercial ſpirit, had enabled them to amaſs great wealth during a long continuance of tranquillity. But, notwithſtanding his great military talents, Demetrius was completely baffled by the Rhodians, who bravely repulſed him in every attempt he made to enter their city, and deſtroyed ſeverals of the moſt formidable of his engines, the conſtruction of which had coſt him incredible labour and expenſe. At laſt, after an unavailing ſiege of a whole year, Antigonus directed his ſon to make peace with the Rhodians: and on this occaſion Demetrius made them a preſent of all the ſtupendous engines he had uſed for their deſtruction. The materials of them ſold for three hundred talents (£58,125 of modern ſterling money); and with that money, and ſome addition to it, they made their famous braſen ſtatue of Apollo, 70 cubits (105 feet) in height, which they ſet up at the entrance of their harbour, where it was ſo placed, that veſſels paſſed between the legs of it in coming in or going out. [*Diod. Sicul. L.* xx—*Plut. in Demetr.*—*Strabo, L.* xiv, *p.* 964—*Plin. L.* xxxiv, *c.* 7.]

311—According to Livy [*L.* ix, *c.* 30] the Romans appointed two new officers, called duumviri navales, (or lords of the admiralty) whoſe duty it was to ſuperintend the equipment and repair of their fleets *.

302—Seleucus, one of Alexander's officers, who obtained Syria, Babylonia, and Perſia, as his ſhare of the empire, had ſome intercourſe with India. He ſent Megaſthenes as his ambaſſador to Chandragupta, called by the Greeks Sandracottus, king of the Praſii, whoſe capital was Pataliputra, which the Greeks call Palibothra, on the Ganges †. Megaſthenes appears to have penetrated farther into the Eaſt than any European ever did before him; and he publiſhed an account of his travels and diſcoveries, which, containing many things incomprehenſible to the Europeans, and being afterwards vitiated by tranſcribers, met with ſeverer treatment from Strabo and ſome other learned men than it probably deſerved; for in his geography of India he was much more accurate than the ſucceeding geographers, except thoſe who copied from him; and it is chiefly to the fragments of his work, tranſcribed by later writers, that we are indebted for what little we know of the antient ſtate of India. Allitrochadas, the ſon of Chandragupta, (or Sandracottus) received another ambaſſador, called Daimachus, from Seleucus, or his ſon Antiochus, who alſo ſent Patrocles on a voyage of diſcovery to the eaſtward. Both theſe travelers wrote accounts of their diſcoveries, of which we know next to nothing. After this the intercourſe between

* It is evident that Livy has antedated the creation of an office ſuppoſed antient in his own time; for Polybius, the earlieſt and moſt impartial writer of Roman hiſtory now extant, ſays very expreſsly and repeatedly, that the Romans had no fleet before their firſt war with Carthage. It may be inferred, however, from their treaties with the Carthaginians, that they, or rather their conquered ſubjects, had ſome trading veſſels; but their traders, as we ſhall frequently have occaſion to obſerve, attracted very little of the attention of government.

It is proper, however, here to introduce a ſtory from a reſpectable author, which, if it were given by him as authentic, might infer that the Romans had probably ſome veſſels about this time: I ſay *probably*, becauſe they might have borrowed veſſels then, as we know for certain they did long after, when they wanted to ferry their army over to Sicily. Theophraſtus, who was a pupil of Ariſtotle, and died 288 years before Chriſt, relates in his Hiſtory of plants, [*L.* v, *c.* 9] that, 'though the 'largeſt and moſt beautiful of the Italian pines 'and firs grow in Latium, they are nothing in 'compariſon with thoſe of Corſica. For the Ro- 'mans, when they went with twenty-five veſſels in 'order to build a town in that iſland, *are ſaid* to 'have fallen in with a place where the trees were 'ſo prodigiouſly large, and their branches ſo cloſe 'together, that the maſts of the veſſels were broken 'to pieces by them in ſome bays and harbours; 'and, as they ſaw that the whole iſland was thick 'ſet, and quite wild and crowded with trees, they '*are ſaid* to have deſiſted from their purpoſe of 'building a town; but ſome of them going aſhore, 'cut down in a ſmall ſpace of ground timber ſuf- 'ficient to build a ſhip which was to carry fifty 'ſails, which, *they moreover ſay*, periſhed in the 'ſea.' They were certainly very right to put it out of ſight. A veſſel with *fifty ſails* indeed! (not a numeral letter N for 50, but πεντηκοντα ιστιοις in plain words). Who ever ſaw or heard of a ſhip carrying fifty ſails, even in the modern ſyſtem of maſts over maſts, ſtudding-ſail booms added to the yards, and ſtay-ſails extended between the maſts? Perhaps the reporters of the ſtory miſtook *ſails* for *oars*; and, if the Romans in that age built a veſſel of fifty oars, it might certainly have been ſomething to boaſt of. It is ſcarcely worth while to notice the leſſer abſurdity of the bays and harbours being ſo narrow, that ſhips were obliged to bruſh through the trees. It appears, however, from this *hearſay* ſtory, that the Romans had made an attempt upon Corſica, which is unknown to their own writers, and alſo to thoſe modern writers who have corrected the faithful Polybius from the romantic Livy.

† See the *Aſiatic reſearches*, *V.* iv, *p.* 10. But the poſition of this famous city is not unqueſtionably aſcertained.

Syria and India was almoſt entirely given up, though the Syrian kings poſſeſſed the ſhores of the Perſian gulf, famous for the fiſhery of pearls, with the iſland of Maceta at the mouth of it, and Diridotis at the mouth of the Euphrates, which were two eſtabliſhed emporia for the ſpice trade. [*Arriani Indica.*] From theſe they could very conveniently have diſpatched ſhips to India, the cargoes of which could be carried into the heart of their dominions by the two great navigable rivers, the Euphrates and Tigris, eſpecially by the former, which has a longer courſe and a more gentle ſtream than the later: and they could be diſperſed through the weſtern and northern regions by the Euxine and the Caſpian ſeas with their great tributary rivers, by the help of ſhort carriages over land. It is proper, however, to obſerve, that Seleucus appears to have conceived the deſign of ſuch an extenſive inland trade, as he intended to open a navigable communication between the Cimmerian Boſphorus and the Caſpian ſea*. And he is probably the ſame King Seleucus who brought plants of the amomum and nard, or ſpikenard, from India by ſea, in hopes to cultivate them in his own dominions, wherein, however, he was diſappointed, as they could not bear the change. [*Plin. L.* xvi, *c.* 32.]

Ptolemy, who in the partition of Alexander's empire had obtained Egypt for his ſhare, fixed his reſidence at the new city of Alexandria, and carefully followed the plans laid down by Alexander for attracting the commerce of the world to that favoured port. Partly by force, partly by perſuaſion and encouragement, but principally by the juſtice of his government, he drew great numbers of people to ſettle in his capital. For the benefit of navigation, the firſt Ptolemy, or his ſon Ptolemy Philadelphus, (for authors vary) erected a light-houſe on a ſmall iſland, called Pharos, before the harbour, which was built of white marble in a moſt magnificent manner at the expenſe of 800 talents, (about £15,500 of modern Britiſh money) under the direction of Soſtratus, an architect of Cnidos (a°. 284.) It was eſteemed one of the ſeven wonders of the world; and its name of Pharos has been extended to all ſucceeding light-houſes. Its light was ſeen at the diſtance of 300 ſtadia, or about 30 geographical miles.

Ptolemy Philadelphus, in purſuance of his father's commercial plans, reſtored, or completed, the canal between the Nile and the weſtern branch of the Red ſea, and thereby effected a navigable communication between his capital and the Indian ocean, of which the native and Perſian ſovereigns of Egypt ſeem ſcarcely ever to have conceived an idea for any commercial purpoſe. The canal was one hundred cubits in

* So we are told on the authority of the emperor Claudius by Pliny. [*Hiſt. nat. L.* vi, *c.* 11.] Pliny has been miſled by ſome preceding writer to ſay, [*L.* ii, *c.* 67] that the Indian ſea ſtretching to the Caſpian *was navigated* by the orders of Seleucus and Antigonus, which, being impoſſible, muſt be falſe.

breadth, and had ſufficient depth for what were then eſteemed large veſſels. There was a lock conſtructed upon it, which, the antient writers ſay, was intended to prevent the ſalt water of the Red ſea from ſpoiling the water of the river, or to prevent the Red ſea from overflowing the land, which, they ſtrangely thought, was lower than the ſurface of that ſea *. [*Strabo*, *L.* xvii, *p.* 1156—*Plin. L.* vi, *c.* 29.]

In this infant ſtate of the trade of Egypt, Heroopolis at the head of the weſtern branch of the Red ſea was the port from which veſſels ſailed, and Sabæa was the country to which they went to procure frankincenſe, myrh, caſia, cinnamon, &c. [*Theophraſti Hiſt. plant. L.* ix, *c.* 4.]

Owing to the dangerous and difficult navigation of the Red ſea, or to ſome other cauſes unknown to us, the canal, the work of ſo many ages, was found not ſo uſeful or advantageous as was expected. Ptolemy therefor founded a town called Berenicè, about 300 miles lower on the Red ſea, to which the ſtaple of the eaſtern trade was removed. The Egyptian, or, to ſpeak more correctly, the Grecian, merchants, ſailed from Berenicè down the Red ſea, near the mouth of which, in the country of the Sabæans, there were ſeveral good trading ports, and particularly that called Arabia Felix, about 120 miles beyond the Straits, where they found a general aſſortment of the ſpices, aromatics, and other productions, of Arabia and Ethiopia, and alſo thoſe of India, which the long experience of the Sabæans in the nature of the periodical winds called monſoons, of the ſeas, and of the various ports of India, enabled them to furniſh to the merchants of Egypt cheaper than they could have procured them themſelves, if they had coaſted the whole way to India in their own ſmall veſſels †. On their return they

* The obvious reaſon was to preſerve the water upon a level at the lower end of the canal, and to let the veſſels down to, or raiſe them up from, the ſea. I do not, however, mean to ſay, that the head of the Red ſea, which has a tide, may not be higher *at high water* than the Mediterranean, which never riſes more than nine or ten inches above its uſual level. But the canal was drawn off from the river *at the head of the Delta*, where its water was probably 30 or 40 feet above the level of the Mediterranean. Indeed the country muſt have been very near level, if, allowing for a very gentle declivity from the head to the mouth of the canal, a ſingle lock was ſufficient to ſhift the veſſels out of, or into, the ſea.—Quere, if this was the firſt lock ever conſtructed upon a canal?

† It has lately been ſuppoſed, that voyages were made direct from Egypt to India from the commencement of the Macedonian dominion in Egypt; but there does not appear to be any ſufficient foundation for ſuch a ſuppoſition. Theophraſtus, an author contemporary with Alexander and the firſt of the Ptolemies, has not a word of voyages to India, though he mentions voyages to Sabæa, as juſt noticed.—No Indian voyages from Egypt are mentioned by Agatharchides when deſcribing the oriental commerce about 170 years after the eſtabliſhment of the Ptolemies in Egypt.—And Strabo, beſides relating the ſtory of a voyage from Egypt to India by Eudoxus, [*L.* ii, *p.* 155] which, whether true or falſe, clearly proves that the Greeks of Egypt had not then attempted any voyages to India, ſays, [*L.* xvii, *p.* 1149] that the trade of Egypt with India and the country of the Troglodytes was *new* in his own time.—It is true that Pliny [*L.* vi, *c.* 23] expreſſes his intention of deſcribing the paſſage of Alexander's fleet from the Indus to the head of the Perſian gulf, 'and afterwards that navigation, which, being diſcovered at that time, is kept up to this day.' But it is not too preſumptuous to ſay, that the authority of Pliny, who wrote from the works or reports of others, and was particularly defective in oriental affairs, if it were even expreſs and pointed, as it is not, ought not to be ſet againſt the aſſertion, or even the ſilence, of Theophraſtus, Agatharchides, or Strabo, who wrote from their own perſonal knowlege.

The

landed their goods at Berenicè, whence they were carried over land upon a road, which Philadelphûs opened with his army, and provided with water and houſes of refreſhment, to Coptos, and thence by inland navigation to Alexandria. [*Strabo, L.* xvii, *p.* 1169—*Periplus Maris Erythræi.*]

With a view to engroſs the whole of this very lucrative trade to his own ſubjects, Ptolemy maintained a powerful fleet in the Red ſea, and another in the Mediterranean. No naval force had ever yet appeared in the world equal to his navy, in which there were two veſſels of thirty tires of oars, and one hundred and ten from twenty to five tires, beſides quadriremes, triremes, and inferior rates, almoſt innumerable. [*Athenæus, L.* v.] Theſe prodigious fleets of obſervation, or of jealouſy, being vaſtly beyond any force that might have been neceſſary to overawe the pirates of Arabia Petræa and thoſe of the Mediterranean, appear to have been chiefly intended to cruſh the competition of the ſtill-ſurviving, but almoſt-expiring, commerce of Tyre on both ſeas.

The decided ſuperiority which the merchants of Alexandria thus obtained over the Tyrians, added to the diſtreſſes brought upon them by Antigonus, when they were juſt recovering from the deſtruction of their city by Alexander, was more than ſufficient to overwhelm a community ſo circumſtanced. And in truth we after this hear but little of Tyre as a capital commercial city, though it long retained ſome little portion of the Arabian commerce, and continued to have a conſiderable trade in the celebrated purple known by its name, ſome manufactures of ſilk and other fine goods, and a profitable fiſhery. [*Strabo, L.* xvi, *p.* 1098.]

It was probably with a view to eſtabliſh a direct intercourſe with India that Ptolemy ſent Dionyſius as his ambaſſador to that country; but we know nothing of any conſequences produced by that embaſſy. [*Plin. L.* vi, *c.* 17.]

Ptolemy Philadelphus has been deſervedly praiſed as a patron of ſcience and literature; and his library, which contained all that was valuable in Grecian literature, and alſo a tranſlation of the books of Moſes, or the whole of the Old teſtament, (for authors differ as to the number of the books), has been famous in all ages.

A great proportion of the moſt civilized parts of Europe, Aſia, and Africa, being now by conqueſt or colonization ſubject to the Greeks, there was a freer communication of knowlege and the arts than could

The judicious Daniſh traveller Niebuhr has ſteered clear of the error into which ſome of our modern great authors have fallen. He informs us, that, though the diſcovery of the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope has deprived the South Arabians of that monopoly of the Indian trade which their anceſtors enjoyed, they ſtill preſerve the command of it with reſpect to Egypt, ſo far as to prohibit any veſſel from India from proceeding beyond Jidda, an Arabian port about half way up the Red ſea, and that veſſels go between the Arabian ports and Egypt with Indian merchandize even now, as they did in the remoteſt ages. [*Voyages de Niebuhr, V.* i, *p.* 224; *V.* ii, *paſſim.*] Purchas [*B.* iii, *pp.* 230, 261] alſo deſcribes Mocha, an Arabian port, as a principal entrepot between India and Egypt.

be obtained in former times; and thence this age was peculiarly diſtinguiſhed by eminent writers and philoſophers, among whom there were ſeverals who improved geography and the other ſciences connected with commerce, particularly Timocharis and Dionyſius, eminent aſtronomers, whoſe obſervations on the ſtars have been preſerved in the works of Ptolemy the aſtronomer and geographer; Timoſthenes, Ptolemy's admiral, who wrote a deſcription of harbours; Euclid, who even now retains the firſt rank among the writers on geometry; Dicearchus, (perhaps dead before this reign) a natural philoſopher, geographer, and hiſtorian, who was a follower of Pytheas in his deſcription of Britain; and, contemporary with theſe philoſophers, (though perhaps younger than them) Cleanthes of Samos, who was accuſed by Ariſtarchus of violating the religious creed of the age, and overturning the whole ſyſtem of the univerſe, becauſe he taught that the heavens remained immoveable, and that the earth was carried round in an oblique orbit, revolving in the meantime round its own axis. [*Plut. de facie in orbe lunæ.*] Thus Cleanthes had the honour, of all who lived in the weſtern world after Pythagoras, and before Cardinal Cuſa *, to approach the neareſt to the true ſyſtem of the univerſe, as it was explained in later times by Copernicus, and afterwards demonſtrated by the uſe of the teleſcope.

Beſides Dicearchus, ſome other writers of this age have thrown ſome faint glimmerings of light upon the hiſtory of *Britiſh commerce*, particularly Timæus, a Sicilian, and a follower of Pytheas, whoſe account of the tin trade will be preſently noticed; and Iſidorus, who ſeems alſo to have derived his information from the ſame great diſcoverer. Our iſland was alſo noticed in the work upon the world, aſcribed to Ariſtotle, but more probably of this age, and by Sotacus, an author ſeemingly as early as the others, who thought amber a diſtillation from trees growing in Britain †. [*Plin. L.* iv, *c.* 16; *L.* xxxvii, *c.* 2.]

The Britiſh commerce, hitherto engroſſed by the Phœnicians of

* Ariſtarchus flouriſhed about 260 years before the commencement of the Chriſtian æra, and Cuſa in the middle of the fifteenth century.

† Theſe were all Greeks, and they were ſome of the writers who induced Pliny to ſay in his very brief deſcription of Britain, [*L.* iv, *c.* 16] that it was renowned in *Grecian* and Roman records, ('clara *Græcis* noſtriſque monumentis.') And this clauſe is with ſome modern writers a ſufficient proof that the Greeks had ſo great an intercourſe with this iſland as to introduce their language and manners.

It is natural to ſuppoſe that the remote and almoſt-unknown iſland of Britain would be frequently mentioned, after the diſcovery of it by Pytheas, by the Grecian writers, ever fond of the marvelous: and as Pliny probably had not read, or perhaps could not read, any of the Phœnician writers of Gadir or Carthage, the Grecian authors were, till a late period, the only ones from whom he could poſſibly obtain any account of Britain; for Rome does not appear to have had any writers in the times now under our conſideration. But I know of no warrant in hiſtory for a belief that any native of Greece ever landed on the coaſt of Britain before the Roman invaſion, far leſs carried on a long-continued intercourſe, ſufficient, *if any ſuch intercourſe could ever be ſufficient*, to change the language and manners of the people, as has been ſuppoſed. Pytheas, a Maſſilian, was of very remote Greek anceſtry: but his intercourſe with Britain was not near ſo much as that of Captain Cook with Otaheitè in his repeated viſits to that iſland; and yet the people of Otaheitè do not ſpeak Engliſh.

Gadir, (unleſs their brethren of Carthage participated in it) and carried on at the weſtern extremity of the country, or the Silley iſlands, ſeems now to have been alſo ſhared by ſome other people ſettled on the north coaſt of Gaul, who, we may preſume, were connected with, or agents of, the Maſſilians. The ſtaple of this new commerce was thereupon eſtabliſhed at Mictis *, (one of the iſlands on the ſouth coaſt) to which the tin was carried by the Britons in their leather boats, as we learn from the contemporary teſtimony of Timæus. [*ap. Plin. L.* v, *c.* 16—*Diod. Sicul. L.* v, § 22.] And the change of the ſtaple, and preference of inland navigation by the principal rivers of Gaul, or of land carriage, appear to have been owing to the apprehenſion of meeting with the ſhips of the Phœnicians, whoſe naval ſuperiority was univerſally acknowleged, if they ſhould venture to coaſt along the ſhores of Gaul and Spain, or perhaps merely to the averſion of the Maſſilian navigators to ſo long a circuit by ſea. It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that theſe new arrangements were effected by the negotiations of Pytheas with the Britons.

The repeated calamities of Tyre, among which may be reckoned the eſtabliſhment of Alexandria, muſt have greatly deranged the commerce of the Phœnicians. The oriental trade, which, by the aſſiſtance of land carriage acroſs the iſthmus between Africa and Aſia, they had enjoyed excluſively during many centuries, (for the tranſient participation of it by the Iſraelites was only for their own conſumption, and laſted but a few years) was in a great meaſure transferred to that new emporium, where it could not fail to take root and flouriſh by the favour and protection of the Macedonian kings of Egypt, who had powerful fleets in

* There can be little doubt that Mictis was the ſame iſland which was afterwards called Ictis by Diodorus Siculus. [*L.* v, § 21. *ed. Amſtel.* 1746.] By the moderns it has been ſuppoſed Silley, or Wight: the former, becauſe Timæus, as copied by Pliny, repreſents it as producing tin; and the later, apparently for no better reaſon than the ſuppoſed reſemblance of the name, which is further ſaid to remain with little variation to this day among the Welſh, who call it Guith; and perhaps alſo becauſe it is the principal iſland on the ſouth coaſt, and moſt conſpicuous on the map. But Timæus muſt have had his information from ſeamen, with whom it is uſual to call every article the production of the place where they take it in: and Diodorus, from later, and apparently better, information, deſcribes Ictis as the port to which the tin was brought from the place of its production in order to be ſhipped.—Ictis was ſeparated from the main by a channel fordable at low water; but the channel between Wight and the main has a depth of above thirty fathom where it is narroweſt at Hurſt caſtle, and, where it is ſhalloweſt between Beauly river in Hamp-ſhire and Gurnard bay in Wight, it has ſeven fathom and a half at low water. Though the many changes made by the ſea on this part of the coaſt render it *not impoſſible* that the antient Mictis or Ictis and the modern Wight may be the ſame, yet the iſlands of Portland and Purbeck, which, though now peninſulas, are conſtantly called iſlands, probably in memory of having formerly been ſuch, (as Thanet on the coaſt of Kent alſo is) the ſmall iſlands in Poole bay, and alſo Portſey and Haling, may all compete for the name of Mictis or Ictis with more probability than Silley or Wight. But of the whole Portland anſwers beſt to the deſcription of Diodorus.

The error of placing Mictis at the diſtance of ſix days' ſail from Britain need not be wondered at in Timæus, a Sicilian Greek, who wrote of this trade when it was in its infancy. Perhaps the author of his information underſtood it to be ſix days' ſail from that part of Britain which was neareſt to the continent; and that is the only explanation which can make it apply to any iſland connected with Britain, or indeed to any iſland whatever.

the Mediterranean and Red ſeas. The univerſal uſe of the Greek language among the ſuperior people of almoſt every part of the Mediterranean coaſt, as far weſt as Sicily on the one hand and Cyrenaica on the other, alſo contributed to give the merchants of Alexandria a very great advantage over the Phœnicians in every port throughout thoſe rich and extenſive tracts of coaſt. Theſe great diſcouragements, cooperating with the inſults of the ſoldiers placed among them by Antigonus, muſt have compelled many of the merchants, manufacturers, and other inhabitants, of Tyre and the neighbouring towns, to remove their families, their capitals, and as much as poſſible of their commerce, to Carthage, where they could enjoy liberty among a free people of kindred manners and ſpeech. Such an acceſſion of wealthy and induſtrious inhabitants was ſufficient to raiſe Carthage in the ſcale of commercial proſperity and naval ſuperiority beyond any degree of competition which could be attempted (except in the one branch of trade with Arabia) by the new-eſtabliſhed port of Alexandria, by Syracuſe, by Corinth, or by any other port in the Mediterranean ſea. And this reaſoning, highly probable from the natural conſequence of known hiſtoric events, receives clear confirmation from the poſitive and unqueſtionable teſtimony of Polybius, who repeatedly informs us that the Carthaginians were at this time the acknowleged ſovereigns of the ſea, and in every reſpect at the zenith of their proſperity.

280—At this time the invaſion of Italy by Pyrrhus, a valiant and turbulent king of Epirus, obliged the Romans to court the friendſhip of the Carthaginians, to ſecure their powerful aſſiſtance, if neceſſary, againſt the moſt formidable enemy they had ever encountered. A third treaty between the two republics was accordingly concluded, wherein they contracted, that each ſhould aſſiſt the other, if invaded; the ſhips in either caſe to be furniſhed by the Carthaginians, and the troops to be paid by the ſtate requiring their aſſiſtance. [*Polyb. L.* iii, *c.* 25.]

271—When the Carthaginians, by an unremitting attention to commerce, had raiſed themſelves, with the general good will of the neighbouring nations, to a height of wealth and proſperity, which Appian compares to the empire of the Macedonians for power, and to that of the Perſians for opulence, the Romans, by an equally-unremitting attention to war and plunder, had now extended their dominion over almoſt all the peninſular part of Italy; and their ambition now aſpired to the empire of the world.

A band of Campanian banditti had treacherouſly got into the city of Meſſana in Sicily, where they murdered the citizens, raviſhed their wives, and ſeized their property. They afterwards infeſted the Carthaginian and Grecian colonies in Sicily with frequent plundering excurſions, wherein they were aſſiſted by a ſimilar gang of ruffians, who, by a ſimilar villany, had ſeized on Rhegium upon the oppoſite ſide of the

ſtrait in Italy, till they were exterminated by the Romans, who were at that time deſirous of ſhowing to the world their great abhorrence of treachery.

The Campanian robbers of Maſſana, who aſſumed the name of Mamertini (Warriors, or ſons of Mars) were thereupon obliged to ſurrender their citadel to a Carthaginian garriſon. Some of them, however, who were diſcontented with this meaſure, applied to the Romans for aſſiſtance: and in favour of allies, ſo worthy of their protection, the Romans, who were exceedingly glad of any pretence for interfering in the affairs of Sicily, engaged in a war againſt the Carthaginians and Syracuſians; but they ſoon concluded a ſeparate peace with the later, that they might have only one enemy to contend with.

264—In order to tranſport their army to Sicily, the Romans borrowed veſſels from the Tarentines, Eleates, Locrians, and Neapolitans; for their republic did not poſſeſs a ſingle veſſel of any kind, even for ſo trifling a navigation as to ferry their troops over the ſtrait of Meſſana *.

At the beginning of the war the Carthaginians, who were abſolute maſters of the ſea, diſtreſſed the whole coaſt of Italy with prædatory incurſions, while their own country, inacceſſible to the Romans, almoſt enjoyed the comforts of peace. The Romans therefor reſolved to eſtabliſh a naval force, though they had neither ſhip-carpenters to build, nor ſeamen to man, a fleet: and this is one of many inſtances of the perſevering intrepidity and reſolution by which they obtained the empire of the world. In paſſing the Strait of Meſſana they had got poſſeſſion of a Carthaginian *quinqueremes*, which was ſtranded. In imitation of this veſſel their carpenters conſtructed 100 *quinqueremes*; and they alſo built 20 *triremes*, of which kind they had already ſeen ſome in Italy. This fleet, if Pliny [*Hiſt. nat. L.* xvi, *c.* 39] was truely informed, was ready for ſea in ſixty days, reckoning from the time of cutting down the trees †.

260—The firſt naval eſſay of the Romans, as might be expected, was

* The ten Roman ſhips of war at Tarentum a few years before this time, and alſo the Roman *duumviri navales*, or *lords of the admiralty*, in an earlier age, muſt vaniſh before this unqueſtionable truth, which is expreſsly, formally, and repeatedly, affirmed by Polybius, one of the beſt informed and moſt impartial writers of antiquity. [*L.* i, *c.* 20.]

† Florus [*L.* ii, *c.* 2] feels this marvelous diſpatch rather too ſtrong an embelliſhment, even for his florid hiſtory, and ſeems deſirous to eſcape from the abſurdity under the ſhelter of a miraculous metamorphoſis of trees into ſhips. Polybius ſays nothing of the time employed in getting ready this firſt of the Roman fleets: but, when he tells us [*L.* i, *c.* 38] that another fleet built by the Romans, after their carpenters had got ſix years' experience, was ready for ſea in three months, he remarks, that ſuch diſpatch was ſcarcely credible. We muſt remember, that Polybius received the materials for the early part of his hiſtory from the Romans; and indeed he remarks [*L.* i, *c.* 64] from *his own obſervation*, that the Romans though much more powerful after the deſtruction of Carthage, could fit out no ſuch fleets in his time.

When the experience of almoſt ſix centuries, and the collected ſcience of the whole weſtern world, had greatly improved the Roman marine, ſeveral years were employed in getting ready a fleet againſt the Britiſh emperor Carauſius. And this unqueſtionable fact renders ſuch wonderful diſpatch in the very infancy of the Roman navigation utterly incredible to every perſon who chuſes to examine what he reads.

unfortunate. Seventeen ſhips were blocked up in the harbour of Lipara by the Carthaginians, whereupon the Roman ſailors fled to the land, and left their conſul and their ſhips a prey to the enemy. Soon after fifty Carthaginian ſhips unexpectedly found themſelves in the midſt of the whole Roman fleet, and a conſiderable part of them were taken. The next engagement was a general one, wherein the Romans were for the firſt time to have a fair trial of their valour upon an unknown element. The anxiety, inſeparable from the novelty of the danger, put their invention on the rack to diſcover ſome means of making up for the great ſuperiority of their enemies in the conſtruction of their ſhips, their marine diſcipline, and naval tactics. The mind, unfettered by precedents, often ſtrikes out new thoughts, which the experienced veterans do not venture to conceive, but endeavour to conceal the ſterility of their own brains under an affected contempt of the untaught genius of others. So it happened with the Carthaginian lords of the ſea: they laughed to ſcorn the grapling crows and boarding ſtages erected upon the clumſy ſhips of the Roman landſmen, and the natural conſequence of deſpiſing an enemy neceſſarily followed. They were defeated by Duilius, a commander ignorant of the ſea, whoſe name is immortalized by the action, while that of the inventor of the crows, which effected the victory, is unknown *. [*Polyb. L.* i, *cc.* 21-23.]

In the courſe of this war the Romans, notwithſtanding the vaſt inferiority of their veſſels and of their ſeamanſhip, which ſubjected them to prodigious loſſes by ſtorms †, as well as by battles, were ſeveral times victorious at ſea; and by the general ſuperiority of their military diſcipline they got poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of the Carthaginian territory in Sicily. They even carried the war into Africa (a°. 256), where the ſavage and arrogant conſul Regulus, after ravaging the country almoſt to the gates of Carthage, was made priſoner; an event, which has furniſhed a foundation for ample fictitious embelliſhments. A remarkably ſwift galley, having got aground in the night, fell into the hands of the Romans, who, by means of her, got poſſeſſion of another very faſt-going veſſel, which had repeatedly run through the Roman fleet in defiance. The Roman treaſury was now exhauſted; but the citizens at their own expenſe furniſhed two hundred *quinqueremes*, built in exact imitation of the two ſwift Carthaginian veſſels (a°. 242): and with them the Romans, now conſiderably improved in nautical knowlege, gained a complete victory

* Grappling irons, invented by Nicias, were uſed by the Athenians in their engagements with the Syracuſians 413 years before Chriſt. But the Romans cannot be ſuppoſed to have known any thing of that invention.

† In one ſtorm 384 of their ſhips were wrecked or foundered, and almoſt every ſoul onboard periſhed, through the obſtinate ignorance of the conſuls, who deſpiſed the advice of their pilots. Another ſtorm made a total deſtruction of the Roman fleet, leaving not ſo much as a plank of it unbroken. The Carthaginian fleet, which was at ſea at the ſame time, got into a good harbour, and was perfectly ſafe.

over the Carthaginians, who were obliged to ſue for peace, which they obtained on the hard terms of reſigning all their territory in Sicily and the iſlands on the north ſide of it, and paying to the Romans three thouſand two hundred Euboic talents, which contained as much ſilver as would make ſix hundred and twenty thouſand pounds of modern Britiſh ſilver money. And ſuch, notwithſtanding the acknowleged ſuperior talents of the Carthaginian commanders by land as well as by ſea, was the end of the Sicilian war, called by later writers the firſt Punic war.

At this time the *modius* (a ſmall fraction more than a peck) of corn *(far)* was ſold at Rome for an *as*, which then contained two ounces of braſs. The ſame money might purchaſe a *congius* ($7\frac{1}{8}$ pints) of wine, thirty *pondo* of dried figs, ten *pondo* of oil, or twelve *pondo* of butcher meat. [*Varro, ap Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* xviii, *c.* 3.] N. B. The *pondo* is ſomewhat leſs than our pound troye.—If ſuch were the prices in the time of an exhauſting war, what might they have been, had the Romans ever been at peace?

Immediately after the peace the Carthaginians experienced the dreadful conſequences of truſting their arms (agreeable to the erroneous maxims of their Tyrian anceſtors) almoſt entirely in the hands of mercenaries. Thoſe ſoldiers, who had no regard for Carthage, offended at ſome imprudent, or inevitable, delay in diſcharging their pay, took advantage of the reduced ſtate of the republic, and drew in almoſt all the neighbouring ſtates of Africa to aſſiſt them to ruin Carthage. The dreadful atrocities of this war, which are unparalleled in the hiſtory of human crimes and calamities, were at laſt terminated (a°. 238) by the conduct of Amilcar.

During this war Italian merchants ſupplied Carthage with neceſſaries, by permiſſion of the Romans, who prohibited them from carrying any to the revolted mercenaries.

The Sardinians had taken the opportunity of the troubles of Carthage to ſhake off their dependence upon that republic; and the Romans, though for ſome time they had ſhewn an appearance of adhering with the ſtricteſt honour to the treaty of peace, made themſelves maſters of the noble iſland of Sardinia in a manner, which even Livy [*L.* xxi, *c.* 1] acknowleges to be fraudulent, and Polybius [*L.* iii, *c.* 28] execrates with the warm reſentment, which an honeſt man feels at the perpetration of a baſe fraud. Not contented with robbing the Carthaginians of the iſland, they even preſumed ſo far on their diſtreſſed ſituation as to extort twelve hundred talents in name of re-imburſement for the expenſe of the robbery.

About this time a *banker* (τραπεζίτης) of Sicyon, a city of Peloponneſus, is mentioned by Plutarch in his Life of Aratus. His buſineſs ſeems to have conſiſted in exchanging one ſpecies of money for another.

240—Aradus, or Arvad, was a ſmall rocky iſland, which the Sidonians

had occupied in former ages. It became a little independent kingdom or community of merchants and ſeamen; and it was ſo populous, that the houſes covered the whole of the rock, and were raiſed aloft in the air to the height of ſeveral ſtories, each a ſeparate habitation. About this time, in conſideration of aſſiſtance given to Seleucus Callinicus king of Syria, they got an aſſurance from him, that he would never attempt to force any perſon from them who ſhould take refuge in their city, in conſequence of which much treaſure was poured in upon them by wealthy criminals flying from juſtice, as we learn from Strabo. [*L.* xvii, *p.* 1094.] He alſo remarks, what is much more to their honour, that, being merchants and navigators, they never concerned themſelves with piracy, like their neighbours the Cilicians.

At this time Ptolemy Euergetes was king of Egypt. He imitated his father and grandfather in their attention to the commerce and proſperity of the country, and in their taſte for literature and collecting books, which he uſed to procure at a vaſt expenſe from all countries, in order to be tranſcribed for his library. Having borrowed the works of Sophocles, Euripides, and Æſchylus, from the Athenians, with whom he depoſited fifteen talents (£2,906 : 5 ſterling) as a ſecurity for their ſafe return, he ſent them, inſtead of the old books, new copies of them magnificently executed, and at the ſame time requeſted their acceptance of the fifteen talents. Such was the premium which he gave for the loan of three books *.

Euergetes was ſo happy as to have his library under the care of Era-

* Varro, as quoted by Pliny, ſays, that the moſt valuable and important art of making paper from an aquatic plant, produced in the lower part of Egypt, was not invented till after the foundation of Alexandria; and he aſcribes the invention of parchment or vellum for writing upon to an emulation between Ptolemy and Eumenes king of Pergamus about their libraries, the former of whom having invidiouſly prohibited the exportation of paper, the later had recourſe to the ſkins of animals as a ſubſtitute for it.

Pliny, not ſatisfied with the æra aſſigned to the invention of paper by Varro, quotes an hiſtorian called Hemina for a ſtory of ſome paper books found (181 years before Chriſt) in a coffin with the body of King Numa, wherein they had lain uncorrupted 535 years, as he reckons, thereby adding about half a century to the Roman chronology of later times. According to Hemina thoſe books contained the philoſophy of Pythagoras, *(who flouriſhed about two centuries after the ſuppoſed age of Numa)* and they were burnt by the prætor, *becauſe they contained philoſophy*. Pliny then quotes ſome other authors, who relate the ſtory with many variations; and Livy differs from all of them. [*Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* xiii, *cc.* 11, 13.—*Liv. Hiſt. L.* xl, *c.* 29.] The variations, and the groſs abſurdities, prove the whole of them to be bungling fictions.

Theſe are ſome of the many inſtances of the antients falling into groſs blunders from not conſulting Herodotus, who would have let them know, [*L.* v, *c.* 58] that in times, which he thought antient, both paper and ſkins were commonly uſed for writing upon.

A fiction is often of ſome uſe, though generally very different from the intention of the contriver of it. The fable of Numa's books demonſtrates, that Hemina and the other Roman writers quoted by Pliny and Livy, were totally ignorant of hiſtory, and that the Romans of their times had not yet determined what duration they ſhould aſſign to their city. It is alſo worthy of obſervation, that Pliny calls Hemina, who could not be above two centuries older than himſelf, a moſt antient annaliſt ('vetuſtiſſimus autor annalium'): and the ſame Pliny in the preceding chapter talks of manuſcripts 200 years old as monuments of very remote antiquity ('longinqua monumenta'). Do not theſe circumſtances afford rather more than a ſtrong preſumption, that the generally-received pompous hiſtory of the Roman republic for the firſt ſix ſuppoſed centuries is mere romance?

toſthenes, a man of an almoſt univerſal genius, of vaſt erudition and indefatigable induſtry. The accuracy of his hiſtorical and chronological reſearches have entitled him to the appellation of *father of chronology*. But he chiefly excelled in aſtronomy and geography; and in his geographical writings and his maps he followed Pytheas in deſcribing our Britiſh iſlands; but the moſt of the exterior coaſt of Europe, from Spain northward, was then but very imperfectly known to the greateſt geographer that had ever yet appeared in the world. He obſerved the obliquity of the ecliptic to be 23°, 51′, 20″: and from his obſervations on the projection of ſhadows he calculated the equatorial circumference of the earth to be 252,000 ſtadia, equal to about 24,990 geographical miles; which, being only about 3,390 too much, if we conſider the imperfection of inſtruments in his age, muſt be allowed to be wonderfully near the truth *. From his knowlege of the nature of the globe, he declared that the vaſt extant of the Atlantic ocean was the only obſtacle to the navigation between Spain and India by going due weſt: the very ſame idea, which with the help of the compaſs ſet Chriſtopher Columbus on the ſcheme of ſearching for India by the ſame courſe †. [*Strabo, L.* i, *p.* 113 *et paſſim—Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* ii, *c.* 18; *L.* vi, *c.* 29 *et paſſim.*]

Some ſhips belonging to Italian merchants had been taken by the pirates of Illyria, a country on the eaſt ſide of the Adriatic ſea. It is probable that theſe merchants, as well as thoſe who had ſupplied Carthage with neceſſaries during the revolt of the mercenaries, were of Etruria or Campania, the later of whom, Polybius [*L.* iii, *c.* 91] ſays, had commerce with almoſt every part of the world (by which may be underſtood the greateſt part of the Mediterranean ſea); and, as a conſequence of their commerce, their towns were handſomer than any others in Italy.

229—The Romans paid little attention to the complaints of the merchants, a claſs of people, who were in no great eſtimation in their eyes, till now that they wanted a pretence for making war upon the Illyrians. They accordingly demanded ſatisfaction, which being refuſed, they fitted out a fleet of two hundred gallies, wherewith they ſubdued the country. [*Polyb. L.* ii, *c.* 2. *et ſeqq.*]

The Carthaginians were compelled by the Roman luſt of univerſal dominion to deviate from their peaceful commercial ſyſtem, and in emulation of that republic to eſtabliſh a regular and permanent military force, which might oppoſe the Romans in their evident deſire to enſlave the world. But the condition of the republics differed widely.

* Hipparchus, endeavouring to correct Eratoſthenes, added about 25,000 ſtadia to his error. [*Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* ii, *c.* 18.]

† In this idea, as well as in the meaſure of the circumference of the globe, he improved very much upon the geography of Ariſtotle, who contracted the bounds of the ocean ſo much as to repreſent India almoſt cloſe upon Spain. See above, p. 75, where, however, I have not uſed language quite ſo ſtrong as that of Ariſtotle, who ſays, that ſome philoſophers thought the Columns of Hercules (in Spain and Africa) *joined* to thoſe places which are near to India.

The ſole buſineſs of the Romans was war: by war they could not originally loſe any thing; and by war they had acquired every thing they poſſeſſed. By a ſucceſsful war the Carthaginians could ſcarcely gain any thing, their trade muſt be diſtreſſed, and the attention of their people drawn off from its proper object: and from an unſucceſsful war they might dread abſolute ruin. Inſtigated however by reſentment againſt Rome, and goaded on by the eagerneſs of the generals, whom the late wars had formed to military ſcience, and raiſed to power and popularity, the Carthaginian ſenate reſolved, that their ſhips, inſtead of carrying goods to Spain for ſale, ſhould tranſport an army to that country to effect the conqueſt of it. The intention of the ſenate, or, to ſpeak more correctly, of Amilcar their general, was to get poſſeſſion of the rich mines and other wealth of Spain, in order to recruit and ſupport the armies neceſſary to carry on the conteſt with the Romans, and to make amends for the loſs of Sicily, out of which the Romans had beaten them, and Sardinia, which they had treacherouſly robbed them of.

Amilcar, after having reduced a great part of Spain to the Carthaginian yoke, fell in battle, and was ſucceeded in the command by his ſon-in-law Aſdrubal, who immediately built a new capital city, which, perhaps from the reſemblance of its ſituation and its harbour, obtained the name of New Carthage, or Carthagena. This general is accuſed of corrupting the morals of the Carthaginians by introducing bribery among them: [*C. Nep. Vit. Hamilc. c.* 3] and he was ſuſpected of a deſign to make himſelf ſovereign of Spain. When he had commanded eight years, and greatly extended the dominion of Carthage in Spain, he was murdered by a Gaul, whom he had offended (a°. 222). The ſupreme command was then conferred upon Hannibal, the ſon of Amilcar, the greateſt general that ever was oppoſed to the Romans, and who never for a moment loſt ſight of his father's injunction, to keep up an invincible enmity to Rome, and to make it the buſineſs of his life.

The Carthaginians had now aſſumed the character of a warlike nation. A great part of the citizens had exchanged agriculture, manufactures, and commercial purſuits, for a military life. The gradual acquiſition of wealth by patient induſtry appeared contemptible, when compared with the ſeizure of it by war and plunder. The people became intoxicated by conqueſt; their judgement was perverted, and their avarice excited, by the example of the Romans, whom they ſaw proſpering by a perpetual violation of juſtice. The national virtue was relaxed; and the military ſucceſſes, which filled the city with exultation, laid the foundation of its ruin.

The Romans, who thought all acquiſitions of territory by other nations encroachments upon what they already conſidered as their own, could not fail to look upon the warlike progreſs of the Carthaginians

with an evil eye: but being at preſent threatened with an invaſion from the Gauls, the deſcendents of their antient conquerors, they were obliged to diſſemble, and to propoſe a treaty, whereby the river Iberus in the north-eaſt part of Spain was agreed to be the frontier of the Carthaginian territories, exempting however from their dominion the city of Saguntum, which being on the Carthaginian ſide of that river, would eaſily furniſh either of the parties with a pretence for war, when they ſhould find it convenient to engage in it.

About this time, we are told, a law was paſſed at Rome, prohibiting the ſenators from being owners of any veſſels exceeding the burthen of 300 amphoræ (about 2,000 gallons). Such boats were thought ſufficient to bring home the produce of their farms: and all kind of trade was thought unbecoming the higher ranks. Many of the ſenators however allowed their avarice ſo far to get the better of their pride, that they wiſhed to partake of the profits of trade, and were much enraged at the promoters of the law. [*Liv. Hiſt. L.* xxi, *c.* 63.] Hence it appears, that ſome trade was now carried on by the Romans, but that the exerciſe of it was rather diſreputable; a clear proof that the Roman trade was on a very trifling ſcale.

The diſtinction between ſoldiers and ſeamen was another proof of the low eſtimation in which commerce was held among the Romans. While the military ſervice was the road to every preferment, ſeamen were deſpiſed, and drawn from the meaneſt claſs of the populace, conſiſting of men whoſe whole property did not amount to 400 Grecian drachmæ, (about £7 : 10 ſterling) and who were therefor ſuppoſed not ſufficiently intereſted in the proſperity of the commonwealth to be intru ed wit n arms. [*Polyb. L.* vi, *c.* 17.] The ſame notions were retained in the moſt flouriſhing ages of Rome, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve in due time. How widely different from Tyre and Carthage, where navigators and ſeamen were held in deſerved eſteem!

About this time a great earthquake threw down the famous coloſſus of Rhodes, and deſtroyed the naval arſenals, with a great part of the city. The general good will of the other ſtates of Grecian origin, with all of whom the Rhodians were connected in the friendly band of commercial intercourſe, turned this accident much to their advantage: for the Grecian kings and ſtates of Europe, Aſia, and Egypt, ſtrove who ſhould be moſt liberal in contributing corn and other proviſions, ſhips, timber, and naval ſtores, and alſo money to a great amount, for repairing their damages, and particularly for renewing their coloſſus *. On this occaſion Hiero, king of Syracuſe, and ſome other princes, moreover exempted the Rhodians from paying any duties in their ports. And

* The Rhodians, probably thinking the coloſſus an idle expenſe, got the oracle of Delphi to prohibit the reſtoration of it, and applied the ample funds, deſtined for that purpoſe by the liberality of their friends, to other uſes.

thus a calamity, which would have encouraged the neighbouring ſtates to complete the ruin of a turbulent and warlike community, was the means of raiſing the Rhodians to greater proſperity, than they had ever enjoyed before: and we find them immediately after this event the predominant power in the eaſtern part of the Mediterranean. [*Polyb. L.* v, *cc.* 88 *et ſeqq.*]

Ptolemy Euergetes, king of Egypt, in the later part of his reign over-ran a great part of the Macedonian empire in Aſia, and on his return ſubdued many African tribes in the neighbourhood of Egypt. Of this expedition he is himſelf almoſt the only hiſtorian, having inſcribed a pompous narrative of his conqueſts upon a marble chair dedicated to Mars, which was remaining at Aduli on the coaſt of the Red ſea in the ſixth century, when Coſmas Indicopleuſtes copied the inſcription, which has thereby come down to us. The only notice concerning commerce, to be found in it, is, that, having by his fleet reduced ſome tribes of the Arabs on the eaſt ſide of the Red ſea *, he charged them to guard the roads from robbers and the ſeas from pirates.

Byzantium (afterwards called Conſtantinople) was a city founded by a Grecian colony on the European ſide of the ſtrait, which ſeparates Europe from Aſia. The Byzantines imported from the countries lying around the Pontus, or Euxine ſea, ſlaves, hides, ſalted proviſions, honey, wax, and corn, which, with vaſt quantities of tunnies caught and cured by themſelves, they exported to every part of Greece. Their territory was very fertile, but very ſmall; and they found it neceſſary to purchaſe the friendſhip, or rather the forbearance, of their neighbours by a heavy annual tribute of eighty talents (£15,500 ſterling). Unable or unwilling to raiſe ſo large a ſum among themſelves, and being abſolute maſters of the ſtrait, not only by its ſmall breadth of half a mile, but alſo by the nature of the current, which ſets in upon their ſhore, and forces every veſſel cloſe under their walls, they thought of renewing an impoſt, formerly exacted by the Athenians, when they were maſters of Byzantium, in the time of Alcibiades; and they accordingly compelled all ſtrangers, whom they perhaps conſidered as interlopers, to pay a toll for permiſſion to paſs into the Euxine (a°. 219). The trade muſt have been very great indeed, if a moderate ſum from each ſhip belonging to ſtrangers could be equal to ſuch a ſubſidy; or the ſum extorted from each veſſel muſt have been intolerably great.

The later ſeems to have been the caſe; for, though a ſimilar demand is complied with by the moſt powerful of the maritime and commercial

* He ſays, he ſubdued the whole coaſt from Leukè komè to Sabæa. It may be preſumed, that he does not include the opulent and commercial nation of the Sabæans in the number of his conqueſts; as we know from Agatharchides, that they were independent, when Ptolemy Philometor was king of Egypt; and Diodorus Siculus, a later author, adds [*L.* iii, § 47] that they had preſerved that happineſs unimpaired during many ages.

nations of modern Europe, the impoſt was loudly complained of by all the ſtates who traded to the Euxine. The Rhodians, as the people principally aggrieved, (for the Grecian voyages, as we learn from Polybius, ſeldom extended ſo far) and as the firſt maritime power of the Eaſt, after ineffectual negotiation, made war upon the Byzantines, who were ſoon obliged to allow the paſſage of the ſtrait to be free to all nations *. [*Polyb. L.* iv, *cc.* 38 *et ſeqq.*]

A kind of rage for building ſhips, vaſtly exceeding every purpoſe of utility in enormous bulk and extravagant ornament, infected ſome of the opulent kings of this age. One of theſe was Hiero, king of Syracuſe, whom the Romans, not yet ready for the reduction of his kingdom, had detached from his alliance with Carthage, and permitted to paſs a long life in a kind of dependent and tributary alliance with them. His ſubjects were thereby almoſt exempted from war; and their mercantile induſtry, wherein they were perhaps next to the Carthaginians, together with the great fertility of the country, made the people, and conſequently the king, very wealthy. By the aſſiſtance of the famous mechanic philoſopher Archimedes, Hiero conſtructed a galley of twenty tires of oars, ſheathed with lead, and carrying three maſts †, which no veſſel had hitherto done; and ſhe is ſaid to have had all the accommodations and embelliſhments of a palace, together with the fortifications and warlike ſtores of a caſtle. Though ſhe was launched before her upperworks were built, it was neceſſary, in order to get her into the water, for Archimedes to invent a machine called a helice, which ſeems to have been a large jack-ſcrew.

Ptolemy Philopator, king of Egypt, built two huge ſhips. One of them, ſaid to be intended for the ſea, was 420 feet long, and only 57 feet broad, furniſhed with two heads and two ſterns, whence we may ſuppoſe, that the lower part conſiſted of two long flat veſſels united by one deck, like the warlike canoes of the South-ſea iſlands. She carried 4,000 oars diſpoſed in 40 tires. Beſides 4,000 rowers, ſhe carried 2,850 ſoldiers, and an innumerable mob of cooks, ſervants, &c. This ſhip could not be launched, owing to her prodigious bulk; and ſhe muſt have remained, a monument of folly, upon the dry land, if a Phœni-

* According to Herodian [*L.* iii] the impoſt was again exacted by the Byzantines in his own time, before their city was deſtroyed by the army of Severus.

† The learned and judicious Camden has been miſled in one place by an error proceeding from the ſimilarity of Βρεττια (Brutium in the ſouthern extremity of Italy) and Βρεττανικη (Britain) to ſuppoſe, that the main maſt for Hiero's ſtupendous ſhip was carried from Britain: and Speed [*Hiſtorie of Britaine, p.* 9] has ſo far improved upon the idea, as almoſt to condeſcend upon the very ſpot where the tree grew, viz. the banks of Loch Arkeg in Inverneſs-ſhire. There can be little reaſon to doubt, that the maſt was cut in the celebrated fir wood extending 700 ſtadia in Brettia or Brutium, [*Strabo, L.* vi, *p.* 400] whence it could be very eaſily towed acroſs the ſtrait, and along the ſhore to Syracuſe; whereas to tranſport ſo large a tree from Britain would ſcarcely have been poſſible. [*Britannia, ed.* 1607, *p.* 21; and ſee *p.* 24, where he is almoſt inclined to give the maſt to its own native country.] Even a miſtake of ſuch an author as Camden is entitled to notice, and to a candid examination.

cian had not taught them to dig a canal to bring the water to her *. The other one, intended only for the river, was about 300 feet long, and above 45 feet broad, and had alſo a double bottom. But this was not properly a ſhip, of which it had not even the form, but rather a floating iſland, or pleaſure palace, conſtructed upon two very large ſcows, probably ſuch as the coal-barges on the Thames, which was conceived by luxurious idleneſs, and executed by ſuperabundant wealth.

Though a peace had been concluded between Rome and Carthage, it was not the intention of either party to keep it any longer than till it ſhould be convenient to renew the war. The Carthaginians were inſtigated by revenge for the unfair advantages taken of them. It was a maxim of the Romans never to be truely at peace with any nation, who did not become ſubject to them, even though poor; and of all nations the Carthaginians could beſt pay for the labour of deſtroying them. The Romans, in ſhort, were a people, whom it was neceſſary to exterminate, or to ſubmit to. But this alternative, the only one they allowed to the nations of the earth, though ſo evident to every attentive reader of hiſtory, does not appear to have been ſufficiently attended to by any of the nations of antiquity, nor even by any individual whoſe name is recorded in hiſtory, except the great Carthaginian general Amilcar, and his ſon, the greater Hannibal †.

Since the concluſion of the firſt war with Rome, the armies of Carthage had been conſtantly exerciſed for above twenty years in all the duties and hardſhips of war; and were in all reſpects ſuperior to thoſe of Rome. Their dominions at this time extended along the ſhores of the Mediterranean from the confines of Cyrenaica, ſubject to the kings of Egypt, weſtward to the Straits, and thence northward almoſt to the Pyrenæan mountains, and comprehended the iſlands between Spain and Africa, and thoſe between Sicily and Africa. Now therefor Hannibal thought it was the proper time to be revenged of the Romans; and having taken Saguntum in order to begin the quarrel, he immediately

* According to the allowance made by General Melville for the perpendicular height between the tires of oars, the uppermoſt row-ports of this enormous ſhip could not be leſs than 52 feet from the water. But with ſuch a height the length of the uppermoſt oars, being only 55½ feet, allows nothing either for immerſion in the water, or for the neceſſary angle with the ſurface of it. It is therefor pretty certain, that the great number of the tires was intended merely for idle parade, and that it was effected, as the great length of the ſhip would eaſily permit, by placing them not quite ten inches in perpendicular height above each-other. And even with that height, and the uppermoſt oars ſcarcely dipping in the water, the gunnels, as I find by a drawing made from a ſcale, muſt have been about 38 feet above the water, and almoſt 120 feet aſunder; a prodigious breadth aloft, to be ſupported upon only 57 feet of breadth at the water-line. [See above, *p.* 31, Note, and the plate.]

Pliny raiſes Philopator's ſhip to fifty tires of oars; and he aſcribes one of forty to his grandfather Philadelphus. But the authority of Callixenus and Moſepion, as handed down to us by Athenæus, from whom I have taken the account of theſe three ſhips, appears to be preferable.

† To theſe might be added Herennius, who ſagaciouſly adviſed his ſon Pontius, the general of the Samnites, either to maſſacre a Roman army, who were totally in his power, or generouſly to ſet them at liberty; if the ſtory were within the limits of authentic hiſtory. [*Liv. Hiſt. L.* ix, *c.* 3.]

made his famous paſſage over the Alps, and ruſhed like a torrent upon Italy with an army of only twenty thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe (a°. 218); but they were moſtly approved veterans, trained to war under three ſucceſſive great generals. Army after army of the Romans was defeated, and almoſt all Italy was delivered from the Roman yoke by Hannibal, who if envy had not prevented him from being properly ſupported from Carthage, would probably, in ſpite of the determined perſeverance of the Romans, have extinguiſhed their power, and prevented their eagles from taking the wide flights over the world, which they did, as ſoon as they were delivered from the oppoſition of Carthage. But in the courſe of fifteen years the vigour of his army, he having almoſt no reſources for recruiting or ſupporting it, but what he drew from his conqueſts in Italy, was exhauſted, while that of the Romans was dayly improving. By the influence of the ſame envious faction the Carthaginian army in Spain was left to ſtruggle againſt the power of the Romans and the fluctuating diſaffection of the natives. New Carthage, Saguntum, and every other poſt in that extenſive country, fell under the Roman dominion. Emboldened by theſe ſucceſſes, the Romans carried the war into Africa (a°. 204), and Hannibal was obliged to abandon Italy in order to defend Carthage* (a°. 203). At Zama that great general was defeated by the great Roman general Scipio (a°. 202): and that battle, which, Polybius ſays, conferred upon the Romans the ſovereignty of the world, compelled the Carthaginians to ſue for peace (a°. 201). One of the articles of the peace obliged them to pay to the Romans ten thouſand Euboic talents (£1,937,500 ſterling) in fifty years. But perhaps the moſt mortifying article was that, which obliged them to reſerve only ten triremes, and to deliver the reſt of their ſhips of war to the Romans, all which, to the number of five hundred as we are told, Scipio burnt in their ſight; a conduct not very eaſily to be accounted for, (as the Romans might now be ſuppoſed to know the value of ſhips) and which ſeems even to go beyond the madneſs of Alexander in burning his own palace at Perſepolis. The Carthaginians are ſaid to have been in great diſtreſs on ſeeing the deſtruction of their fleet; but they would have had much more cauſe for lamentation, if Scipio had made a more rational uſe of them by carrying them home and ſtationing them in the ports of Italy. Some other articles were contrived by the Romans to afford a ſubject of perpetual quarrels between the princes of Africa in dependent alliance with them and the Carthaginians, in order to furniſh a pretence for re-

* If Hanno's party had been defeated in their envious obſtructions of Hannibal's meaſures, it is more than probable, that the Roman republic would have been extinguiſhed: that portion of the inhabitants of the earth, which was afterwards exultingly called *the Roman world*, inſtead of a ſociety compoſed of one tyrant and many millions of ſlaves, would have conſtituted many communities of induſtrious farmers, manufacturers, merchants, and navigators, conferring mutual benefits upon each-other, while they were enriching and poliſhing the world: many centuries would have been added to the authentic hiſtory of active commerce, which would have been illuſtrated by the genuine records of the Carthaginians, and alſo of their Phœnician anceſtors.

newing the war: ſo that this treaty of peace was in all reſpects worſe than a total ſubjugation.

Such was the calamitous termination of the war of Hannibal, which later writers, willing to forget the fraudulent declaration of war and actual hoſtilities of the Romans ſoon after the firſt peace, call the *ſecond* * Punic war; a war, which being carried on moſtly by land, would be quite foreign to the plan of this work, if any other but the greateſt commercial community of the antient world had been engaged in it †.

At the commencement of Hannibal's war his brother Mago made himſelf maſter of Genua. [*Liv. L.* xxxviii, *c.* 46.] This, if I miſtake not, is the earlieſt notice of this famous city, which Strabo, whenever he has occaſion to mention it, calls the emporium of the Ligurians, and which afterwards roſe to ſuch diſtinguiſhed commercial pre-emience in the middle ages.

In the ſcale of commercial dignity Syracuſe might perhaps contend with Corinth or Alexandria for the rank next to Carthage. This opulent city, which, during the life of its obſequious king, Hiero, had been ſpared by the Romans, was reduced during the war of Hannibal. What is deſerving of notice in the hiſtory of its ſiege, is the defence made by the wonderful abilities of Archimedes, who, himſelf, more powerful than an army, baffled every attempt of the Roman fleet and army. He daſhed their ſhips and moſt formidable engines in pieces by diſcharging from the lofty walls ſtones of between 500 and 600 pounds weight upon them. Some he lifted by their heads, keeping their ſterns dipping in the water, and, after ſuſpending them for ſome time, ſuddenly let them go, whereby they were filled with water, overſet, or deſtroyed. On the land ſide he overwhelmed the Roman army with ſhowers of ſtones and darts, and ſeizing the ſoldiers with hooks, hoiſted them aloft in the air, as a terror to their aſtoniſhed companions, who were more diſmayed by the ſcience of this one man than by the force of great armies. [*Polyb. L.* viii, *cc.* 5 *et ſeqq.*] After a ſiege of eight months, Syracuſe, waſted by plague and famine, and betrayed by one of its own governors, was taken by the Romans (a°. 211). Though Marcellus, who happened to be a man of ſome humanity, as well as policy, had given ſtrict orders to preſerve Archimedes, he was maſſacred by a ſoldier, who miſtook his box of inſtruments for a golden treaſure.

Archimedes did not confine the benefit of his inventions to Sicily: the ſcrew-pump, known by his name, wherein water riſes by deſcend-

* It was the third war between the Romans and Carthaginians.

† For the wars of the Carthaginians with the Romans I have generally followed Polybius, who is much older than any other writer upon the ſubject now extant, and as faithful as a writer, receiving his materials from the Romans, can poſſibly be: but unfortunately we are deprived of the moſt valuable part of his works, the thirty-five books, which contained the hiſtory of his own times, of which we poſſeſs only a few detached fragments, which are, however, of very great uſe in confirming or correcting the accounts of later writers.

ing, was contrived by him for draining the hollow grounds of Egypt after the receſs of the Nile. He was apparently the firſt who diſcovered the propriety of balancing the action of the wind upon a ſhip by three maſts. The combination of pullies is alſo believed to be an invention of his. Theſe improvements, though the leaſt noticed by hiſtorians, are alone ſufficient to immortalize his name in commercial and nautical hiſtory. (See above, p. 98.) He gave a ſublime idea of his confidence in the powers of mechanics, when he ſaid to King Hiero, 'Give me 'but a place to ſtand upon, and I will remove the world.' His great knowlege of aſtronomy appeared in the conſtruction of a ſphere of glaſs, which by means of machinery exhibited the motions of the planets; and ſeems by the deſcriptions of it to have come very near to what is now called the orrery. [*Cic. Tuſcul. quæſt. L.* i.—*Claudiani Epigr.* 10.] He compoſed many geometrical and aſtronomical works, of which, to the great loſs of ſcience, only a few are now extant *.

203—We are told, that during theſe wars gold was for the firſt time coined at Rome, which had not even any ſilver coin till a little before the commencement of the Sicilian war (a°. 265). The gold coin was called ſimply *aureus* (golden), and was nearly of the ſame weight with our guinea. The ſilver coins were the *denarius*, *victoriatus* †, and *ſeſtertius*. The denarius paſſed for ten *aſſes* of braſs, till the Roman government, being greatly diſtreſſed for money in the war of Hannibal, gave it the nominal value of ſixteen *aſſes*, whereby they defrauded their creditors of ſix in every ſixteen. But the pay was ſtill iſſued at the old currency to the army, whom they did not dare to offend. [*Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* xxxiii, *c.* 3.]

Previous to the introduction of ſilver coin the current money of the Romans was braſs reckoned by the *as*, which, from containing originally a pound of braſs, was by ſeveral ſtages of depretiation reduced to half an ounce. As ſoon as they got acquainted with the Greeks ſettled in Italy, they reckoned large ſums in Grecian money of account.

The long continuance of braſs money, the groſs violation of the proportion between the *denarius* and the *as*, and the adoption of foreign denominations for large ſums, afford a clear demonſtration, that hitherto the Romans had ſcarcely had any intercourſe with the more enlightened nations, and that their dealings were on too trifling a ſcale to be dignified with the name of commerce.

* The mirrors, wherewith Archimedes is ſaid to have burnt the Roman fleet, have employed the ſpeculations of many of the philoſophers of modern times. The ſtory probably ſprung from the exaggeration, which uſually follows what is in itſelf ſurpriſing and extraordinary. Polybius has not a word of it, though pretty full in his deſcription of the artillery of Archimedes; nor even Livy or Plutarch, though both rather fond of the marvelous. But they are mentioned by Diodorus, as quoted by Tzetzes, and by Dion, as quoted by Zonaras.

† According to Pliny the *victoriatus* was firſt brought from Illyricum, which might thus be ſuppoſed to have paid a balance in trade to the merchants of Italy.

The frequent variations in the value of the Roman money form a very intricate, and a moſt unſatisfactory, ſtudy. The beſt guide to it is probably the elaborate work of Dr. Arbuthnot, entitled *Tables of ancient coins, weights, and meaſures.*

200 to 149—The Romans, no longer apprehending any oppoſition from Carthage, ſet no bounds to their ambition, cruelty, and contempt of national faith. They interfered in the moſt inſolent and arbitrary manner in the affairs of all nations, and took upon them to regulate, or rather to pervert, the ſucceſſion of kings. Perſeus king of Macedonia, Antiochus king of Syria, and a multitude of ſmaller kings and ſtates, including all the Gallic part of Italy and almoſt the whole peninſula of Spain, were ſubjected to the dominion of Rome. Antiochus, and ſeveral others of the Aſiatic princes, were permitted to retain a nominal royalty. But they were merely deputed magiſtrates, effectually deprived of ſovereign power, and particularly of their naval force: and, after aſſiſting in the reduction of their neighbours, wherein they gratified their reſentments without conſidering that they were thereby accelerating their own deſtruction, they were ſtripped of their tolerated ſhadow of power, and had only the comfort, which, according to the fable, Polyphemus promiſed to Ulyſſes, of being laſt devoured. Such is the brief hiſtory of the Romans for about half a century, as collected from their own writers and the romanized Greeks.—What would it be, if the hiſtorians of other nations were alſo extant to tell the tale?

According to Appian, the commerce of the Carthaginians began to ſpring up with renewed vigour almoſt immediately after the concluſion of the diſaſtrous war with Rome, notwithſtanding their loſs of territory, the deſtruction of their warlike ſhips, and the heavy burthen of two hundred talents paid every year to the Romans. A clear proof, that commerce needs not the ſupport of power or of laws to bind markets to it, and that the mercantile ſpirit of Carthage was capable of riſing ſuperior to every difficulty. And ſuch is the vigorous nature of a judiciouſly-conducted trade, that they would have ſurmounted all their hardſhips, and long continued to flouriſh, had it been poſſible for any mercantile nation to flouriſh within the graſp of Rome.

About 170—Secure as yet beyond the fartheſt reach of Roman invaſion, commerce flouriſhed in tranquillity among the inhabitants of the ſouth coaſt of Arabia*. We are indebted to Agatharchides, an author who flouriſhed in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor, for a ſplendid and intereſting deſcription of their commercial proſperity, and of their trade with India and other oriental countries, which I give, as nearly as a tranſlated abridgement can be, in his own words.

The Sabæans, who poſſeſs the ſouthern extremity of Arabia, are the

* It does not appear that the Romans ever made any conſiderable or laſting acquiſitions in the ſouth part of Arabia. When Pliny was employed upon his Natural hiſtory (about the 75th year of the Chriſtian æra) no Roman general had ever led an army into Arabia, except Ælius Gallus, whoſe fartheſt progreſs was two day's journey ſhort of this land of frankincenſe and perfumes. [*Plin. L.* vi, *c.* 28—*Strabo, L.* xvi, *p.* 1128.] The complete conqueſt of Arabia, and particularly the deſtruction of the noble commercial city of Arabia Felix, has been aſcribed to Trajan, but contrary to authority.

greateſt of the Arabian nations, and enjoy every kind of felicity. Their herds of cattle are innumerable. Their country produces, in the moſt luxuriant abundance, myrh, frankincenſe, balſam, cinnamon, and caſia. They have alſo an odoriferous fruit, called in their own language larymna, and a fragrant incenſe, by which the vigour of the body is reſtored. The whole country abounds with every thing delightful; and the very ocean is perfumed by the fragrance of their ſpices and odours *.

Near the main land there are ſome iſlands, where their veſſels are ſtationed. Moſt of them trade to the port, which Alexander eſtabliſhed at the mouth of the Indus †; and many alſo trade to Perſia, Carmania, and all other parts of the adjoining continent. Their coaſting trade is partly conducted upon large rafts ‡, by which they bring in the larymna and other aromatic fruits from diſtant parts of the country: and they alſo uſe boats made of leather.

No people in the world have acquired greater opulence by commerce than the Sabæans, and Gerrhæans: for, being in poſſeſſion of the carrying trade between the eaſt and weſt parts of the world ('Aſia and Europe') they command the commerce of both. They convey their pretious merchandize by land carriage ‖ as far as Syria and Meſopotamia: they have filled the dominions of Ptolemy with gold; and they have provided the moſt profitable employment, and a thouſand other advantages, to the induſtry of the Phœnicians. They have alſo eſtabliſhed ſeveral colonies in other countries §.

Thus enriched by their proſperous commerce, they are profuſe in their expenſes for ornamental plate, and admirable ſculptures, a variety of cups and vaſes of gold and ſilver, and ſumptuous beds and tripods. The columns of their houſes are covered with gold, or made entirely of ſilver; and even the doors and cielings are adorned with gold, ſilver, ivory, gems, and pretious ſtones. In ſhort, whatever is to be ſeen of rich or elegant furniture, diſperſed in other countries, is here aſſembled in the greateſt abundance and variety in the magnificent houſes of the Sabæans, many of whom rival kings in their expenditure.

It is happy for theſe opulent people, that they are far removed from

* Agatharchides probably viſited this delightful country. He is quite in raptures in his deſcription of the luxuries produced in it. His deſcription ſeems to have ſuggeſted to Milton the following beautiful ſimile.

'As when to them who ſail
'Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are paſt
'Mozambic, off at ſea north-eaſt winds blow
'Sabean odours from the ſpicy ſhore
'Of Araby the Bleſt: with ſuch delay
'Well pleas'd they ſlack their courſe, and many
'a league,
'Chear'd with the grateful ſmell, old Ocean
'ſmiles.'

† See *Arrian*, *L.* vi. Diodorus Siculus calls the port Potana.

‡ Strabo, [*L.* xvi, *p.* 1114] alſo notices the carriage by rafts ('σχεδίαις') among the iſlands in the Straits.

‖ Strabo, [*L.* xvi, *p.* 1127] compares the great multitude of men and camels in a caravan, traveling ſecurely from ſtone to ſtone acroſs the deſert, to an army.

§ A curious and intereſting inſtance of their colonization, confirming the account of Agatharchides, will be given from the Periplus of the Erythræan ſea. See below at A. D. 73.

thoſe ſovereigns, who conſtantly keep on foot great armies ready to invade every country; or, inſtead of being the principals, and having the command of the commerce between the eaſtern and weſtern worlds, they would ſoon be reduced to the condition of agents, and be compelled to conduct the trade for the emolument of others. [*Agatharchides, L.* v, *cc.* 50, 51, *ap. Photii Bibl.*—See alſo *Diod. Sic. L.* iii, § 46, 47—*Strabo, L.* xvi, *p.* 1124.]

This deſcription of the happy condition of the Sabæans, which is much more copious than thoſe uſually given by antient writers upon ſimilar ſubjects (and it is even prolix in ſome parts of the original) does not appear to give any ſupport to the ſuppoſition of an active trade from Egypt to India. Surely an author, who was in the ſervice of the king of Egypt, would not have neglected to mention ſuch a trade, if it had at all exiſted, when he particularizes the various countries, to which the Sabæan veſſels made their voyages. It ſeems even probable, that the Sabæans ſailed to the ports of Egypt, and that it was by the agency and duties paid on their trade there, that the merchants of Egypt and their ſovereign were enriched. And it is certain, that the Sabæans, and the Gerrhæans, who ſeem to have been connected with them in commerce, enjoyed a monopoly of the commerce with India, and thereby acquired the opulence which has ever attended thoſe who have obtained the command of that univerſally-coveted trade.

168—Sulpicius Gallus was the firſt of the Romans who could foretell an eclipſe. Previous to a lunar one he made a ſpeech to the army, aſſuring them that it was a natural event, and noway portentous. [*Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* i, *c.* 12.—*Frontini Stratag. L.* i, *c.* 12.]

161—Some years afterwards they got the firſt ſun-dial conſtructed for the latitude of Rome, after having for about a century had nothing better than a dial, made for the latitude of Sicily, to regulate their time. A few years after (a°. 158) Scipio Naſica, obſerving the defectiveneſs of the dial in cloudy weather and in the night-time, introduced the clepſydra, an inſtrument for meaſuring time by the running of water. [*Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* vii, *c.* 40.]

Such, by the account of one of the beſt of their own writers, was the tardy progreſs of ſcience among the Romans, whom many ſuppoſe to have been at this time a very poliſhed and enlightened people.

149—Fifty years were required to pay up the whole of the tribute exacted from Carthage by the Romans: and that time being now elapſed, they were deſirous of renewing the operations of plunder. With that view they had encouraged Maſiniſſa, a king of Numidia, whom they kept in a ſtate of dependent alliance, to haraſs the Carthaginians with perpetual quarrels, which they carefully prevented from ever being fully accommodated, and in which they continually interfered with the

moſt glaring partiality in favour of their tool, Maſiniſſa *: and at length, with ſcarcely the ſhadow of a pretence, they declared war againſt Carthage.

The Carthaginians, now convinced that war muſt be the ruin of commerce, made great conceſſions to avert it. They even offered to become ſubjects to the Romans. But thoſe relentleſs barbarians, whom nothing could ſatisfy but their deſtruction, after many groſs and perfidious abuſes of their patience, had the inſolence to propoſe as the conditions of peace, (or, more truely ſpeaking, of a precarious temporary forbearance) that they ſhould give up their city to deſtruction, abandon their maritime ſituation, and remove to a new and defenceleſs city to be built at a diſtance from the ſea. Such conditions it was impoſſible for a mercantile people to comply with: and the conſequences were what the Romans had foreſeen, and deſired. The Carthaginians were driven to deſperation, and though previouſly deprived of all their arms and engines of defence by a baſe trick of the Roman conſuls, yet, by the aſtoniſhing exertion and perſeverance of all the men, women, and bigger children, in the city, they inſtantaneouſly provided new arms and engines, and made a noble ſtand againſt their inveterate enemies, whom they ſeveral times defeated with conſiderable ſlaughter. When even ſhut up within their city by lines drawn acroſs the neck of land behind it, when the one harbour was completely blocked up by the Roman fleet, and the other was rendered uſeleſs by a mole formed with prodigious labour by the enemy, they in a few days created a new harbour, and a new fleet of fifty triremes, with which they engaged their enemies. At another time they deſtroyed their engines, and put them to flight, though armed only with lighted torches. But it was impoſſible for an exhauſted and diminiſhed community, however courageous, to reſiſt the freſh and vigorous armies of Rome. The city, when it had held out four years after the time that the Romans thought they had only to take poſſeſſion of it, was utterly deſtroyed; the inhabitants of both ſexes and all ages, excepting a few, who were reſerved for the more bitter death of ſlavery, were butchered; and Rome triumphed over the aſhes of Carthage (a°. 146) †.

Thus, after having for many ages animated and civilized the weſtern parts of the world by the vaſt extent of her commerce, and by her ſcience, after having eclipſed the moſt brilliant period in the hiſtory of

* 'Huic bono ſocioque regi favebatur.' *Flor. L.* ii, *c.* 15.

† The account of this war, or rather carnage, is chiefly from Appian, with ſome aſſiſtance from the fragments of Polybius, who was preſent at the deſtruction of Carthage, and contributed to it by his advice: for he was a warrior and a conſummate politician in the national-ſelfiſh ſenſe of the word (and he was then romanized) as well as a very faithful hiſtorian.

The moſt genuine remains of the Carthaginian people and language now exiſting are ſuppoſed to be in Malta. [*Skylax, Stephanus, &c. ap. Bochart. Channan, L.* i, *c.* 26.—*Purchas, B.* vi, *p.* 916.] Mr. Eton, who has lived at Malta, told me that the Malteſe call their language Punic, and he finds it much akin to the Arabic.

Tyre, her mother country, and after having rivaled even in military proweſs the haughty Roman republic, whoſe ſole and unremitting purſuit was the aggrandizement of her dominions by war and conqueſt, and whom ſhe brought to tremble on the brink of deſtruction, fell the moſt illuſtrious of the republics of antiquity. In her fall commerce received a wound, under which it languiſhed (at leaſt in the weſtern world) during many dark centuries of Roman oppreſſion, and of ſubſequent ignorance, brought upon the civilized part of the world by the nations, whom Providence in due time raiſed up to revenge upon Rome the injuries of Carthage, of commerce, and of mankind.

The Romans, as if determined upon the total abolition of commerce, in this ſame year alſo deſtroyed the mercantile city of Corinth, which till now had retained the epithet of *wealthy*, beſtowed upon it ſo many ages before by the father of Grecian poetry. In conſequence of its opulence and taſte it had long been the repoſitory of the moſt admired productions of Grecian art. But now the moſt capital paintings were made tables for the Roman ſavages to play at dice upon: and ſo utterly ignorant was the conſul Mummius, that, when a picture of Bachus by Ariſtides, (ſaid to be the firſt painter who repreſented the paſſions of the ſoul in his figures) which had been got out of the hands of the ſoldiers by giving them a more convenient table, was bought by Attalus king of Pergamus at the price of ſix thouſand ſeſtertiûm, he, aſtoniſhed at the greatneſs of the ſum, and concluding that the picture muſt poſſeſs ſome myſterious or magic virtue, refuſed to let him have it, and ſent it to Rome. He gave another ſpecimen of his groſs ignorance, when he ſhipped the moſt capital ſtatues of the Grecian ſculptors, by threatening to make the maſters of the veſſels, if they loſt any of them, find *others* at their own coſt. This importation introduced the firſt rudiments of taſte for the fine arts among the Romans, who had hitherto ſeen nothing ſuperior to the paltry performance of their own imitators of the Etruſcan painters and ſtatuaries. [*Polyb.** *ap. Strabo, L.* viii, *p.* 584—*Vel. Paterc. L.* i, *c.* 13—*Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* xxxv, *c.* 4.]

The few merchants, who were now left alive in the countries liable to be infeſted by the Romans, fled for refuge from the ſword of oppreſſion or extermination to the ſhelter of ſuperſtition. They eſtabliſhed themſelves at Delos, a ſmall iſland of the Ægæan ſea, which, with every perſon and thing in it being under the protection of Apollo, was eſteemed ſo ſacred, that hitherto it had never been violated either by Greeks or foreigners; and it ſoon became a noted emporium, where merchants of various nations met in tranquillity, even when their countries were engaged in hoſtilities. But it is a melancholy conſideration,

* Polybius went from the ruins of Carthage to Corinth, and thus in a few months witneſſed the total deſtruction of two of the moſt flouriſhing cities in the weſtern world: and he ſaw with his own eyes the profanation of Ariſtides's picture by the dice-players.

that human creatures formed the principal article of ſale, of whom ſometimes ten thouſand were brought in, or ſhipped off, in one day. [*Strabo*, *L.* x, *p.* 744; *L.* xiv, *p.* 985.] The trade of Delos, however, had it been for commodities or manufactures prepared by induſtry, inſtead of ſlaves procured by the deſolations of war, was not capable of making amends to the world for that of Corinth, and was a mere nothing if compared to the commerce of Carthage.

The deſtruction at the ſame time of theſe two mercantile republics made a complete revolution in the affairs of every part of the world, which had any connection with the Mediterranean ſea. General induſtry, plenty, tranquillity, and felicity, no longer bleſſed the nations; but rapine, want, tumults, and miſery everywhere prevailed. The millions of induſtrious people, who had been ſet to work, in every country they traded with, by the merchants of Carthage and Corinth, deprived of their accuſtomed ſources of honourable and independent ſubſiſtence, were compelled to look for other reſources, generally difficult to be found, often not to be found at all. Thoſe who had been bred to the ſea, no longer employed in carrying on the beneficial intercourſe, which binds diſtant nations together by the ſtrong ties of friendſhip and intereſt, no longer permitted to be the uſeful ſervants, were driven by deſperation to become the enemies, of mankind in the character of pirates. Neither were the Romans themſelves exempted from feeling a ſhare of the diſtreſs they brought upon the world. The ſudden acceſſion of ſo many hundred thouſands of indignant ſlaves (as in thoſe times to be a priſoner of war was to be a ſlave) was a matter of moſt formidable apprehenſion to the conquerors: for the right of one man to the unrequited ſervices of another, being founded only in power, muſt of neceſſity be reverſed the moment the ſlave becomes ſenſible that the balance of power is in his own hands.

The people of Spain, who perhaps of all others moſt ſeverely ſuffered by the abolition of the Carthaginian trade, flew to arms under the conduct of Viriathus, who for thirteen years (152—140) ſupported the independence of his country, and ſhowed the world, that the Roman armies could be defeated by inferior numbers fighting for their liberty. The Romans at laſt ſubmitted to acknowledge the great ſuperiority of his military talents by bribing traitors to murder him (a°. 140). Such, and ſo diſgraceful to his enemies, was the end of this true patriot hero, whom Florus, thinking to do him honour, calls the Romulus of Spain, but worthy to be compared to the great Hannibal. The army, of which he was the ſoul, after a noble ſtruggle, in which even the women fought bravely for their liberty, was tranſplanted to Valentia (a°. 138), where they became a colony of farmers, ſubject to the power of Rome. The deſperately-brave citizens of Numantia, after diſplaying their own generoſity and Roman perfidy in the moſt ſtriking colours, and after

ſending many thouſands of their enemies out of the world before them, at laſt reduced their city, and every thing dear to them, together with themſelves, to a heap of aſhes (a°. 133). Their deſtruction was effected by the ſame Scipio, who had completed the ruin of Carthage, and who, for the butchery of two communities, infinitely more valuable than the den of robbers from which he ſprung, has been the theme of much proſtituted praiſe to the writers of ſucceeding ages.

While the Spaniſh wars were drawing to a concluſion, ſeveral inſurrections of the ſlaves broke out in Sicily. Under the command of their elected king Eunus, or Antiochus, they frequently defeated the Roman armies with great ſlaughter. But all their attempts to emancipate themſelves were finally fruſtrated. In the courſe of ſix years many thouſands of thoſe unfortunate people, and a proportional number of their oppreſſors, were ſlain, before they were finally ſuppreſſed, or exterminated (a°. 132). Similar commotions of the ſlaves took place about this time, and afterwards, in Sicily and other countries, and particularly in Delos, which has juſt been noted as a great ſlave-market.

134 or 133—It was apparently when Scipio paſſed through Gaul in going to, or returning from, Spain, that he had ſome conferences with the merchants of Maſſilia, Narbo, and Corbilo, then the principal cities of Gaul, wherein he endeavoured to draw from them ſome account of BRITAIN. But they, knowing that no good could ariſe to their commerce from the interference of the Romans, prudently declined giving him any information. We hereby learn from the moſt reſpectable authority, [*Polyb. ap. Strab. L.* iv, *p.* 289] that a part, perhaps the greateſt part, of the Britiſh trade was now in the hands of the Gallic merchants, and alſo (from this notice of Polybius compared with ſubſequent authorities to be produced in their proper time) that it was carried on over land by inland navigation and land carriage, for which mode of conveyance the large rivers in Gaul are remarkably convenient. The ruin of Carthage and the ſubjection of Gadir to the Romans about ſeventy years before this time, were circumſtances exceedingly favourable to the commerce of the Gallic merchants *.

* Polybius in his Hiſtory [*L.* iii, *c.* 57] expreſſes an intention of deſcribing the ocean beyond the Straits, the BRITISH ISLANDS with the manner of preparing the tin, the Spaniſh mines, &c. in a ſeparate work; which he appears to have accompliſhed, as may be inferred from a paſſage of Strabo, [*L.* ii, *p.* 163] apparently taken from it, wherein Polybius criticizes the accounts of Britain by Dicearchus, Eratoſthenes, and Pytheas. It is thus evident, that Polybius has made mention of Britain in at leaſt two places, which had eſcaped the reſearch of the induſtrious Camden, or he would not have ſaid, that this part of the world was not at all known to that great hiſtorian. The meaning of the paſſage [*Polyb. L.* iii, *c.* 38] quoted by Camden, as appears from the context, is, that, as it was unknown, whether Ethiopia was ſurrounded by the ſea on the ſouth, or joined to a ſouthern continent; ſo that part of Europe lying to the northward of Narbo (*Narbonne*) and the Tanais, was hitherto unexplored. That is to ſay, he knew not, whether it had ſea to the northward or not. Any other interpretation makes Polybius inconſiſtent with himſelf; for he not only knew of the exiſtence of Britain, which is far to the northward of Narbo, but he alſo clearly knew, that it was an iſland, and had other iſlands adjacent to it. The

130—Velleius Paterculus [*L.* ii, *c.* 1] remarks, that the firſt Scipio ſhewed the Romans the way to power, and the ſecond, to luxury. But, however rich the public treaſury might be with the ſpoils of induſtrious nations, individuals were not yet arrived at any great degree of opulence: and the houſes of the greateſt of the Romans at this time, though ſubſtantial, were by no means elegant. They were all eclipſed by a houſe built by Lepidus about fifty years after, which, in the progreſs of luxury, was exceeded in magnificence by above a hundred houſes in thirty-five years more. [*Plin. L.* xvii, *c.* 1; *L.* xxxvi, *c.* 15.]

The marriage portions of women may be reckoned a pretty good ſtandard of the general wealth of a nation. The ſenate of Rome, as a mark of their reſpect for Scipio, then commanding their army in Spain, gave his daughter a portion of 11,000 aſſes (£35 : 10 : 5) ſterling: and it was a greater fortune than that of Tatia the daughter of Cæſo, whoſe portion of 10,000 aſſes (£32 : 5 : 10) was eſteemed very great. Megullia, indeed, greatly exceeded both of them, for ſhe had 50,000 aſſes (£322 : 18 : 4), and in conſideration of ſuch extraordinary wealth ſhe was ſurnamed the Fortune ('Dotata'). [*Valer. Max. L.* iv, *c.* 4.]

The ſecond Scipio does not appear to have been luxurious, avaricious, nor rich; for at his death he left only 32 pounds of ſilver and 2½ pounds of gold *; a ſmall fortune for one who had commanded at the deſtruction and plunder of the richeſt city in the weſtern world. [*Sext. Aurel. Victor de viris illuſtr.*]

About this time the pay of the Roman ſoldiers was two oboli (about 2½d) a day, of the centurions four oboli, and of the horſemen a drachma or ſix oboli (7¼d). In the north part of Italy, afterwards called Lombardy, the medimnus (about a buſhel and a half) of wheat was ſold for four oboli; barley at half that price; and wine was exchanged for barley, meaſure for meaſure. Polybius, [*L.* ii, *c.* 15; *L.* vi, *c.* 37] to whom we are indebted for theſe rates of pay and prices, by remarking the extraordinary cheapneſs in the north part of Italy, ſhows us, that proviſions were then higher in Rome. But though they had coſt there even the double of theſe prices, a ſoldier could ſtill purchaſe a peck and a half of wheat with his day's pay, which of courſe muſt be conſidered as very high: or, in other words, the Romans paid the deſtroyers of mankind at a much higher rate than their feeders.

The 127th year before the Chriſtian æra is diſtinguiſhed by the laſt obſervation made by Hipparchus, a Bithynian Greek, who is with reaſon called the prince of aſtronomers. He calculated the eclipſes of the

The overſight of the prince of Britiſh geographers and antiquaries is kept in countenance by an overſight of Polybius himſelf in the very paſſage quoted; who might have learned from Herodotus that the circumnavigation of Africa in the reign of Necos king of Egypt had demonſtrated, that the ſouth part of it was ſurrounded by the ocean.—See above, p. 35.

* The Roman pound was equal to twelve ounces of our avoirdupois weight.

ſun and the moon for ſix hundred years, 'as if he had aſſiſted at the councils of Nature,' ſays Pliny, who adds, that his predictions were verified by time. He undertook the arduous taſk of making a catalogue of the ſtars, and deſcribing the poſition and magnitude of each. He alſo wrote ſeveral aſtronomical treatiſes; and he was the firſt, who applied the principles of aſtronomy to geography. In his geography he often differed from Eratoſthenes, for which he is reprehended by Strabo. Inſtead of correcting the error of Eratoſthenes in the circumference of the earth, he augmented it by about 25,000 ſtadia. Indeed the geographical knowlege of Eratoſthenes was ſuch, that his calculations could not well be corrected without the aid of inſtruments of ſuperior accuracy. [*Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* ii, *cc.* 18, 32, 26.—*Ptolem. Ll.* iii, v.]

118—A Roman colony was ſettled at Narbo in Gaul; [*Vel. Paterc. L.* i, *c.* 15] whence it has been ſuppoſed that it was only founded now. We have juſt ſeen, from Polybius, that it was a trading town in his time, and apparently engaged in the Britiſh trade.

105—Jugurtha king of Numidia, who had learned the arts of war and perfidy in the camp of the Romans at Numantia, was now conquered by them after a reſiſtance of about ſeven years. 3,700 pounds of gold, 5,775 pounds of ſilver in bars, and a great quantity in coin, conſtituted part of the plunder carried to Rome. Numidia muſt have been a very opulent country to afford ſo much wealth, after being drained by the war, and by very great bribes profuſely ſcattered among the Romans and Mauritanians by Jugurtha.

100—About this time flouriſhed Artemidorus, an Epheſian Greek, who is quoted by Strabo, [*L.* iv, *p.* 304] as mentioning an iſland near Britain, wherein the ſame religious ceremonies were performed, which were eſtabliſhed in Samothrace. It is very probable, that in both iſlands the ſame ceremonies were introduced by the Phœnicians. [See *Bochart. Chanaan, coll.* 394, 650.]

Strabo repeats a ſtory of a veſſel being found in the Red ſea with only one man, almoſt dead, onboard, who reported, that he was from India, and that all his ſhipmates had died of famine. He undertook to pilot a veſſel to India; and Ptolemy Euergetes II, king of Egypt, thereupon ſent Eudoxus, who made the voyage, and returned with aromatics and pretious ſtones. This is, I believe, the only antient account of a voyage made to India from Egypt during the Macedonian dominion in that country: and the fabrication of ſuch a ſtory (for it has every appearance of a fiction) is of itſelf a ſtrong preſumption againſt the previous exiſtence of an India trade. The ſame Eudoxus is alſo ſaid to have afterwards explored the coaſt of Africa, which he pretended that he circumnavigated, though not in one voyage. His firſt departure was from the Red ſea; and his ſecond was from Gadir, whence he ſtretched along the weſt coaſt, till he reached, or ſuppoſed, or pretended, he reached,

the fartheſt nation he had viſited in his former voyage *. [*Strabo, L.* ii, *p.* 155—*Plin. L.* ii, *c.* 67.]

The celebrated Mithridates, king of Pontus, built a palace, a water mill, and ſome other conveniencies, in his city of Cabira. This, I believe, is the earlieſt notice we have of a water mill, an engine ſo uſeful in preparing the moſt valuable article of our dayly ſubſiſtence; and from its being mentioned along with the palace, it may be preſumed to have been then a recent diſcovery †. [*Strabo, L.* xii, *p.* 834.]

After the depreſſion of Tyre, and the deſtruction of Carthage, the only trading community of the Phœnicians, remaining in any degree of proſperity, ſeems to have been that of Gadir. They have already been noted as the original diſcoverers of the Caſſiterides. They alſo carried on a great fiſhery on the weſt coaſt of Africa, at a place which has been long after noted for the great abundance of fiſh: and they appear to have traded to the two Fortunate iſlands, which are deſcribed as ſeparated from each other by a narrow channel, and as bleſſed with a delightful climate and a fertile ſoil, yielding ſpontaneouſly every thing neceſſary to the ſubſiſtence of mankind ‡.

I have already obſerved, that after the deſtruction of Carthage the ſeafaring people were driven by neceſſity or deſpair, to become free-booters and pirates. But as the languiſhing ſtate, to which commerce was now reduced, afforded them few prizes upon the ſea, their plunder was chiefly collected by ravaging the coaſts; and they had every reaſon to make the Romans the principal objects of their hoſtility and revenge. In time they became maſters of the Mediterranean ſea from end to end, and alſo of ſeveral hundreds of towns upon its coaſts: but Cilicia, the Balearic iſlands, and Crete, were their principal ſtations. Mithridates king of Pontus, being at war with the Romans (a°. 87), was ſenſible how much it was his intereſt to cultivate the friendſhip of thoſe maſters of the ſea, who poſſeſſed a thouſand warlike veſſels, and ſcarcely permitted a cargo of corn to proceed to Rome, or a Roman governor to go by water to his province. Long they rode triumphant in the Mediterran-

* Strabo, after relating the voyages of Eudoxus gives ſeveral arguments proving the whole to be fabulous, which, however, are more captious than ſolid.

† Pancirollus, who ſeems not to have read Strabo or Vitruvius, ſuppoſes, that Beliſarius conſtructed the firſt water mills, when he was beſieged in Rome by the Goths. The mills he means were conſtructed in barges moored in the Tiber, and were deviſed by that great general as *ſubſtitutes for the uſual water mills*, becauſe the ſmall ſtreams were then in the power of the enemy.

‡ So theſe iſlands are deſcribed by Plutarch in the Life of Sertorius. He adds, that they were ten thouſand ſtadia from Libya, which muſt be underſtood as meaning from the Straits: for they could be no other than the Canaries, the only conſiderable iſlands viſible from the coaſt of Africa. The innacuracy in the number of the iſlands is eaſily explained from the account being given by ſeamen to Sertorius, who, Plutarch ſays, had ſome thoughts of retiring to thoſe happy iſlands to paſs the remainder of his life in bliſsful eaſe, free from the alarms and the fatigues of war. Florus goes ſo far as to ſay, that he actually arrived at them: but from the relation of Plutarch, and from the very buſy life of that commander, there is reaſon to believe, that he never put his deſign in execution, ſo far as even to viſit them. If he had, we ſhould probably have known more of them than we do.

ean, and ſtill roſe ſuperior to every attack, till the Romans, who thought themſelves entitled to the excluſive privilege of plundering the world, at laſt determined to exert their utmoſt force againſt this formidable aſſociation of enemies, or rivals. Pompey, whoſe warlike atchievements had already procured him a great name, was appointed to conduct the war, and inveſted with unlimited power to command all the kings and ſtates within 400 ſtadia of the whole Mediterranean ſhore; and 120,000 foot, 5,000 horſe, and 500 ſhips, with a treaſury of 6,000 Attic talents, were put under his command. The Rhodians alſo, a mercantile people, and conſequently no friends to freebooters, joined their forces with the Romans.

67—Pompey diſtributed his fleet in thirteen diviſions, to each of which he appointed a portion of the ſea as a ſtation. In conſequence of this diſpoſition the exiles were everywhere attacked at once, and had no place of ſafety to retire to. Pompey himſelf attacked them in their head-quarters in Cilicia, beat the principal diviſion of their forces in a naval battle, and aſſaulted the caſtles, in which they had ſhut themſelves up. Having in a ſhort time taken 400 * of their ſhips, with 120 of their towns, and (if it can be believed) not loſing a ſingle ſhip of his own, he put an end to the war. Then, in order to detach them from a maritime life, and remove them from all temptation to reſume their former occupation, he impoſed upon them the terms which had been preſcribed to the Carthaginians, and obliged them to occupy towns and lands which he aſſigned to them at a diſtance from the ſea.

The victory having put Pompey in poſſeſſion of the wealth accumulated by the independent corſairs, he beſtowed upon every one of his ſoldiers a ſum equal to £48 : 8 : 9 of our money †, and brought into the public treaſury £193,750. Among the wonders of eaſtern magnificence carried in Pompey's triumphal proceſſion, there was a muſeum of pearls, on the top of which was a horologium, [*Plin. L.* xxxvii, *c.* 2.] which appears, from the deſcription of ſuch inſtruments by Vitruvius, to have been merely a dial embelliſhed by oriental ingenuity and opulence. It was a ſingularity in his triumph, that none of the captives were put to death at it.

The Romans being now maſters of the ſovereignty of the ſea without a competitor, and having deſtroyed almoſt all the mercantile nations, were under a neceſſity to beſtow at leaſt ſo much attention upon commerce, as to provide for the importation of the articles, neceſſary for the conſumption of their crowded metropolis, from their diſtant provinces.

* 846 according to Pliny. [*Hiſt. nat. L.* vii, *cc.* 25, 26.]

† This ſum, when compared with the price of food, the only real ſtandard of the value of money, was at leaſt equal to £1,500 at this time.

It was reſolved that the buſineſs of providing corn ſhould be put under the direction of ſome man of high rank, who might be called in modern language *commiſſary-general:* and we find Pompey himſelf ſoon after the reduction of the maritime community appointed to that office. The Romans having adorned their city with the works of the Grecian artiſts, they henceforth began to cultivate a taſte for the fine arts; and from this time they began to be a civilized, but at the ſame time, a very corrupted, people, even thoſe of the firſt rank being ready to commit every crime for money. That extended ſelfiſhneſs which they called patriotiſm or love of their country, but which was merely a luſt of domineering over other nations, became in the minds of their great men ſecondary to the ambition of domineering over their countrymen. And this ambitious ſpirit, which broke out ſoon after the deſtruction of Carthage, never was extinguiſhed, till it finally aboliſhed the republican form of government.

66—Lucullus returning from Aſia, brought with him a number of books (part of his plunder), the uſe of which he allowed to the public. This was the ſecond library in Rome, the firſt being brought by Paulus Æmilius from the plunder of Perſeus king of Macedonia. [*Plut. in Lucullo.—Iſidori Orig. L.* vi, *c.* 5.] Lucullus is alſo conſidered as the author of luxury in buildings, furniture, and entertainments, among the Romans. [*Vel. Paterc. L.* ii, *c.* 33.] He introduced the culture of cherry trees in Italy from Pontus. And many other fruits were alſo introduced from the Eaſt, e. g. quinces from Crete; damſons from Damaſcus; peaches from Perſia; lemons from Media; figs from Egypt and Cyprus; walnuts from Pontus and Perſia; cheſnuts from Sardes: but moſt of them were imported immediately from Greece, which had got them from their native countries. The particular time, when each of theſe were firſt planted in Italy is not accurately known. [*Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* xv, *paſſim.*]

57—Ptolemy king of Cyprus was very rich. He had alſo affronted a profligate Roman patrician called Clodius, by offering only two talents (£387 : 10) to ranſom him from the Cilician corſairs. The Roman treaſury at this time was poor. For all theſe reaſons a decree was paſſed at Rome, declaring that he had forfeited his kingdom. Florus [*L.* iii, *c.* 9] ſays, 'So great was the fame of his riches, (nor was it groundleſs) 'that that people, who were the conquerors of nations and accuſtomed 'to give away kingdoms, at the inſtigation of Publius Clodius, a tribune, 'commanded the confiſcation of an allied king in his lifetime. And he 'truely on hearing of it anticipated his fate by poiſon. Moreover Por-'cius Cato [that model of virtue] brought the wealth of Cyprus in Li-'burnian gallies into the mouth of the Tiber. This tranſaction enrich-'ed the treaſury of the Romans more than any of their triumphs.' The

amount of the plunder, ſo honourably obtained, was near 7,000 talents, or £1,356,250 ſterling *.

The Veneti, ſaid by Strabo [*L.* iv, *p.* 297] to be a Belgic nation ſettled near the north-weſt extremity of Gaul, were diſtinguiſhed by their nautical ſcience and experience. They had great numbers of veſſels, and carried on a conſiderable trade with Britain, though we are not informed of any particulars of it, unleſs that braſs was then an article imported into Britain. Their dominion extended over a conſiderable part of the coaſt; and they even levied a cuſtom, or tranſit duty, upon ſtrangers uſing their ſeas; a circumſtance which infers the poſſeſſion of a warlike fleet. Their veſſels were built entirely of oak, ſtrongly bolted, and their ſeams calked with ſea-weed. They were ſo ſubſtantially built, that their ſides were impenetrable by the roſtra, or beaks, of the Roman gallies. They were calculated to take the ground, were high fore and aft, and were upon the whole excellent ſea-boats. Their ſails were made of leather; and, their ſhore being very rocky, they uſed iron chains inſtead of cables †. With a fleet of about 220 of ſuch veſſels they encountered the Roman fleet of twice or thrice that number; and in the engagement they had greatly the advantage of the Romans, by pouring down upon them a ſhower of miſſile weapons from their lofty ſterns, which were higher than the towers raiſed upon the decks of the Roman gallies. But the Veneti, notwithſtanding their acknowleged ſuperiority, were defeated by a contrivance of the Romans, who obſerving the advantage they had over them in manœuvring (as it is now called) with their ſails, fixed ſcythes upon long poles, with which, attacking each ſhip with two or three of their own, they cut the haulyards of the Venetic veſſels, whereupon the ſails came down upon the decks, and their fleet was rendered unmanageable. The loſs of time occaſioned by this diſaſter was irretrievable, for, though they might have ſlung their yards anew, a dead calm, which enſued immediately after, threw the balance of nautical activity entirely into the hands of the Romans: for the Veneti ſeem to have deſpiſed the freſh-water ſailors' expedient of oars; and per-

* Ammianus Marcellinus, who wrote above four centuries after this time, acknowleges, that avarice prevailed over juſtice in the ſeizure of Cyprus.

† I have been thus ample in deſcribing the ſhips of the Veneti,—1) becauſe they are the firſt veſſels, of which we have any knowlege, built and navigated by the hardy ſons of the North, who have in all ages been remarkable as intrepid and ſkilful ſeamen:—2) becauſe, from the ſurpriſe of the Romans at their roſtra making no impreſſion upon the ſides of their ſhips, they appear to have been ſuperior in ſtrength to any veſſels ever encountered by them in the Mediterranean, even thoſe of the Carthaginians not excepted;—3) becauſe the lofineſs of their decks, which gave them ſuch an advantage over the low gallies of the Romans, affords a clear proof, that the Mediterranean gallies of ſeveral rows of oars, were not, as moſt people have ſuppoſed, of ſo many ſtories or decks in height.

It is worthy of remark, that the deſcription of theſe antient Belgic ſhips applies in ſome reſpects tolerably well to thoſe of the modern Belgium, the natives of which are remarkable for their attachment to the manners and cuſtoms of their anceſtors.

Some account of the ſhipping and naval affairs of the Roman empire will be found under the year 73 of the Chriſtian æra.

haps, like the Carthaginians in their firſt naval battle againſt the Romans, they allowed a confidence in their own naval ſuperiority to throw them too much off their guard. The conſequence was, that almoſt the whole fleet, containing all the fighting men of the country, fell into the hands of the Romans; the Veneti, deprived of every means of defence by one deciſive battle, ſurrendered themſelves and all their property to the mercy of Cæſar, who maſſacred the whole ſenate, and ſold all the people for ſlaves. And thus a nation, who, of all thoſe on the weſt coaſt of Europe, appear to have been next to the citizens of Gadir in commercial importance, were totally ſwept away from the face of the earth. Such was the revenge taken by Cæſar for the detention of his commiſſaries of proviſions, whom he pretends to dignify with the name and inviolability of ambaſſadors. [*Cæs. Bell. Gall. L.* iii, *cc.* 7-16; *L.* v, *c.* 12.]

55—The commerce of the Britons muſt have ſuffered greatly by the deſtruction of the Veneti. But Cæſar was preparing to bring greater calamities upon them: for, on pretence that they had aſſiſted the Veneti, he reſolved to invade this iſland, the very exiſtence of which was hitherto ſcarcely heard of at Rome. The Gallic merchants, whom he examined, in order to procure intelligence of the country, and particularly of the harbours, profeſſed total ignorance. Notwithſtanding, after ſending one of his officers to explore the coaſt, he embarked his army and landed in Kent, where he met with a warm reception from the Britons. From the ſlight notices of other writers, compared with his own, when duely conſidered, it is evident that he added nothing to his military fame by the trial he made of the Britiſh valour; and, indeed, he himſelf acknowleges, that he retreated to the continent in the night time.

54—Next year, in order to wipe off the diſcredit brought upon his arms by the former repulſe, he collected above eight hundred ſhips, in which he embarked no leſs than five legions *, beſides a ſupernumerary body of horſe. In this expedition, he ſays, he ſubdued a great many kings, four of whom were in Kent; and, having ordered them to pay a tribute to the Romans, he departed, without leaving either an army, or a fort, to maintain the conqueſts he alleges he had made.

In each of his expeditions, Cæſar loſt a great many of his ſhips, owing to his ſeamen being totally ignorant of the nature of the tides in the Ocean.

We may more ſafely truſt to Cæſar, in his account of the ſtate of Britain, which is very valuable, as being more particular and accurate than any preceding account which has come down to our times.

He diſtinguiſhes an original, and an adventitious, people in Britain.

* In the time of Polybius, each legion conſiſted of 4,200 foot, and 300 horſe, at the loweſt eſtabliſhment: and they were ſometimes 5,000 foot. The numbers were afterwards increaſed; and a body of auxiliaries, as numerous as itſelf, was generally attached to each of the legions.

The former he places in the interior part of the country, (whereby we muſt underſtand the part moſt diſtant from his landing place) and he deſcribes them as in a paſtoral ſtate, living on fleſh and milk, clothed with the ſkins of their beaſts, and generally neglectful of agriculture. The later people, who occupied the maritime parts, (or rather thoſe neareſt to Kent) were of the Belgic race, who, having firſt invaded the country for the ſake of plunder, (which ſhows, that the aboriginal Britons, in their ſimpleſt ſtate, poſſeſſed ſomething to invite the depredations of foreigners) had, in proceſs of time, made themſelves maſters of part of it. They were in a more advanced ſtate of ſociety than the original inhabitants: they cultivated the ground, had great abundance of corn, as well as cattle, and built houſes like thoſe of their brethren on the oppoſite coaſt of Gaul. Their money was paid by weight, and conſiſted of braſs and iron, the former of which was imported, and the later found in their own mines: and it argues no ſmall degree of knowlege in metallurgy, that they underſtood the proceſs of making iron, which is at once the moſt valuable, and the moſt difficult of all metals in preparing it for uſe. Cæſar ſays, that there was an infinite multitude of the people: but this part of his information is very ſuſpicious, even with reſpect to the Belgic colonies; and, if applied to the aborigines, it is manifeſtly contradicted by his deſcription of their manner of living. He adds, that the people of the maritime county of Kent, (thoſe whom he knew beſt) very much reſembled thoſe of Gaul in their manners, and were far more civilized than any of the other communities. Tin, the great ſtaple of Britain, was, according to his account, produced in the inland part of the country *: but moſt of the ſhips from Gaul arrived in Kent; which, perhaps, he erroneouſly extends as far weſt as the iſland, which, from the account of Timæus, compared with that of Diodorus Siculus, ſeems at this time to have been the ſtation of the tin trade. [*Cæſ. Bel. Gal. L.* iii, *cc.* 8, 9; *L.* iv, *cc.* 28, *et ſeqq.*—*Strabo, L.* iv, *p.* 305.—*Diod. Sic. L.* v.—*Timæus ap. Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* iv, *c.* 16.—*Tac. Ann. L.* xii, *c.* 34; *Vit. Agric. c.* 13.—*Dion. Caſſ. Ll.* xxxix, xl †.]

It does not appear, that the Romans ever got one penny of the tribute, which, Cæſar ſays, he ordered the Britains to pay; unleſs the duties levied in Gaul upon their imports and exports, which any nation may levy in their own ports upon the ſubjects of any other nation, can be called a tribute: for after this time the Romans, or rather their Gallic ſubjects, had ſome commercial intercourſe with Britain, [*Strabo, L.* iv, *p.* 306] which will be more fully narrated in the general view to be taken of the ſtate of trade under the Roman empire.

* This is another inſtance of calling the moſt diſtant parts of the iſland the interior parts of it. Cornwall, the tin country, is even more maritime than Kent.

† To theſe may be added the poetical authority of Propertius, Horace, Lucan, &c. and the ſomewhat-ſuſpicious authority of Nennius.

Contemporary with Cæſar was Diodorus, a Sicilian Greek, who wrote a general hiſtory. In a ſhort deſcription which he gives of Britain, [*L.* v, § 21] it is remarkable that he mentions the name of Orkas, the headland, which, he ſays, forms the northern extremity of the iſland. Thus the moſt remote corner of the country, now called Scotland, is the very firſt part of it mentioned by any antient author now extant. As there is no reaſon to believe, that ever any Greek navigator went ſo far north, except Pytheas, it is almoſt certain, that the information concerning Orkas, tranſmitted to us by Diodorus, is extracted from the works of that great Maſſilian diſcoverer, and is of courſe ſome centuries older than Diodorus.

At this time Lutecia, the capital of a Gallic nation called the Pariſii, was entirely contained in the little iſland of the River Sequana, *(Seine)* which is now ſo ſmall a part of the great city of Paris *. [*Cæſar. Bell. Gall. L.* vi, *c.* 3; *L.* vii, *c.* 57.]

Craſſus, a Roman general, plundered the temple of Jeruſalem of gold to the value, as we are told, of ten thouſand talents. Joſephus, [*Antiq. L.* xiv, *c.* 12] aware of being doubted on account of the greatneſs of the ſum, produces the authority of Strabo, in an hiſtorical work of his, now loſt †.

Cæſar is chiefly indebted for his fame to his extraordinary military talents, his numerous victories, wherein the cut-throats under his command butchered above a million of their fellow creatures, and his being the firſt of the Roman emperors. But Cæſar was alſo a man of ſcience; and that leſs renowned, but more meritorious, part of his character is what alone concerns this work. He obſerved, that the year had run totally into confuſion, (the firſt day of the month called January, being in reality that which ought to have been the thirteenth of October) and, with the help of Soſigenes, a celebrated Grecian aſtronomer of Alexandria, he corrected the calendar. Letting the current year run on, till it had 445 days, he inſtituted a year of 365 days, to commence on the firſt day of the enſuing January; and he ordered, that every fourth year ſhould conſiſt of 366 days, which came very near to the truth ‡. But the ſtupidity of thoſe, whoſe buſineſs it was to regu-

* I have inſerted this earlieſt notice of Paris, though its inland ſituation on a river, not capable of carrying large veſſels up to it, prevents it from being a city of great foreign trade, partly becauſe it has become the capital of a great nation; but, chiefly, that I might not ſeem to detract from its antiquity, as ſome writers have done, who, by a ſtrange inadvertency, have ſuppoſed the firſt notice of it to be, when Julian fixed his reſidence in it above four hundred years afterwards. Its original name is variouſly written; Lukotokia by Strabo; Lutecia, and Luticia, in Antonine's Itinerary; and Leuketia by the emperor Julian, in whoſe time, however, agreeable to the cuſtom of that age, the national name of Pariſii, had almoſt ſuperſeded the old name, which is afterwards only uſed, I believe, by writers who affect claſſic names.

† Surely Joſephus ought to have known more of the matter himſelf than Strabo. So, in modern times, De Witt, a Dutch author, quotes Raleigh, an Engliſhman, for a ſplendid account of the Dutch fiſhery.

‡ Their calculation exceeded the truth by 11 minutes and 14½ ſeconds in a year, which make a day in 333 years. The accumulation of this error gave occaſion to Pope Gregory, in the year 1582,

late the intercalary days, repeated the leap-years every third year; and the error ran on after the death of Cæſar, till it was reformed in the reign of Auguſtus. [*Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* xviii, *c.* 25.—*Sueton. in Jul. c.* 40; *Octav. c.* 31.—*Dion Caſſ. L.* xliii.—*Cenſorin. c.* 8.] Cæſar firſt planned a general ſurvey of the whole empire, and committed the execution of it to three Grecian geographers, to each of whom was aſſigned a portion of the Roman world: and 25 years 1 month and 10 days elapſed before the laſt part of this vaſt ſurvey was completed, which, with the ſupplementary ſurveys of new provinces, when they were conquered, formed the chief ground-work of Ptolemy's ſyſtem, which was till lately the univerſal ſtandard of geographical ſcience. [*Æthici Coſmographia.—Veget. de re milit. L.* iii, *c.* 6.] In one year (44) he reſtored the two commercial cities of Carthage * and Corinth, which had been deſtroyed in one year by his predeceſſors. Both recovered ſome ſhare of their antient importance; and in about half a century Carthage became as populous as any city on the north coaſt of Africa. [*Strabo, L.* viii, *p.* 585; *L.* xvii, *p.* 1190.] Theſe actions ſhow, that Cæſar, like Alexander, had a ſoul capable of the uſeful virtues, and might have been as beneficent as illuſtrious, if the folly of mankind did not beſtow greater applauſe upon their deſtroyers than their benefactors.

43—Cicero, who at this time fell a ſacrifice to the rage of civil war, obſerves, that thoſe, who aſcribe the creation of the world to the fortuitous concourſe of matter, might as well ſuppoſe, that innumerable forms of the twenty-one letters, made of gold or any other material, if jumbled together, and then ſhaken out upon the ground, could produce a copy of the Annals of Ennius. And he elſewhere talks of imprinting the notes, or marks, of letters upon wax †. [*De nat. deor. L.* ii; *Part. orat* ‡.] From theſe notices it ſeems probable, that the antients knew how to print letters: but we may be aſſured, that they knew nothing of a permanent colouring matter, or ink, nor of a preſs, as their forms (or types) do not appear to have been ever applied to the valuable purpoſe of multiplying the copies of books.

Luxury, or rather profuſion, being introduced in Rome by the conqueſt of the wealthy and enervated kingdoms of Aſia, had now made ſuch progreſs, that there were this year above an hundred houſes, more

to make a new regulation, which is now adopted in every part of Europe, and the European colonies, excepting Ruſſia and Turkey.

* Gracchus attempted to rebuild Carthage ſoon after its deſtruction; but the enterpriſe ſeems to have been ſoon abandoned.

† Quintilian [*De inſt. orat. L.* i, *c.* 11] mentions ivory letters, as commonly put into the hands of children to aſſiſt them in learning to read. But thoſe letters, wherewith impreſſions were made upon tables or plates covered with wax, muſt evidently have approached to the nature of modern types. For ſeveral paſſages of antient authors, concerning their letters, writing, &c. ſee *Hugo de ſcribendi orig. c.* 10.

‡ The chapters, or ſections, in the various editions of Cicero are very diſcordantly numbered. That containing the paſſage here quoted from *Natura deorum* is numbered 20, 37, and 93. The other from the *Partitiones* I have found numbered 7 and 26 in two editions I have examined.

magnificent than that of M. Æmilius Lepidus, which, in his conſulate, thirty-five years before, was the fineſt houſe in Rome*. [*Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* xxxvi, *c.* 15.]

31—The naval battle of Actium gave the laſt blow to the republican form of government in Rome by throwing the whole undivided power into the hands of Octavianus, the grandſon of Cæſar's ſiſter, who afterwards aſſumed the ſurname, or title, of Auguſtus.

29—The great influx of money from the conquered provinces reduced the rate of intereſt at Rome from *ten* to *four* per cent.

25—Ambaſſadors are ſaid to have been ſent from India, and, according to Florus, alſo from the Scythians, Sarmatians, and even the Seres, to court the friendſhip of Auguſtus, who was then in Spain. We are told, that thoſe of India were four years upon their journey; and if ſo, they ſet out two years after the battle of Actium, which ſcarcely allows ſufficient time for thoſe very diſtant nations to have received intelligence of the good fortune and eſtabliſhed power of Auguſtus †. [*Florus, L.* iv, *c.* 12.—*Sueton in Octav.*]

23—Auguſtus, having reduced Egypt to the condition of a province of Rome, and being informed of the great opulence of the Arabians, wiſhed either to make uſe of them as wealthy friends, or to levy heavy tributes from them as rich ſubjects. The army he ſent into their country was waſted by famine, thirſt, and diſeaſe, more than by battle: and, after having penetrated within two days journey, as they were told, of the land of aromatics and frankincenſe, the rich object of their expedition, the remainder of them were glad to get back to Egypt. [*Strabo, L.* xvi, *p.* 1128.] That this invaſion did not affect the tranquillity, or the commerce, of the Sabæans, is evident from Diodorus Siculus, (who wrote after this time) who ſays, [*L.* iii, § 47] that they had preſerved their liberty unimpared by any conqueſt during many ages; and, from Pliny [*L.* vi, *c.* 28] we know, that no other Roman army had ever marched into Arabia, when he wrote, about the 75th year of the Chriſtian æra.

The Romans at the ſame time made an expedition againſt the Ethiopians above Egypt, and reduced them to the neceſſity of begging for

* It may as juſtly be ſaid of the city of Edinburgh, that many, which might be eſteemed capital houſes in it in the year 1760, were eclipſed by above an hundred better ones in 1790; a ſtill ſhorter period for ſo great a change in the ſtile of building. It is ſtill more to the honour of our Scottiſh metropolis, that the wealth, by which 'the poor are 'cloath'd, the hungry fed, Health to himſelf, and 'to his infants bread, The lab'rer bears,' in the conſtruction of thoſe beautiful and durable edifices, was not acquired, like that of the Romans, by the plunder of the world.

† Mr. Freret (in a diſſertation on the eaſtern expedition of Trajan, *Hiſt. de l'academie royale, V.* xxii) ſuſpects, that ſuch embaſſies were ſometimes mere farces, performed by ſome foreign merchants, who wanted to obtain favours from the emperors. It is alſo probable, that the Romans of that age had not any very accurate idea of what part of the world was to be underſtood by the name of India, and that ſuch ſtories were mere puffs. In modern times, and in the clear light ſpread over the world by the art of printing, we are told, that ambaſſadors from Japan arrived in Holland in the year 1609, in order to negotiate a treaty of commerce with the Dutch.

peace. The Ethiopian ambaſſadors were ſent by Petronius, the Roman general, to Auguſtus, then in the iſland of Samos, who remitted the tribute demanded by his general, the collection of which he probably thought impracticable: but he ſeems to have retained ſome kind of ſuperiority, at leaſt upon the coaſt, as we not only find that the merchants of Egypt immediately opened a new trade with the Troglodytes, an Ethiopian nation, occupying the weſt coaſt of the Red ſea; [*Strabo*, *L.* xvii, *pp.* 1149, 1176] but alſo, that the Romans, at leaſt ſoon after this time, levied a cuſtom duty on the coaſt of the Red ſea, as far as the Ocean, [*Plin. L.* vi, *c.* 22] which may be preſumed to be on the weſt ſide of it, in conſequence of the treaty concluded with the Ethiopian ambaſſadors at Samos, as the fruſtrated expedition againſt the rich commercial part of Arabia ſhows, that it could not be (as ſome have ſuppoſed) on the ſhore of that country.

20—An Indian prince, called Porus, is ſaid to have ſent ambaſſadors to Auguſtus, who received them in the iſland of Samos. This is ſuppoſed to be a ſecond embaſſy from the ſame prince, who had ſent thoſe who traveled to Spain. [*Nicol. Damaſcen ap. Strab. L.* xv, *p.* 1047; and ſee *p.* 1006.]

19—Virgil, the chief of the Roman poets, had flattered Auguſtus ſo ſucceſsfully, that, according to his commentator and biographer, Servius, he died worth £80,729 of our modern ſterling money. Was there ever any other poet half as rich?

13—Auguſtus raiſed the dayly pay of the Roman ſoldiers to five pence of our modern money: but thoſe who guarded the ſacred perſon of the emperor were rewarded with twelve pence. About the ſame time wheat coſt from 1/11 to 2/6 a buſhel, as appears from one of Cicero's ſpeeches againſt Verres.

A. D. 14—The remarkably-long reign of Auguſtus was terminated by a natural death; a termination which fell to the lot of ſcarcely any other emperor before the elevation of the Flavian family. After he found himſelf eſtabliſhed ſole monarch of the Roman empire by the deſtruction of all his competitors and their adherents, he endeavoured to make the people forget his uſurpation by an affected moderation in the uſe of his power, and by a ſpecious appearance of attention to their happineſs in every thing which did not interfere with his own ſupremacy. The embelliſhment of Rome in his reign is expreſſed by a well known ſaying of his, that 'he found it a city of brick, and ſhould leave 'it a city of marble.' He may be called the father of the Roman imperial navy; for which he appointed Ravenna, in the Adriatic ſea, as the principal ſtation of the eaſtern ſquadron, and Miſenum, in the Gulf of Naples, of the weſtern. Some ſmaller diviſions were alſo ſtationed in the Euxine ſea, on the ſouth coaſt of Gaul, and between the north coaſt of Gaul and Britain. It muſt be acknowleged, that his navy was

not very formidable, either for the number or ſtrength of the veſſels: but then he had not one enemy in the whole extent of the Mediterranean to contend with. Having obſerved the diſadvantage of Antony's unweildy ſhips at the battle of Actium, he built no very large veſſels: and, after this time, we hear no more of ſhips with very numerous tires of oars *.

In the reign of Auguſtus, ſome Roman navigators explored the coaſt of the North ſea, as far as the promontory of the Cimbri (the north point of Denmark, called the Scaw). [*Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* ii, *c.* 67.] The voyage, however, was not intended to be ſubſervient to trade, but to conqueſt; for the emperor then flattered himſelf, that all Germany was to be reduced under his yoke by Tiberius, who ſucceeded him in the empire. But, to the Romans, the Ocean was ſtill an object of terror, which they endeavoured to diſguiſe, under the pretence of religious awe †, and it was ſeldom encountered by any veſſels from the Roman dominions ‡. The Mediterranean ſea was the proper ſphere of their navigation; and the whole extent of its ſhores, with all its iſlands, the moſt inſignificant not excepted, being now ſubject to their dominion, there was no receptacle for pirates. Had there been any conſiderable mercantile community remaining among the ſubjects of Rome, there was now a fair opportunity of carrying on an extenſive and undiſturbed commerce among the great variety of nations, who enjoyed a ſlaviſh tranquillity from foreign wars, under the oppreſſion of the governors appointed by one ſovereign. And during the reign of an emperor, who was convinced, that his dominions needed no extenſion, and that he had more to fear than to hope from war, commerce muſt have been as flouriſhing as it could be, in the ſituation to which the world was reduced by the deſtruction of the commercial ſtates. This, therefor, is the time which I think moſt proper for laying before the reader a conciſe account of the Roman trade, or rather importation, together with ſome commercial notices of the various countries, which could not ſo conveniently be introduced elſewhere §.

* About the year 390 Vegetius was almoſt apprehenſive that he ſhould not be believed, when he ſaid, that ſome veſſels had carried five tires of oars. [*Veget. L.* iv, *c.* 37.] And Zoſimus, a few years later than Vegetius, talks of veſſels of ſix, and even of three, tires of oars, as the works of antient times, of which he ſeems to have had no clear idea. [*L.* v, *p.* 319, *ed. Oxon.* 1679.]

† For this remark I am indebted to Mr. Gibbon. [*V.* i, *p.* 29.]

‡ 'Adverſus oceanus raro ab orbe noſtro navi-'bus aditur.' [*Taciti Germ. c.* 1.] If I may preſume to ſay ſo of ſo great a critic, Lipſius has found a difficulty in the word *adverſus*, where there ſeems to be none, the plain meaning being, that the Ocean was hoſtile, or *adverſe*, the very ſame word naturalized in Engliſh.

§ To prevent the inſertion of quotations at every clauſe, and almoſt at every word, the reader will pleaſe to obſerve, that the following account is collected and digeſted, from notices diſperſed through the great geographical work of Strabo, the works of Cicero, and the Univerſal hiſtorical library of Diodorus Siculus, who were all contemporary with Auguſtus: and it is ſupplied and corrected from the hiſtorians, poets, and other authors, nearly contemporary, eſpecially from the vaſt ſtore of Pliny's Natural hiſtory.

The reader will not expect, that every article imported from every country ſhould be inſerted. It is ſufficient to mention thoſe which were diſtinguiſhed for their excellence, or, as being the ſtaple, being remarkably plenty, or being peculiar to the countries from which they were imported.

The principal trade of the Roman world, was the conveyance of corn, and other proviſions, to the all-devouring capital; and this moſt important concern was under the immediate direction of the emperor himſelf, one of his many titles or offices, being that of commiſſary-general of corn.

ITALY, cultivated to the higheſt degree of perfection, produced abundance of corn and cattle to ſupply itſelf, if Rome had been the capital of Italy only.

The northern part of Italy, called Ciſalpine Gaul, furniſhed a quantity of ſalt pork almoſt ſufficient for the whole conſumption of Rome; magnificent tapeſtry, and woollen drapery, the manufacture of Patavia (*Padua*); and wools of various qualities, whereof thoſe of Mutina (*Modena*) and Altinum, were remarked as the beſt; many ſpecies of marbles, the produce of the Alps, for the conveyance of which veſſels were conſtructed on purpoſe; good ſteel, made at Comum (*Como*), where the water was of ſuch a quality, as to give a peculiar hardneſs to the metal; excellent chryſtal; ice, the uſe of which in the burning ſummers of Italy, could ſcarcely be called an extravagant luxury; and cheeſe, for which thoſe mountainous regions ſtill preſerve their reputation, by their parmeſan.

Liguria ſent from its port of Genua large wood, ſome trees being eight feet in diameter; ſhip timber; wood, nothing inferior to the thya wood for making tables; cattle; hides; honey; and a coarſe kind of wool, which ſerved to make clothing for the ſlaves. Etruria produced large timber; marble, eſteemed not inferior to the Parian; and huge blocks of ſtone, for capital buildings, ſhipped at the ports of Piſa and Luna, which later was remarkable for its cheeſe, of the aſtoniſhing weight of a thouſand pondo, and for its wines, eſteemed the beſt in Etruria. The Sabine country ſent in excellent oil and wine. Latium, and Campania, where Bachus and Ceres are poetically ſaid to have ſtriven which of them ſhould be moſt profuſe in their favours to the happy ſoil, furniſhed the beſt wheat, rice, barley, and wines, of which ſeveral particular growths were in high requeſt with the epicures of Rome, eſpecially the Falernian, which has been rendered famous by the immortal lines of Horace. Apulia excelled in the quality of its wool; and Brutium abounded in fir trees of great ſize, together with pitch and tar, the produce of them.

In Rome itſelf, ſeveral manufactures were carried on, chiefly by the knowlege and induſtry of the ſlaves, the captives, or deſcendents of the captives, carried off by the Romans from all the induſtrious nations with whom they had been at war. But manufactures are ſcarcely ſeen or heard of in the buſtle of a great capital; and they are totally overlooked by hiſtorians, only concerned with the deſtruction of mankind, and the ſucceſſion of their deſtroyers.

Corsica ſupplied timber for ſhip-building.

Sardinia had ſome mines of ſilver; and it had corn and cattle to ſpare for the uſe of the capital.

Sicily, which the poets thought proper to make the birth-place and reſidence of Ceres, their goddeſs of agriculture, and which Cicero calls the granary and treaſury of the empire, furniſhed Rome with vaſt quantities of wine, honey, whereof that of Hybla was eminently famous, ſalt, ſaffron, cheeſe, cattle, hides, pigeons, (for the Romans were great pigeon-fanciers *) corals, and emeralds. But all theſe were trifling, if compared to the prodigious quantities of wheat exported from this noble iſland, which, before it fell under the dominion of Rome, has, upon ſome occaſions, even ſupplied the temporary deficiency of corn, in ſo fertile a country as Egypt.

The inhabitants of Melita, (*Malta*) who were a Carthaginian colony, carried on a conſiderable manufacture of very fine white cloth, called linen, by ſome authors, and woollen, by others. As the Romans called cotton the wool of trees, and the iſland produces cotton of a moſt excellent quality in the preſent day, there can be little doubt that theſe fine cloths were calicos, or muſlins. The houſes of Melita were diſtinguiſhed by their elegance, the comfortable fruits of ſucceſsful induſtry.

Greece furniſhed honey, and particularly a remarkably fine kind from Attica. Lacedæmon ſent its beautiful green marble, and the dye of the purple ſhell-fiſh; and Elis furniſhed its fine ſtuff called byſſinus, probably of the nature of cambric, which uſed to ſell for its weight in gold †.

Many of the Grecian islands produced excellent marble: Paros was particularly celebrated for the kind ſo well known by its name, and ſo valuable to ſtatuaries, for its pure and uniform white colour, and its exemption from the ſparkles, which, by giving a falſe light, injure the effect in ſtatues made of other marbles. Samos ſtill excelled in manufactures of fine earthen-ware. Lemnos furniſhed the beſt vermilion, (ſinopis) which ſold at Rome for thirteen denarii (8/4¾ ſterling) a pound. Cos manufactured an inferior kind of ſilk, ſaid to be produced by worms of a ſpecies different from the genuine ſilk-worms, which, from the cenſures on its indecent tranſparency, ſeems to have been like the modern ſarcenets, or perſians.

From Thrace were imported great quantities of corn, and ſalted tunnies, which abound in the Euxine ſea.

Colchis produced wool of an excellent quality, and far more valuable than the golden fleece, which Jaſon and his companions are ſaid to have

* Axius, a Roman knight, ſold a pair of pigeons for four hundred denarii, equal to £12 : 18 : 4 ſterling. [*Arbuthnot's Tables of ancient coins, &c. p.* 129.]

† See an attempt to explain the nature of byſſinus, ſericum, &c. under the year 73.

carried off from that country; alſo hemp, wax, and pitch; and it ſtill kept up its credit for the manufacture of fine linens of the Egyptian fabric, ſuch as were adduced by Herodotus as an argument for the truth of an Egyptian colony having ſettled there. Goods, brought over-land from India, were ſhipped at Phaſis for the ports of Europe.

The article chiefly noted as imported from GALATIA and CAPPADOCIA *, was vermilion, called *Sinopis*, from the port at which it was ſhipped.

Of the cheeſe, brought to Rome from any conſiderable diſtance, the beſt was from BITHYNIA.

PHRYGIA furniſhed large columns and ſlabs of a beautiful ſtone like alabaſter, dug in the quarries of Synnada, an inland town, about two hundred miles from the Euxine, and as many from the Mediterranean. The country about Laodicea produced excellent wool, ſome of which was naturally as black as jet.

Clazomenè in IONIA furniſhed the beſt of all the foreign wines which were carried to Rome.

Miletus in CARIA poſſeſſed a breed of ſheep, the wool of which was very generally preferred to all others. There was alſo a conſiderable manufacture of woollen goods, of which thoſe dyed with Tyrian purple were highly eſteemed.

The moſt remarkable productions of CYPRUS were pretious ſtones, among which there was an inferior kind of diamonds. Copper was imported from this iſland in conſiderable quantities; and alſo the beſt reſin, and a ſweet oil, made from a ſhrub called by the name of the iſland.

SYRIA, PHOENICIA, and PALESTINE, furniſhed cedar, gums, balſam, and alabaſter. Sidon and Tyre, names ſo illuſtrious in the earlieſt hiſtory of commerce, were now chiefly noted for the glaſs manufactures and embroidery of the former, and for the purple dye and fiſhery of the later †. The goods, brought from India, over-land, by the merchants of Palmyra, were ſhipped for Rome from the ports of Syria: and ſome were probably ſtill brought from Arabia by the way of the Red ſea by ſome few merchants remaining in Tyre.

EGYPT was called by the antients the granary of the world; and it ſupplied Rome with corn ſufficient, if we can credit Joſephus, for one third of its whole conſumption. Its other exports were flax; linens of all qualities, for which it was famous from the earlieſt ages; cotton

* In order to ſave trouble to the critics, if any of them ſhall condeſcend to examine the body of this work, I acknowlege, that I do not profeſs to be minutely accurate in the chronology of the provinciation of each country, and that ſeveral dependent nominal kingdoms, e. g. Cappadocia, Judea, Mauritania, &c. are here conſidered as parts of the empire.

† In nautical knowlege the Phœnicians were ſtill acknowleged ſuperior to all the ſeamen of the Mediterranean, after the extermination of the Carthaginians. It was to them that the great Mithridates applied for ſeamen proper to command and navigate the fleet he fitted out againſt the Romans.

goods, made from cotton produced in the upper Egypt; coſtly ointments; marble; alabaſter; ſalt; alum of the very beſt quality; gums; paper, the general uſe of which, Pliny finely remarks, poliſhes and immortalizes man; alſo the ruſh called papyrus, from which paper was likeways manufactured at Rome. Paper varied in its qualities and ſizes, from the wrapping Emporetica for the ſhops, of ſix inches in breadth, to the Auguſta, Liviana, and Hieratica, as they were called at Rome, which were of thirteen inches *. Glaſs ware was alſo ſhipped from Alexandria, which rivaled Sidon in that manufacture †. The Egyptians had a proceſs, which, as deſcribed by Pliny, [*L.* xxxv, *c.* 11] had, at leaſt in its effect, ſome reſemblance to the modern art of printing upon cotton, linen, &c. They drew figures upon cloth with various colourleſs materials, which, when the cloth was plunged into a cauldron of hot dye-ſtuff, in a moment aſſumed various colours ſuitable to the figures, which were ſo ſtrongly fixed, that no waſhing could efface them.

Egypt was alſo the entrepot of the principal trade carried on between the Oriental countries and Rome, which will be deſcribed under the head of India.

Alexandria, the port at which all the produce and manufactures of Egypt, and all the goods carried through it, were ſhipped, was a large and beautiful city, when it was the capital of the Macedonian kings of Egypt, and the ſeat of the Egyptian commerce. Being now not only the ſeat of the Roman government, but alſo of a commerce greatly extended by the conſumption of the Roman world, and protected by the Roman power, it almoſt inſtantaneouſly increaſed to an extent and population, which yielded only to the imperial city itſelf, containing, according to Diodorus Siculus, three hundred thouſand free people, whence its whole population may be fairly ſuppoſed above a million. It is, therefor, chiefly from the reign of Auguſtus, that Alexandria is entitled to the rank of the commercial capital of the Mediterranean, or, as Strabo expreſſes it, the greateſt emporium of the whole world.

Though Egypt was a Roman province, the whole of the commerce continued now, and afterwards in its more extended ſtate, in the hands of the Greeks, the haughty Romans, thinking commercial concerns

* The Auguſta proving too tranſparent, a paper of a thicker quality, and greater breadth, being eighteen inches, was introduced in the reign of Claudius, which of courſe was called Claudia. Each ſheet of the antient paper was double, the principal ſide being the largeſt ſlice that could be got, of uniform breadth, in the whole length of the papyrus, which was covered, or lined, with ſhorter pieces, faſtened on with the glutinous water of the Nile, or with paſte. The longitudinal fibres of the plant, croſſing each other, gave the paper the appearance of linen. [*Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* xiii, *c.* 11, 12; whence the information concerning the paper is taken.] A ſpecimen, which is in the Muſeum, is about nine feet long, and twelve or thirteen inches broad. It contains a donation by a pious lady, dated in the twenty-ſeventh year of Juſtinian, i. e. A. D. 553.

† The Ethiopians to the ſouthward of Egypt preſerved their dead beſide them in tranſparent coffins, made of foſſile glaſs, or chryſtal. [*Herod. L.* iii, *c.* 24.] Such a coffin Ptolemy Coccus ſubſtituted for the golden one, wherein the body of Alexander the Great had been preſerved at Alexandria.

beneath their dignity, and the aboriginal Egyptians, a poor depreſſed race, not being admitted to a participation of it, and, probably, ſtill reſtricted by their ſuperſtitious prejudices from going upon ſalt water in any capacity *.

AFRICA PROPER, the antient territory of the Carthaginians, was a country remarkably fertile. It furniſhed Rome with great quantities of corn; honey; drugs of various ſorts; marble; the feathers and eggs of the oſtrich; alſo living oſtriches, elephants, and lions, for the ſanguinary ſports of the Romans, whoſe game laws did not permit the poor African to kill a lion, even in his own defence. But ſuch a prepoſterous law may be preſumed to have have been enacted by one of the leſs prudent tyrants, who came after Auguſtus.

MAURITANIA furniſhed fine, and very large, timber, called cedar, but, by its characteriſtics, apparently mahogany, whereof very large tables were made, which ſold for ſuch enormous prices, that the Roman ladies thought their extravagance in pearls fully kept in countenance by the rage of their huſbands for purchaſing thoſe tables. Some trading ſettlements, in the weſt part of this country upon the Ocean, appear to have been ſtill inhabited by Phœnicians.

The natural advantages of SPAIN were ſo great and ſo various, that Pliny reckons it next to Italy; which, from an Italian, may be conſidered as an acknowlegement, that it was eſteemed for ſoil, climate, and productions of every kind, the very firſt country in Europe. The whole country abounded with mines of lead, iron, copper, ſilver, and gold, and alſo with marble. But each province had peculiar advantages; and they muſt, therefor, be conſidered diſtinctly.

The ſouth part of Spain, called Bætica or Turdetania, had the appearance of a vaſt garden, interſected with many navigable rivers, the very iſlands of which were highly cultivated, and adorned with buildings. This delightful region, apparently the Elyſian fields of antient fable, and comprehending Andaluſia and moſt of Granada with part of Portugal in modern geography, was occupied by the Turdetani, Turtutani, or Turtuli, who were probably the deſcendents, or mixed with the deſcendents, of ſome very antient colonies of the Phœnicians. They were diſtinguiſhed from the other nations of Spain by ſuperior civilization and learning; and they boaſted of poſſeſſing records and poems of prodigious antiquity. Their numerous population, beſides fully cultivating the rich fields, working the mines, and attending the fiſheries, had filled two hundred opulent trading towns ſpread along the ſea coaſt and the

* In the Periplus of the Erythræan ſea, and in the works of Ptolemy, eſpecially in the later, the names of many merchants and navigators occur; and they are all Greek—no Roman—no Egyptian. The ſame may be obſerved in the fixth century from the work of Coſmas Indicopleuſtes. The only exception I have found is Firmus, a merchant of Egypt, who ſet up for an emperor in the third century.

banks of the navigable rivers. The chief of theſe were Corduba (*Cordova*), Malaca (*Malaga*), Ilipa (*Penaflor*), Hiſpalis (*Seville*), with many others, which after being colonized by the Romans, who thereupon frequently aſſumed the credit of being their founders, retain to this day ſome ſhare of ſplendour, and even, when compared with ſome parts of modern Spain, a portion of the induſtry, derived from their Phœnician founders through the revolutions of thirty centuries. But the chief of the whole for commercial dignity, as already obſerved, was Gadir (called by the Romans Gades, and at this day *Cadiz*), which was now become the greateſt emporium in the weſtern world, the rival of Alexandria in commerce, and by ſome ſuppoſed inferior only to Rome in the number of its inhabitants, many of whom, not able to find houſe-room on the ſmall iſland whereon the town was built, lived entirely upon the water. The Turtuli exported great quantities of corn, and wine; excellent oil, but in ſmall quantity; honey, and wax; pitch; much ſcarlet dye (κοκκος), and vermilion (μίλτος), which the Romans obliged them to bring in a rude ſtate, to be refined at Rome; ſalt; ſalted proviſions of a ſuperior quality; wool of ſo excellent a kind, that a talent (£193 : 15ſ ſterling) was an uſual price for a good breeding ram. They had formerly exported conſiderable quantities of woollen drapery; but they were now apparently obliged to give up that manufacture, and to carry their raw wool to the Romans, who probably put the manufacture into the hands of their own domeſtic ſlaves. Beſides their agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, they were enriched by a great fiſhery, which they carried on, not only in the ſeas adjacent to their own coaſt, which ſwarmed with great variety of uſeful fiſh of a ſuperior quality and ſize, but alſo on the coaſt of Africa to a conſiderable diſtance: and before they fell under a foreign dominion, they had had the produce of their own very rich mines, which were now the property of the conquerors. So extenſive a commerce and fiſhery employed a quantity of ſhipping ſcarcely inferior to that employed in the whole of the African trade; and all their veſſels were built of timber produced in the country. The merchants of Gadir in particular had ſhips of very great burthen, wherewith they traded in the Mediterranean and alſo in the Ocean, as far at leaſt as the Fortunate iſlands (*the Canaries*), and probably alſo to the remote ſettlements and trading poſts, which the Carthaginians had eſtabliſhed on the weſt coaſt of Africa. There is alſo reaſon to believe, that they ſtill poſſeſſed a ſhare of the Britiſh tin trade in the antient channel of direct importation from the Caſſiterides.

The eaſt coaſt of the northern province of Spain, called Tarraconenſis, alſo contained many good trading towns. The firſt and the beſt of theſe was New Carthage, called alſo Carthago ſpartaria from the great abundance of ſpartum produced in the fields adjacent to it, (and now Carthagena), which ſtill retained ſome of the mercantile genius of its

Carthaginian founders, and furniſhed the commodities of diſtant lands to an extenſive back country in return for ſalted proviſions, and cordage made of the plant called ſpartum, which were carried chiefly to Rome, along with the ſilver of the mines. Saguntum *(Morviedro)*, was celebrated for its manufacture of earthen-ware: and Tarracon *(Tarragona)*, for its linens, remarkable for their ſhining whiteneſs and the wonderful thinneſs of their fabric. Some of the beſt ſteel in Europe was made at Bilbilis *(Xiloca)*, and in its neighbourhood, the waters in that part of the country having a peculiar virtue in hardening the metal.

Strabo remarks, that the people of the mountainous country in the weſt part of this province, bordering on the Ocean, were homely and uncultivated by reaſon of their remote ſituation, and little commerce or intercourſe with ſtrangers. The trade among themſelves was nothing but barter, and they adjuſted their bargain by paying the balance with a piece cut off from a ſheet of ſilver. They had alſo ſome little intercourſe with foreigners, who purchaſed their lead and tin. Their boats were made of leather, a very few excepted, which they had lately learned to build of wood. The men were all dreſſed in black clothes, and moſt of them wore mantles or plaids, in which they alſo ſleeped upon beds made of herbs. The dreſs of the women was adorned with figures of flowers. They had plenty of cattle and goats; and they made much butter, which, Strabo ſays, they uſed as a *ſubſtitute* for oil. Though far from being wealthy, they were very hoſpitable, and delighted in making entertainments for their friends, aſſigning the moſt honourable ſeats to age and dignity. On theſe occaſions they treated with ale, their uſual beverage, and with the little wine they had, the whole vintage being uſually exhauſted at one feaſt. The entertainments were accompanied with dancing to the muſic of the pipe and trumpet. Their other amuſements were manly and warlike exerciſes. Their agility, their martial temper, and their talent for ſtratagem, had made them in paſt times very formidable neighbours to the ſubjects of the Romans: but they were now enliſted in their legions———Is this the picture of the mountaineers in the north-weſt part of Spain, or of thoſe in the north-weſt part of Scotland in the laſt age, which Strabo has been drawing? The ſtriking likeneſs will, I preſume, apologize with a Britiſh reader for inſerting ſome traits of it, which may belong more properly to the hiſtory of manners than to that of commerce.

The weſt coaſt of Spain appears to have been but little known to the Romans.

The BALEARIC ISLANDS furniſhed ſome wine, eſteemed equal to any of the growth of Italy.

GAUL was alſo a very opulent province, the government of which was eſteemed by the Romans as profitable as that of Syria. That part of the coaſt, which bordered upon the Mediterranean, contained the only ports, with which Rome had any direct intercourſe.

The chief of theſe were Maſſilia *(Marſeille)*, Arelate *(Arles)*, and Narbo *(Narbonne)*, from which laſt, being a Roman colony, the name of Narbonenſis was extended to a large province, including the modern diviſions of *Languedoc*, *Provence*, and *Dauphiné*. By the favour of the Romans Narbo became the moſt populous city in Gaul, and it alſo had the greateſt trade, which, according to the poetical authority of Auſonius, extended to the eaſtern ſea, Spain, Africa, Sicily, and the whole world. The antient Phocæan colony of Maſſilia had now declined very much from its former opulence in conſequence of the partiality of the Romans to Narbo, which was at this time eſteemed the chief emporium of the whole country. The Romans received from Gaul, beſides the tributary metals of gold, ſilver, iron, &c. dug from the mines of the province, linens, which were made in every part of the country, corn; cheeſe; excellent ſalted pork, and plaids, which two articles Belgic Gaul ſupplied in great quantities. Great flocks of geeſe from the country of the Morini oppoſite to Britain formed an article of importation; if they could be ſaid to be imported, which required no carriage, but performed the long journey of 1,254 miles to Rome upon their own feet. But our information concerning the imports from Gaul is very defective, though there is good reaſon to believe, that they were very conſiderable.

The chief trading ports of Gaul upon the Ocean were Burdigala *(Bourdeaux)*, ſituated on a noble æſtuary or firth at the mouth of the Garumna *(Garonne)*, in the country of the Bituriges, a Gallic or Celtic nation (occupying the modern Guienne proper) among the Aquitani, who were of Spaniſh origin; Corbilo upon the Ligeris *(Loire)*, which in the time of Polybius had been a conſiderable emporium, and one of the three beſt towns then in Gaul, (the others being Maſſilia and Narbo) but now declined; the port of the Veneti, if not deſerted after the ruin of the people by Cæſar; a port of the *Lexobii* at the mouth of the Sequana *(Seine)*; and the Portus Itius, concerning the poſition of which the learned differ in their opinions. All theſe ſeem to have had ſome intercourſe with Britain, and probably with other countries, of which we have no information.

Gaul was a country peculiarly favoured in the convenience of inland navigation, being everywhere interſected by navigable rivers running in very oppoſite directions; ſo that goods could be carried between the Mediterranean and the Ocean with very little aſſiſtance of land carriage. From Narbo, above which the Atax *(Aude)* was ſeldom navigable, they were carried a few miles over-land, and reſhipped on the Garumna, which carried them to Burdigala. The Ligeris, the Sequana, and the Rhenus *(Rhine)* afforded water carriage to the very heart of the country, and all of them to the neighbourhood of the Rhodanus *(Rhone)* or its great navigable branches, which completed the inland water carriage

between the Mediterranean and the whole of the weſt and north ſhores of Gaul; while almoſt every other part of the country was acceſſible by the navigable branches of thoſe great rivers, to the great advantage of the community, as well as the emolument of the proprietors of the lands adjacent to the rivers before the Roman conqueſt, who uſed to levy a toll or tranſit duty on the boats paſſing through their territories. In the very center of all this inland conveyance, at the junction of the Rhodanus with the Arar *(Soane)*, a river of a longer courſe and gentler current than itſelf, and within an eaſy diſtance of the other navigable rivers which flowed in the oppoſite direction, ſtood the great inland emporium of Lugdunum *(Lions)*, a Gallic city, ſo greatly augmented by a Roman colony, the reſidence of a Roman governor, and the eſtabliſhment of a mint for gold and ſilver money, that for population it exceeded every other city in Gaul except Narbo. With theſe advantages it neceſſarily became the general depoſit of all the inland trade of the country, and the great thoroughfare of the inland navigation; for even thoſe, who, on account of the rapidity of the Rhodanus, preferred land carriage for the ſpace between Lugdunum and the coaſt, brought their goods to that city to be further forwarded by water or by land. [*Strabo, L.* iv, *pp.* 268, 288, 292, 294, 295, 318.] Even before the ſettlement of the Romans in it, it muſt have been a place of great trade and intercourſe, enlivening the whole of the river below it, which was covered with canoes and ſmall veſſels, employed in the carrying trade, as early as the famous paſſage of the great Hannibal over the Alps. [*Polyb. L.* iii, *c.* 42.]

The only vines in Gaul were on the ſouth coaſt: but ſo fond were the inland people of wine, that the Italian merchants, who carried it up the Rhodanus, frequently exchanged a veſſel of it containing about eighteen gallons for a young ſlave. Their uſual liquor was extracted from barley, or prepared by mixing honey with water.

Having now completed the circuit of the Roman provinces, as they lay extended on both ſides of the Mediterranean, it only remains to obſerve that almoſt all thoſe countries poured their wines into the capital; which alſo received corn from every province, that had any to ſpare, beſides the more regular ſupplies from thoſe, which were peculiarly noted for their abundance.

But all this importation was merely for ſupplying the vaſt conſumption of an all-devouring capital. There was ſcarcely any exportation; there was no reciprocation of good offices; their was no commerce *.

* The carriage of neceſſaries and luxuries for the uſe of the Roman governors and their retinues ſettled in the provinces does not come under the deſcription of commercial exportation. But as the provincials, in imitation of the Romans, would become deſirous of partaking of the ſame comforts and luxuries, what was at firſt the carriage of private baggage, would gradually ſwell into commercial importance.

The payments were made with the tributes extorted from the conquered provinces; and thus the money given for produce and manufactures preſerved ſome degree of balance between induſtry and rapine, without which the later muſt in a ſhort time have drained the ſprings, from which its inſatiable appetite was fed: or in other words, the farmers and manufacturers were paid with their own money. But let us hear from a Roman author, what Rome beſtowed upon the world. 'Italy '[or rather Rome] is the nurſe and mother of all countries, choſen by 'divine providence to make the heavens themſelves more bright, to col-'lect into one point the ſcattered juriſdictions, and to poliſh the rude 'cuſtoms of other countries, to unite by intercourſe and converſation 'the diſcordant and ſavage languages of ſo many nations, to civilize 'mankind, and, in a word, is deſtined to become the one mother-coun-'try of all the nations upon the face of the earth.' [*Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* iii, *c.* 5.]

But luxury and ſuperabundant wealth could not be ſatisfied with the productions of nature and art within the Roman empire, however plentiful and various, while there were other gratifications to be found in remoter countries. In order to relieve the wealthy Roman from the load of his ſuperfluous riches, the induſtrious natives of the moſt diſtant parts of the world were employed in preparing and tranſmitting articles, which were of no real utility, and which, for that very reaſon, are moſt eagerly ſought after by thoſe who want nothing.

In the review of what may be called the foreign trade of Rome, our own iſland of BRITAIN preſents itſelf firſt to our notice, as being connected by vicinity and intercourſe with Gaul, the country which concluded the ſurvey of the home trade of that great empire. We luckily poſſeſs the materials for a more ample detail of the Britiſh trade; and in a work intended for Britiſh readers, a more particular attention to the antient commerce of our own iſland, will not, I preſume, need any apology.

The commercial and friendly intercourſe between the Britons and Gauls, which had ſubſiſted before the invaſion of Julius Cæſar, ſtill continued, and was probably increaſed in conſequence of the greater aſſortment of goods now in the hands of the Romanized Gallic merchants. But the trade appears to have been entirely paſſive on the part of the Britons. No antient author has mentioned any other kind of veſſels belonging to them than boats, of which the keel and principal timbers were made of light wood, and the bottom and ſides of a kind of baſket work of oſiers, the whole being covered with hides. [*Timæus ap. Plin. L.* iv, *c.* 16.—*Cæſ. Bell. civ. L.* i, *c.* 54.—*Solin. c.* 24.—and apparently *Ruf. Feſt. Avien. Ora mar. v.* 105] At this time the ſouthern mouth of the Rhenus, or, more properly ſpeaking, the ſhore of the Morini (antient inhabitants of Picardy and Flanders) in whoſe terri-

tory was the celebrated Portus Itius, the mouths of the Sequana, the Ligeris, and the Garumna, were the principal ports for the communication and trade between Britain and Gaul, after the Veneti were deſtroyed by Cæſar. [*Strabo, L.* iv, *p.* 305.]

The tin, which was ſtill the chief article of Britiſh commerce, after being caſt into cubic maſſes, was carried in carts at the time of low water acroſs the narrow channel between the main land and the iſland of Ictis (apparently the ſame with the Mictis of Timæus already mentioned, *p.* 88.) That iſland ſtill remained the general ſtaple of the Britiſh trade; and there the Gallic merchants met the Britiſh traders and miners or their agents, from whom they received the tin; and along with it alſo lead; ſome corn; cattle; hides, under the deſcription of which perhaps wool is included; gold; ſilver; iron; ornaments for bridles, and other toys, made of a ſubſtance, which the Romans called ivory, but more probably the bone of ſome large fiſh *; ornamental chains; veſſels made of amber and of glaſs †; with ſome other trifling articles: alſo pretious ſtones and pearls ‡; ſlaves, who were captives taken in the wars carried on by the tribes againſt each other; dogs of various ſpecies, all excellent in their kinds, which were highly valued by the Roman connoiſſeurs in hunting, and by the Gauls, who uſed them, not only againſt wild animals in the chaſe, but alſo againſt their enemies in the field of battle; and bears § for the ſanguinary ſports of the Roman circus, though probably not ſo early as the age of Auguſtus. [*Diod. Sicul. L.* v, § 21.—*Strabo, L.* iv, *pp.* 305, 307.—*Mela, L.* iii, *c.* 3.—*Martialis Spect.* 9.]

Of the goods imported into Britain we know but very little. Braſs, braſen utenſils, earthen-ware, and ſalt, are all that we find any mention of: neither is it certain, that they belong to ſo late a period of our hiſtory, as that now under conſideration. [*Strabo, L.* iv, *pp.* 305-307.]

* Solinus ſays, that in his time the fine gentlemen in Ireland had their ſword-handles adorned with the teeth of fiſhes poliſhed as bright as ivory: and the ſame kind of ornament continued in requeſt at leaſt till the ſixth century, as appears from the biographers of ſome of the Iriſh ſaints.

† The bridle ornaments, chains, amber, and glaſs ware, are mentioned by Strabo [*L.* iv, *p.* 307] in a manner which leaves it almoſt doubtful, whether they were imported into Britain, or exported from it. That they were imported, is the opinion of the annotator on the paſſage, and of Doctor Henry. [*Hiſt. of Brit. V.* ii, *p.* 227, *ed.* 1788.] But the contrary opinion is held by almoſt all others, who have had occaſion to conſider the ſubject.

‡ Julius Cæſar is ſaid to have been ſtimulated to the invaſion of Britain by the ſight of the pearls brought from it. Theſe he probably ſaw in Gaul; and they thence appear to have been an object of commerce. If it be true, that none of the rivers farther ſouth than the Solway firth produced any, and that they were only found in conſiderable quantities in thoſe north of the Firth of Forth, we muſt believe, that the commercial intercourſe of the Britiſh nations with each-other was much more conſiderable than has been ſuppoſed. Cæſar collected a large quantity of Britiſh pearls, and dedicated a breaſt-plate compoſed of them to the goddeſs Venus. [*Sueton. in Jul. c.* 47.—*Plin. L.* ix, *c.* 35.]

§ The exiſtence of bears in Britain has been queſtioned, becauſe there are none now: but we know from the undoubted teſtimony of Domeſday book, that the city of Norwich was bound to furniſh one bear, and ſix dogs for baiting him, to King Edward the Confeſſor.

From this enumeration of the exports and imports of the Britons, and from the notices to be found in antient authors, it appears, that, beſides paſturage and agriculture, they underſtood the arts of extracting tin and lead, and even gold, ſilver, and iron, from their mines *, the manufacture of glaſs and amber, and alſo ſome works merely ornamental. For their own uſe they had manufactures of arms, the object of the firſt attention to every warlike people, and which were by no means ſo contemptible, as ſome modern writers have repreſented them. Beſides carts for carrying their tin and other heavy burthens, they had chariots †, ſometimes armed with ſchythes for mowing down the enemy, which were uſed in battle, from the coaſt of Kent in the ſouth to the Grampian mountain in the north. [*Cæſ. Bell. Gall. L.* iv, *c.* 33.—*Tac. Vit. Agric. cc.* 12, 35.] Their chief drink was ale, which they made from barley and ſometimes from wheat. [*Dioſcorides, L.* ii, *c.* 76.] They had a manufacture of ſome kind of drapery, as appears from Cæſar's obſervation, that the diſtant and leſs civilized Britons were clothed in ſkins, which proves, that the nearer and more civilized Britons had clothing of a better and more comfortable kind; and that could ſcarcely be any other than woollen cloth, which in its improved ſtate has long been the great and favourite ſtaple manufacture of England ‡.

The Britiſh goods, deſtined for Rome or any part of the Mediterranean coaſts, after their arrival in Gaul were put into river-craft and conveyed to Narbo and Maſſilia by the inland navigation, which I have already deſcribed, chiefly on account of its great connection with the

* Mr. Whitaker ſuppoſes, that coal was uſed as fuel by the Britons before the arrival of the Romans: and Mr. Pennant ſays, that a flint axe, an inſtrument of the aboriginal Britons, was found ſticking in a vein of coal, expoſed to day, at Craig-y-park in Monmouth-ſhire. But it does not clearly appear, that the coal was uſed as fuel. Nor can the coal cinders, found among the ruins of the Roman ſtation at Caervorran in Northumberland, be admitted as a proof, that the Romans uſed coal for fuel. That town may have had many revolutions unnoted in hiſtory; and many fires of coal may have been in houſes now buried in ruins, though built many centuries after the departure of the Romans. [*See Whitaker's Hiſt. of Mancheſter, p.* 302.—*Pennant's Tour in Wales, p.* 16.—*Wallis's Hiſt. of Northumberland, V.* i, *p.* 119.—*alſo Arnot's Hiſt. of Edinburgh, p.* 82.] The ſuppoſed notice of coal in the year 852 will be conſidered in its proper time.

† Such war-chariots were uſed by the Parthians, and by the Perſians in the time of Alexander the Great, and alſo in the time of Alexander Severus emperor of Rome.

‡ I have here preſumed, that at leaſt the more poliſhed Britons had ſheep; though the great naturaliſt, Mr. Pennant, thinks they had not thoſe uſeful animals, becauſe no antient author has mentioned them. [*Britiſh zoology, V.* i, *p.* 23, *ed.* 1768.] But againſt this negative argument may we not ſet the queſtion, What author has mentioned the *firſt* importation of them? Is it not reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that, if the primitive or inland Britons were deſtitute of ſheep, they would be imported along with the Belgic colonies? Nay, it is moſt probable, that even among the inland inhabitants ſheep were a part of the animals, on the fleſh and milk of which they ſubſiſted, as we are told by Cæſar, who expreſsly mentions flocks ('pecoris') in Caſſivellaun's (or Caſſibelin's) town: [*Bell. Gall. L.* v, *c.* 21] and βοσκήματα (a word including flocks and herds, and apparently rather appropriated to the former) are repeatedly mentioned by Strabo in his deſcription of Britain. But no antient author mentions woollen cloths among the articles *imported into* Britain. Beſides, the panegyric upon Conſtantius expreſsly mentions flocks loaded with wool ('pecora onuſta velleribus') as natives of Britain: and the Britiſh names of the animal, as given by Mr. Pennant, have no reſemblance to the Latin, to warrant even a ſuſpicion, that they were introduced by the Romans.

Britiſh trade, pretty fully, in the account of the commerce of Gaul; or they were carried quite acroſs the country in carts or upon the backs of horſes, which mode of conveyance required thirty days to traverſe the country from the Ocean to the mouth of the Rhodanus *, where Arelate ſtood on the main channel of the river, with which Maſſilia was connected by a canal, made in the preceding age by Marius. [*Diod. Sic. L.* v, § 22.—*Poſidonius ap. Strab. L.* iii, *p.* 119.—*Strab. L.* ii, *p.* 190; *L.* iv, *pp.* 279, 318.] With the charge of ſuch a multiplicity of carriages the Britiſh tin coſt in Rome four ſhillings and ten pence of our money a pound. [*Plin. L.* xxxiv, *c.* 17.]

The duties paid in Gaul upon the imports and exports of Britain conſtituted the only ſpecies of revenue derived from it by the Romans, according to the expreſs teſtimony of Strabo; [*L.* ii, *p.* 176; *L.* iv, *p.* 306] who thus proves, that the tribute, which Cæſar alleges he ordered the Britons to pay, was a mere flouriſh. Strabo indeed affects to ſay, that any tribute, which could be levied on the iſland, would be too trifling to bear the expenſe of the garriſons neceſſary to enforce it, which would require at leaſt one legion and ſome additional cavalry. But the Roman emperors of ſucceeding ages thought very differently from him in that reſpect, when they employed four, or more, legions in the conqueſt of this country, and to garriſon it after it was ſubdued †.

* Diodorus, to whom we are indebted for this information, leaves us ignorant, whether the journey of thirty days was from Burdigala acroſs the narrow part of Gaul; from the mouth of the Ligeris; or from the coaſt oppoſite to Britain, and through the whole extent of the country. Mr. Melot has endeavoured to ſupply that defect in an elaborate eſſay on the antient commerce of Britain in the *Memoires de l'academie royale, V.* xvi, intended chiefly to confute the fancy of a very early intercourſe of the Greeks with this country: but as he has not made the journey commence from any of the four ports noted by Strabo as the ſtations for paſſing over to Britain, I doubt we are ſtill as much to ſeek as ever.

† Some have ſuppoſed, that this country was kept in ſubjection by a ſmaller force than four legions. But Agrippa in a ſpeech to the Jews, wherein he magnifies the Roman valour, and ſhows, that the very reputation of it was ſufficient to keep the world in awe, tells them, that all Spain was commanded by only one legion, Egypt by two, and all the reſt of Africa by one; and that Britain, almoſt as large as all the reſt of the world, *whoſe walls were the Ocean*, yet was kept by only four legions. [*Joſeph. Bell. Jud. L.* ii, *c.* 16.] This ſpeech has been often quoted; but it has not been ſufficiently obſerved, that the aim of the ſpeaker was to extenuate the force neceſſary to keep greater provinces than Judæa in ſubjection. It ought therefor to be received as proof, that the number of legions in Britain was *at leaſt four*. But to leave flowers of rhetoric, we have the clear hiſtorical evidence of Tacitus for the *ſecond*, *ninth*, *fourteenth*, and *twentieth*, legions being in Britain under Paulinus in the reign of Nero; and there may have been more. [*Tac. Annal. L.* xiv, *cc.* 32, 34, 37; *Hiſt. L.* iii, *c.* 45.] There is alſo the authority of Ptolemy, the Itinerary, and Dion Caſſius, for the reſidence of the *ſixth victorious*, and apparently good authority for that of the *ſeventh Claudian*, the *ninth*, and the *tenth* legions in Britain. But it does not follow, that there were eight legions in it at once; and we know, that the *fourteenth* was for ſome time drawn off by Vitellius, and that during his reign one of the *ſixth* legions (for there were often ſeverals of the ſame number) and the *ſeventh Claudian* were alſo upon the continent. It is, however, probable, that there were generally more than four; for Agricola had three, if not four, legions with him at the battle of the Grampian hill; and the ſlendereſt garriſons, he could leave in the conquered country, would require at leaſt two legions. There was alſo a fleet of armed veſſels with a proper eſtabliſhment of marine forces conſtantly kept up in the different ports. So important in the eyes of the Roman emperors was Britain: and its importance is, I hope, a ſufficient apology for this rather uncommercial note.

During the long and peaceful reign of Auguſtus the Britiſh princes courted his friendſhip by embaſſies and preſents: and the Britons by their long-continued friendly intercourſe with the Romanized Gauls became acquainted with the Romans, and in ſome degree with their arts and ſciences. Even before Cæſar viſited this iſland, their own knowlege of agriculture was by no means contemptible, as appears from their long experience in the uſe of a variety of marles enumerated by Pliny *, [*L.* xvii, *cc.* 6, 7, 8] and their plentiful crops, which now (and perhaps before now) enabled them to ſpare ſome corn for exportation. They had now alſo adopted many improvements from their Gallic neighbours, and were ſo generally induſtrious, that a negligent management of the dairy, or the want of a garden, came to be noted as marks of inferior talents or ſlothfulneſs in ſome few individuals. [*Strabo*, *L.* iv, *p.* 305.]

It was, no doubt, in this interval of tranquillity and advancing proſperity, that Cunobelin, king of the countries lying between the Thames and the Nen, eſtabliſhed his mint at Camulodunum (*Colcheſter*), and coined money of gold, ſilver, and braſs; of all which at leaſt forty different ſpecimens † have reached our times. And thus, inſtead of dwelling ſome centuries upon braſen money, and then ſlowly creeping to ſilver, and at laſt to gold, like the Romans, did the firſt effort of the Britiſh coinage at once comprehend all the uſeful varieties of current money ‡. Camulodunum by means of its mint has the advantage of being the firſt Britiſh town, which is authentically known by its genuine antient name; as it is alſo the very firſt that is mentioned by any

* Pliny [*L.* xvii, *c.* 8] obſerves, that the ſtrength of the Britiſh chalk marle (the pits of which he deſcribes exactly as they are now to be ſeen in Kent) laſted eighty years, and that there was no inſtance of any man uſing it twice in his life time on the ſame land. See this ſubject more largely handled in *Whitaker's Hiſtory of Manchester*, *B.* i, *ch.* 7, § 3.

It appears from an inſcription found in Zeland, that the Britiſh chalk was exported to improve the marſhy grounds of that country by people, who were called Britiſh chalk-merchants, and the polytheiſtic ſpirit of the Romans created a new goddeſs to preſide over this new trade, the date of which is unknown, but is apparently older than Varro (who died A. D. 27) as he was in ſome diſtricts on the banks of the Rhine, where the lands were manured with chalk ('candida foſſitia 'creta'). [*Varro de re ruſtica*, *L.* i, *c.* 9.—*Gale's Antonine*, *p.* 43, for the inſcription.]

† Prints of them may be ſeen in *Speed's Hiſtorie*, *Camden's Britannia*, *Pegge's Coins of Cunobelin*, *Whitaker's Hiſtory of Manchester*, &c. Mr. Whitaker, in his ſecond edition, has apparently given the true explanation of the word *Taſc*, occurring, with ſome variations of ſpelling, on many of thoſe coins, which moſt of our antiquaries (though Doctor Pettingall almoſt ſtumbled upon the truth in a Diſſertation written expreſsly on the ſenſe of that word) have ſtrangely interpreted tax, or tribute, payable to the Romans, at a time when they had no dominion in this iſland; but which, according to his interpretation, ſignifies *leader* or *king*, as, indeed, variations of the word do in the Gaelic languages to this day.—That the Britons poſſeſſed and wrought mines of gold and ſilver before the Roman conqueſt, appears unqueſtionably from Strabo, and may be inferred from Tacitus; though Cicero, writing when Julius Cæſar was in Britain, and ſcarcely any thing was known of it in Rome, had ſaid, that there was no gold or ſilver in the iſland. [*Strabo*, *L.* iv, *p.* 305.—*Tac. Vit. Agric. c.* 12.—*Cic. ad famil. L.* vii, *ep.* 7; *ad Attic. L.* iv, *ep.* 15.]

‡ Some have ſuppoſed, that the Britons had the uſe of money before Cæſar's invaſion. But the ſuppoſition is founded on an explanation, apparently erroneous, of a paſſage of Cæſar, [*Bell. Gall. L.* v, *c.* 12] which is conteſted, and ſeems to be corrupted.

writer now extant. [*Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* ii, *c.* 75.] It is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that this town, the reſidence of Cunobelin, was better built than the fenced collections of huts, deſcribed by Cæſar as the towns of the Britons: for we find, that their architectural ſkill was even equal to the taſk of building a bridge over the Thames. [*Dion. L.* lx.] But the improvements, which the Britons may be ſuppoſed to have made in building, were unknown to Strabo, the geographer of this age, whoſe deſcription of their houſes appears to be copied from Cæſar's.

Ireland was ſometimes viſited by navigators from Gaul, and they knew, that there were other iſlands adjacent to Britain; but we have no account of their tranſactions or dealings. Strabo acknowleges his ignorance of Ireland, the people of which, *he had heard*, were very ſavage, ate human fleſh, &c. the character uſually given to the moſt remote and unknown nations, which he judiciouſly cenſures as unworthy of credit *. [*Strabo, L.* iv, *p.* 307.]

The nations to the northward of Gaul were as yet but little known to the Romans. The Bructeri were defeated by Druſus in a naval battle on the River Amaſia (*Ems*), whence it appears that the people of thoſe coaſts poſſeſſed ſome kind of veſſels, probably no other than the long canoes made of ſingle trees, and capable of carrying thirty men each, deſcribed by Pliny [*L.* xvi, *c.* 40] as uſed by the pirates of Germany. In the following age the Suiones, a nation occupying an iſland in the Baltic ſea, according to Tacitus, [*Germania*] were powerful by their fleets, and ſenſible of the advantages of opulence. He adds, that the uſe of arms was not general among them, as among the other German nations, *becauſe they were defended from ſudden invaſions by the ſurrounding ocean.* It is probable, that at this time their circumſtances were nearly the ſame, and that their opulence was as much the produce of rapine as of induſtry. We have very little poſitive authority for any commercial tranſactions of the GERMANS, except in two articles. The feathers of the German geeſe were preferred to all others at Rome: and amber was bought up for the Romans with ſuch avidity from the Æſtii, a nation in the modern Pruſſia, whoſe language reſembled that of the Britons, that they were utterly aſtoniſhed at the prices, which they received for an article of no real utility, which they had been accuſtomed to leave unnoticed on the beach, where the ſea threw it up on the coaſt of Auſtravia, an iſland (or perhaps now a peninſula, the Abalus or Baltia of Pytheas) called Gleſſarium by the Romans from the great abundance of amber, the genuine name of which, according to Pliny

* The character of the natives of Ireland, given by Strabo as a ſtory unworthy of credit, has been careleſsly or maliciouſly brought forward by ſome modern writers, in order to prove that the anceſtors of the Iriſh were the vileſt ſavages in the world; whereas it only proves, that the Gallic ſtrangers had ſo little intercourſe with the country, that the manners of the people were totally unknown to them. For cannibaliſm, promiſcuous concubinage, and ſuch enormities, have in all ages been the characteriſtics aſcribed by ignorance to unknown nations; and they have been gradually removed farther and farther, as diſcovery advanced.

and Tacitus, was *gleſſum* or *gleſum*. Unleſs when the Romans ſent meſſengers on purpoſe to procure the amber, it was carried acroſs the continent through Pannonia, where it was received by the Veneti (the anceſtors of the Venetians), who forwarded it to Rome; and thence aroſe the fable of its being produced on the banks of the Padus or Eridanus (*Po*).

Scythia the vaſt unknown country beyond Germany, ſupplied ſome valuable furs.

Media, Parthia, and Bactria, were too remote, or too far inland, to furniſh Rome with any articles, but ſuch as were of great value and little bulk; and we accordingly hear of little elſe but pretious ſtones brought from thoſe countries.

The Seres, the moſt remote people of Aſia known even by report to the Europeans, were, according to Florus, among the nations, who ſent ambaſſadors to Auguſtus. But the Romans do not appear to have learned any thing from the ambaſſadors concerning the ſituation, the produce, or the trade, of the nation. Strabo [*L.* xv, *p.* 1028] knew only their name, and a report that the people lived to the age of 200 years; and he mentions, I think only once, [*L.* xv, *p.* 1016] the *ſericum*, or ſilk, (and that from ſo old an author as Nearchus the admiral of Alexander's fleet) which he confounds with cotton. Dionyſius the geographer, whom Auguſtus had ſent to compile an account of the oriental regions, about this time informed the people of Europe, that pretious garments were manufactured by the Seres from threads, finer than thoſe of the ſpider, which they combed from flowers. [*Perieges. v.* 752.] This pretious manufacture found its way to Rome: but coming from a people who had the monopoly of it in their own hands, by a long ſucceſſion of tedious and dangerous carriages by land and water, through the territories of various nations, and perhaps through the hands of ſome monopoliſts, and moreover in very ſmall quantities *, it was ſold at a moſt enormous price, ſo that the uſe of it was reſtricted to a few women of the greateſt fortunes †. [*Seneca de beneficiis*, *L.* vii.]

Persia and Babylonia alſo furniſhed pretious ſtones and pearls. The

* We are told by Dion Caſſius [*L.* xliii] that Julius Cæſar, when he treated the Romans with magnificent ſpectacles, covered the amphitheatre with awnings of *ſericum* to ſhelter them from the ſun. But it may well be doubted, if a quantity of ſilk, ſufficient for ſuch a purpoſe, could have been collected in all the countries to the weſtward of India in the age of Julius: and Pliny, [*L.* xix, *c.* 1] deſcribing apparently the ſame awning, ſays, it was of linen (*carbaſus*); and he is ſurely an evidence preferable to Dion, who lived ſo many ages later. Silk could not be plenty in Rome, when the ladies were obliged to content themſelves with a flimſy ſtuff made by undoing the ſubſtantial Oriental ſilks, and re-weaving them again, as we learn from Publius Syrus, an author contemporary with Cæſar, and many others after him.

† What the price of ſilk was on its firſt appearance in Rome, we are not informed. But it muſt have been enormouſly high; for, even in the later part of the third century, the emperor Aurelian, when his wife begged of him to let her have but one ſingle gown of purple ſilk, refuſed it, ſaying, he would not buy it at the price of gold. [*Vopiſcus in Aurel. c.* 45.] And we find by the Rhodian naval laws, preſerved in the eleventh book of the *Digeſts*, that unmixed ſilk goods, when ſhipwrecked, if they were ſaved free from wet, were to pay a ſalvage of ten per cent, as being *equal to gold in value*.

Babylonian *triclinaria* or *tricliniaria* (coſtly furniture of the eating room, variouſly tranſlated, quilts, carpets, and curtains), and the incenſe of Perſia, were highly eſteemed.

But the moſt important of all the foreign trades was that which was carried on with the ORIENTAL COUNTRIES by the way of Egypt and the Red ſea. The commencement of this trade in the reign of the firſt, or rather the ſecond, Ptolemy, and the removal of it from Heroopolis at the end of the canal to Berenicè, are already related. The trade does not appear to have ever increaſed, and there is reaſon to believe, that after the reigns of the three firſt Ptolemies it was rather in a progreſſive decay, till the extinction of the Macedonian ſovereignty in Egypt, when it had dwindled down to ſcarcely twenty ſmall veſſels in a year *: and they ſeldom went beyond the mouth of the Red ſea, where, on the Arabian coaſt, they found aſſortments of merchandize fully ſufficient for their demand. But when Strabo was in Egypt, very ſoon after the ſubjugation of the kingdom by the Romans, he learned that fleets of one hundred and twenty veſſels went from Myos Hormos (then the chief port of the Egyptian trade in the Red ſea, which he calls a great port, protected by iſlands before it, and a winding entrance through them) and proceeded as far as India and the moſt remote known parts of Ethiopia, from which they imported into Egypt the moſt pretious merchandize. But the veſſels were ſmall, and their timid coaſting voyages ſeem as yet to have extended no farther than Pattala †, a port in the delta, or iſland, formed by the branches of the river Sind, or Indus: and there is reaſon to believe, that many of them completed their cargoes at the port of Arabia Felix. A few of the traders from Egypt appear, however, to have penetrated into India as far as the Ganges: but it is moſt probable, that they traveled over-land upon the magnificient royal high-way extending acroſs the country from the Indus to the Ganges ‡.

* Mr. Browne ſays, that only thirty-ſeven veſſels are now (1792) employed in the Red ſea by perſons reſiding in Egypt; and that the ſeamen are ſo unſkilful, that continual building barely keeps up the number. [*Travels in Egypt, &c. p.* 75.]

† Strabo does not inform us what port or ports they ſailed to: and, indeed, he appears not to have known a ſingle ſea-port of India; for though he deſcribes Pattalena as a delta of the Indus, containing the famous city of Pattala, he does not call that city an emporium or port: and he immediately takes a prodigious ſkip from it to Taprobanè. In ſhort, his knowlege of India is founded entirely upon the information of Alexander's officers. [*L.* xv, *pp.* 1011, 1012, 1026.] Pliny, who wrote, when the Oriental trade had been carried on a whole century by the Egyptian-Greek ſubjects of Rome, ſeems to make Pattala the only port reſorted to by them, even after the diſcovery of the monſoon, which will be noticed afterwards: and when he gives the names of two ports and two or three nations beyond it on the weſt coaſt, he does it with ſome degree of exultation, that they were not to be found in any preceding author. It is true, he mentions a more diſtant port called Perimula as the moſt famous emporium of India, ſituated on the eaſt coaſt and near the ſouthern extremity of it, and he notes the abundance of pearls found there. [*L.* ii, *c.* 73; *L.* vi, *cc.* 20, 23; *L.* ix, *c.* 35.] But as no ſuch place is mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythræan ſea, and as Ptolemy, from later information, which in geographical matters is preferable, places Perimula in India beyond the Ganges, we have reaſon to ſuſpect Pliny's information concerning it, as well as other parts of India, to be confuſed and erroneous, and alſo to believe that the merchants of Egypt were not willing to impart their knowlege to their Roman maſters.

‡ The navigation of the Ganges from the ſea up to Palibothra, as noticed by Strabo, [*L.* xv, *p.* 1010] appears pretty clearly to have been performed

Strabo gives us incidentally the important information, that the trade to India and Ethiopia (or the country of the Troglodytes) was a new acceſſion to the commerce of Egypt, which took place after the commencement of the Roman dominion in that country. [*Strabo*, *L.* ii, *p.* 179; *L.* xv, *pp.* 1006, 1010; *L.* xvi, *p.* 1114; *L.* xvii, *p.* 1149.—*Periplus Maris Erythræi*, *p.* 174, *ed. Blancard.*]

The commodities imported from Arabia, India, and Ethiopia, were landed at Myos Hormos, and thence carried by camels upon the road made acroſs the deſert by Ptolemy Philadelphus to Coptos, a town jointly occupied by Egyptian and Arabian inhabitants, which was the general emporium of the upper part of Egypt. From Coptos the goods were conveyed by a canal of three miles to the Nile, the ſtream of which floated them down to the canal leading into the Lake of Maræa, whence they proceeded by another canal to the interior harbour of Alexandria; and from the exterior or ſea harbour they were reſhipped for every part of the Mediterranean by the merchants of that city, who had almoſt the whole of the trade in their own hands, and thereby acquired prodigious great fortunes. [*Strabo*, *L.* xvi, *p.* 1128; *L.* xvii, *pp.* 1169, 1170.]

The revenue of Egypt was now alſo raiſed far beyond what it had ever been in the days of the Macedonian ſovereigns *, partly by a more ſtrict and vigorous management, but chiefly by the vaſt increaſe of the commerce of the country, the exports from Egypt being enlarged by the great and increaſing demand of almoſt the whole Roman empire for Oriental luxuries, all which paid duties, both upon importation and exportation, and the duties were particularly heavy upon the pretious articles. [*Strabo*, *L.* ii, *p.* 179; *L.* xvii, *p.* 1149.]

The pretious articles of India were alſo brought, partly by ſea and river navigation, and partly over land, to PALMYRA, a flouriſhing commercial republic, ſeated in a fertile ſpot ſurrounded by a ſandy deſert, which, being found beneficial to the world in general by its ſpirited active commerce, had the ſingular good fortune to remain independent of the great empires of Rome and Parthia, though ſituated on the confines of both. The goods from Palmyra were forwarded to Rome and other weſtern countries by the ports of Syria or Phœnicia. [*Appiani Bell. civ. L.* v.—*Plin. L.* v, *c.* 25.]

formed by the natives of India: and even in a later age the Periplus of the Erythræan ſea gives us reaſon to believe, that the voyages of the Greeks of Egypt had not extended to any part of the eaſt coaſt of India.

* The accounts of the wealth and revenue of the Ptolemies ſeem to be much exaggerated. We are told by Appian, that Ptolemy Philadelphus at his death left in his treaſury 740,000 talents, equal in weight of metal to £191,166,666: 13: 4 of modern ſterling money, (as reckoned by Arbuthnot, *p.* 192) which, though we ſhould ſuppoſe moſt of it derived from his father's ſhare of the plunder of the Perſian empire, is beyond all bounds of credibility. According to a loſt ſpeech of Cicero, (quoted by Strabo, *L.* xvii, *p.* 1149) Ptolemy Auletes, one of the moſt diſſolute of the degenerate Ptolemies, had an annual revenue of 12,500 talents (equal to £2,421,875 ſterling). But whatever the revenue of Egypt may have been, it is not fair to derive it entirely from commerce. There can be no doubt, that a great part, perhaps the moſt of it, aroſe from the very productive agriculture of the fertile ſoil.

Indian goods were alſo conveyed from a diſtrict in the north part of India, within ſeven days' journey of Bactria, through that country, and thence down the River Oxus, and acroſs the Caſpian ſea, whence they were carried up the River Cyrus, and, after a land carriage of five days, reſhipped on the Phaſis, a river of COLCHIS, running into the eaſt end of the Euxine ſea, at the mouth of which there was a town of the ſame name, whence they were diſperſed to the weſtern countries. [*Plin. L.* vi, *c.* 17.] We may be pretty certain, that the valuable merchandize of the Seres was alſo conveyed by the ſame route.

ARABIA furniſhed the traders from Egypt with various aromatics; pretious ointments; ſmall diamonds and other gems; pearls; frankincenſe; the beſt myrh, and other pretious drugs; and ſugar of a quality inferior to that of India. The Arabs alſo re-exported, or ſold to foreign traders, the goods they imported from the Eaſt, among which were ſome aromatics ſuperior in quality to any produced in their own country: and they took in exchange ſome European goods, one article of which was tin, *probably the produce of the Britiſh mines* and deſtined for India; but they were chiefly paid in money. Thus, participating largely in the increaſed commerce of Egypt, and having the balance of a briſk, conſtant, and well-conducted, active trade greatly in their favour, they abounded in riches and plenty of all things. [*Strabo, L.* i, *p.* 67.] Pliny ſays [*L.* vi, *c.* 28] that they took no goods in exchange, and that they ſold their plunder (for ſome of the nations comprehended under the extenſive name of Arabia acquired goods by piracy and robbery) to the Romans and Parthians for money only, whereby a great part of the caſh of both empires reſted with them. It is almoſt needleſs to obſerve, that the commercial nations of Arabia were not the perpetrators, but the victims, of the depredations committed by the roving Arabs. [See *Strabo L.* xvi, *p.* 1097.]

From ETHIOPIA were imported cinnamon; marble; gems; ivory; the horns of the rhinoceros; turtle, and turtle-ſhell *.

GETULIA, the country on the ſouth ſide of Mauritania, furniſhed nothing, that I can diſcover, except the dye-ſtuff extracted from the purple ſhell-fiſh, found in great abundance on the ſhore of the Atlantic ocean.

After this ſecond circuit of the Roman trade it is proper to obſerve, as an exception from the general terror of the Ocean among the Romans, that ſome veſſels of theirs had before this time ventured to navigate the Atlantic. The firſt we know of was one, which, we are told, followed the track of a Phœnician bound to the Caſſiterides, in order to diſcover the ſecret, where that mine of wealth was ſituated. The Phœnician

* As the ſeveral branches of trade carried on from the Red ſea were apparently much increaſed after this time, the conſideration of them will be reſumed with more ample, and better authenticated, materials than could be obtained in the hitherto-infant ſtate of the trade.

commander (whom modern writers generally ſuppoſe to have been of Carthage, but who, I think, muſt rather have been of Gadir, and poſterior to the deſtruction of Carthage) led his follower into deſtruction by running his own veſſel upon a ſhoal. The ſkilful Phœnician, who knew the nature of the ground and of the tides, got off by throwing part of his cargo overboard, and was recompenſed by the public for the damage, which he had ſo patriotically incurred. The Romans, however, ſtill perſiſted in their trials, and at laſt P. Craſſus diſcovered the place, and ſhowed the way to others. [*Strabo, L.* iii, *p.* 265.] We have no knowlege of the time, when any of theſe voyages were made: nor is there any particular account, I believe, of any other Roman veſſels upon the Atlantic ocean, except on the buſineſs of war, whereof we have an inſtance in the voyages of Polybius the hiſtorian along the coaſts of Africa, Spain, and Gaul, till Britain became a Roman province; though Pliny ſays in general that in his time the weſtern coaſts of Spain and Gaul were navigated, but without telling by what nation, or for what purpoſe. [*Hiſt. nat. L.* ii, *c.* 67.]

After much inveſtigation I muſt acknowlege, that I can find nothing ſatisfactory concerning the rate of the cuſtoms paid at the Roman ports upon the importation of goods in the reign of Auguſtus *; nor upon the proportion of the value of gold to ſilver †.

Notwithſtanding the pompous, but ſuperficial and unfounded, accounts, given by ſome modern writers, of a flouriſhing commerce carried on by the Romans, it is evident that the trade was entirely conducted by their ſubjects. It is not proper, ſays Cicero, that the ſame people ſhould be the commanders, and the carriers, of the world. Accordingly we find, that among the Romans the character of a merchant, inſtead of being eſteemed honourable, as it was among the wiſe Phœnicians, was held in contempt, and claſſed in their eſtimation with buffoons, gladiators, ſlaves, and ſtrumpets. And certainly no profeſſion, that is diſreputable, can ever be in a flouriſhing or proſperous condition.

Cicero, writing to his ſon upon the ſubject of profeſſions, condemns all retail trade as vile and ſordid, which can thrive only by means of

* A French treatiſe on the Roman revenue, written at the deſire of Mr. Colbert, has nothing to the purpoſe: neither has Burman, in his work *De vectigalibus populi Romani*, been able to aſcertain the rate of the duty upon any particular articles of merchandize. Arbuthnot (apparently from a paſſage of Velleius Paterculus, but without any chronology) rates the duties from 2 to 50 per cent. And even Gibbon, whoſe reſearches are generally ſo accurate, has contented himſelf with ſtating them widely at from 2½ to 12½ per cent. [*Decline of the Roman empire, V.* i, *p.* 261.] The duty taken by the Romans at their port of Leukè komè (White town) near the head of the Red ſea, was, according to the *Periplus of the Erythræan ſea*, one quarter of the cargo: but that was after the age of Auguſtus. When Cappadocia was made a Roman province, Tiberius reduced the inland duty, or exciſe, levied upon all ſales, from *one* to *one half* per cent, but it was ſoon raiſed again to one. [*Dio Caſſius, L.* lix.]

† The great quantity of plundered gold brought in by Julius Cæſar is ſaid to have lowered the value of it to nine times its weight in ſilver. *Sueton. in Julio, c.* 54, with *Arbuthnot's Tables, p.* 43.] But that price was only temporary; and one to ten ſeems rather to have been the uſual proportion in this age.

much lying. Merchandize, if not carried to a great extent, is, in his opinion, no better. But the merchant, who *imports* from every quarter great quantities of goods, and diſtributes them to the public without falſehood, is not very much to be blamed: and if, after making a fortune, he retires from trade to the country, he may with great propriety even be praiſed *. Such were the ſentiments of one of the moſt enlightened of the Romans upon the merit and dignity of commerce: and no evidence of an author, writing expreſsly for the public, can be compared with this work of Cicero, addreſſed to his own ſon, for a genuine repreſentation of the low eſtimation, in which trade was held by the Romans. It may alſo be obſerved, that Pliny, who in his univerſal work expatiates in the juſt praiſes of agriculture and gardening, of medicine, painting, and ſtatuary; and alſo pays due attention to works in gold, ſilver, braſs, jewels, wood, &c. yet has not a word upon merchandize, except juſt obſerving, that it was invented by the Phœnicians. The proud ſenators, however, with all their contempt for fair trade, had from the earlieſt ages of their republic made a practice of increaſing their wealth by a baſe and extortionate trade of uſury.

The citizens of Rome thought themſelves ſuperior to all kings †; and ſeveral commanders of armies and governors of provinces, whoſe rank entitled them to large dividends of the plunder of the world, poſſeſſed greater quantities of gold and ſilver, than ſome ſovereign princes can command, even in the preſent depretiated ſtate of the pretious metals.

The Romans, glutted with the ſpoils of the earth, ſet no bounds to their extravagance. Whatever was very expenſive became the object of their deſire; and the moſt enormous (or even incredible) prices were given for things of little or no real uſe. Silk, and a fine ſpecies of linen called byſſinus, ſold for their weight in gold. The value of pretious ſtones and pearls, being merely imaginary, can be rated only by the redundant wealth, or folly, of the buyer. We are told by Pliny, that he

* 'Sordidi enim putandi, qui mercantur a mercatoribus quod ſtatim vendunt: nihil enim proficiunt, niſi admodum mentiantur: nec vero quidquam eſt turpius vanitate.——Mercatura autem, ſi tenuis eſt, ſordida putanda eſt. Sin magna et copioſa, multa undique *apportans*, multiſque ſine vanitate impartiens, *non eſt admodum vituperanda*: atque etiam, ſi ſatiata quæſtu, vel contenta potius, ut ſæpe ex alto in portum, ex ipſo portu ſe in agros poſſeſſioneſque contulerit, videtur jure optimo poſſe laudari.' *Cicero de offic. L.* i, *cc.* 150, 151.

In this paſſage there is not a word of exportation: and indeed it is evident, that the Romans had little or no idea of any thing in the character of a merchant beyond that of a purveyor of ſubſiſtence and luxuries. But ſome modern writers, in order to prove the Romans to have been a commercial people, have elevated the aſſociations of river boatmen, and the ſutlers of the Roman camps, into the character of mercantile companies.

† The noble Romans were prohibited from *degrading* themſelves by marrying into royal families: and thence Berenicè, a Jewiſh princeſs, was obliged to be content with the rank of concubine to the emperor Titus; and even Cleopatra, the ſovereign queen of the rich and populous kingdom of Egypt, was only the concubine of Antony. But Felix, the procurator of Judæa, Samaria, and Gallilee, mentioned in the Acts of the apoſtles, who had been a ſlave, was of ſufficient quality to be the huſband of three ſucceſſive queens, [*Sueton in Claud. c.* 28] or rather princeſſes, one of whom was a granddaughter of the celebrated Cleopatra.

ſaw Lollia Paulina at a moderate entertainment (not a ſolemn occaſion) dreſſed in jewels which coſt £322,916 : 13 : 4 of our modern ſterling money *. [*Hiſt. nat. L.* ix, *c.* 35.—*Arriani Indica, p.* 525, *ed. Blancard.*—*Arbuthnot's Tables, p.* 141.] No antient author, I believe, ſays any thing of the price of diamonds at Rome; but Julius Cæſar gave £48,437 : 10 for a pearl, which he preſented to one of his miſtreſſes: and he gave £15,500 for a picture. A ſtatue of Apollo ſold for above £29,000. For the kinds of fiſh, which happened to be in faſhion (for one kind frequently drove out another) they gave the moſt extravagant prices; £64 was the price of a mullet (' mullus'); and the muræna (ſuppoſed to be the lamprey) was too pretious in the eſtimation of ſome epicures to be ſold for money. The price of fat thruſhes was about two ſhillings each; and a white nightingale ſold for £48 : 8 : 9. [See *Arbuthnot's Tables.*]

But, though the Romans went ſo prodigiouſly beyond the moderns in extravagant expenſes, they appear to have had much leſs taſte; or rather, inſtead of taſte, they had only a rage for luxuries, many of which had nothing but their monſtrous expenſe to recommend them. Indeed, from Pliny it is evident, that, even in his time, when a ſucceſſion of three or four mad emperors had given the imperial ſanction to the exceſs of profuſion, luxury was new, and, as we may ſay, unformed, in Rome.

While the rich Romans were giving the wealth of a province for a ſingle article of frantic luxury, bread and butcher meat appear to have been ſold as low, as their moſt moderate prices have been with us in times of peace for forty or fifty years paſt: ſo that the luxury of the rich was hitherto harmleſs to the great body of the people, at leaſt with reſpect to thoſe eſſentially-neceſſary articles of dayly conſumption. But it was very different with reſpect to houſe rent. The ample ſpaces occupied by the pleaſure grounds, attached to the ſpacious palaces of the rich †, left very little room within the walls for houſes to accommodate people of middling or ſmall incomes. Hence they were obliged to raiſe them aloft in the air to the inconvenient height of above ſeventy feet ‡; and each floor was let to a ſeparate family at annual rents equal to the complete purchaſe of a moderate houſe and garden in other towns of Italy, if we may truſt to the poetical and ſatyrical information

* Pliny adds that her grandfather M. Lollius, from whom ſhe inherited her fortune, became ſo infamous for his extortions, that he withdrew from the diſgrace by poiſoning himſelf. But, in the progreſs of corruption, extortion was no longer branded with infamy; and even the manumitted ſlaves of the emperors amaſſed fortunes of ſome millions of ſterling money.

† 'They nowadays complain that they have not 'ſufficient lodging room in houſes, which occupy 'more ground than the Dictator Cincinnatus had 'in his whole eſtate.' [*Valer. Max. L.* iv, *c.* 4.]

‡ Auguſtus made a law that houſes ſhould not exceed ſeventy feet in height. But the law was eluded, or overlooked, as appears by its being repeated by ſucceeding emperors. [See *Lipſius de magnitudine Rom. L.* iii, *c.* 4.]

of Juvenal. [*Sat.* iii.] The rent of an *insula* or house so divided, was in the age of Augustus forty thousand sesterces, or £322 : 18 : 4 sterling.

An inquiry, whether the antients possessed the most useful art of BOOK-KEEPING as now practised, may be properly connected with the general view of the trade of the antient world. Upon this occasion we must again regret the total loss of the literary monuments of all the antient mercantile communities, which obliges us to seek our information from the writings of one of the most uncommercial nations of antiquity.

It is plain from the works of Cicero and some other authors, that the Romans kept their accounts (*rationes*) in a book, which they called *Codex accepti et expensi* (the book of received and paid away), which appears to me to have contained the various accounts titled with each person's name, called *tabulæ accepti et expensi*, into which were posted (*relata*) from the *adversaria*, at least once a month, the various transactions of debit and credit, which it was incumbent on every upright accountant to state fairly and punctually, for 'as it was base to charge what was 'not justly due, so was it villainous to omit entering what was owing to 'others.' It was also a suspicious circumstance, if any article was allowed to lie in the *adversaria* unposted beyond a proper time. The *Codex* (book) containing, as I think, the various *tabulæ* or *rationes* (accounts) with their proper names or titles, was carefully prepared, and accurately written; and every transaction was duely transferred (or posted) in it for perpetual preservation, that it might be produced upon occasions of dispute; and it was admitted as evidence in courts of justice, where the accounts (*tabulæ*) were publicly read. In each *tabula* there were apparently two columns or pages; one for the *acceptum* (debit), and the other for the *expensum* (credit), as in our modern ledgers.

The *Adversaria* were only temporary notes, hastily written, with alterations or blottings; and they were thrown away or destroyed, and new ones were begun every month. They were not admitted as evidence in the courts *.

* 'Quemadmodum turpe est scribere, quod non 'debeatur; sic improbum est non referre quod de- 'beas: æque enim tabulæ condemnantur ejus, qui 'verum non retulit, et ejus, qui falsum perscripsit.'— 'Quid est quod negligenter scribamus adversaria? 'quid est, quod diligenter conficiamus tabulas? 'qua de causa? Quia hæc sunt menstrua; illæ sunt 'æternæ: hæc delentur statim; illæ servantur 'sanctè: hæc parvi temporis memoriam; illæ per- 'petuæ existimationis fidem et religionem amplec- 'tuntur: hæc sunt dejectæ; illæ in ordinem con- 'fectæ. Itaque adversaria in judicium protulit 'nemo: codicem protulit; tabulas recitavit.'— 'Cur tamdiu jacet hoc nomen in adversariis? Quid 'si tandem amplius triennium est? Quomodo, cum 'omnes, qui tabulas conficiunt, menstruas pene 'rationes in tabulas transferant, tu hoc nomen 'triennium amplius in adversariis jacere pateris? 'Utrum cetera nomina in codicem accepti et ex- 'pensi digesta habes, an non? Si non, quomodo 'tabulas conficis? si etiam, quamobrem, cum ce- 'tera nomina in ordinem referebas, hoc nomen 'triennio amplius, quod erat inprimis magnum, in 'adversariis relinquebas?' [*Ciceronis Orat.* iii, *cc.* 1, 2, 3.] The whole of the oration ought to be perused, being in defence of Roscius, (the celebrated actor) for money claimed by Fannius, for which he had not even raised an account in his *codex accepti et expensi*, but pretended, that he ought to recover it upon the authority of a note in his *adversaria*;

From theſe deſcriptions we may almoſt preſume to ſay, that the *Adverſaria* were what the Romans had in place of our WASTE-BOOK, or Blotter, as ſome call it. But they were far inferior to it in accuracy and authenticity; and they differed very materially from it in not being thought worthy of preſervation.—They ſeem to have had nothing equivalent to our JOURNAL, which is only a different modification of the Waſte-book, and is even omitted by ſome book-keepers.—The *Codex accepti et expenſi* anſwers to our LEDGER, and the *Tabulæ*, with their two pages or columns * to the particular accounts.

I believe, there is nothing extant, which can inform us, whether they raiſed accounts for the ſeveral articles of merchandize in their books, or whether each tranſaction was entered in two accounts; or, in other words, whether they underſtood any thing of double entry.

As book-keeping is an art ſo eſſentially neceſſary to commerce, and ſo ſimple in its principles, it cannot be ſuppoſed, that the Phœnicians, or indeed any nation carrying on trade, and underſtanding arithmetic, could be deſtitute of it. With the Phœnician colonies it may have ſpread into Rhodes, Crete, Thebes in Greece, and other places, where they were mixed with the Greeks: and from the Greeks, it is moſt probable, that the Romans received it along with the other branches of their knowlege.

20—Soon after the death of Auguſtus Strabo finiſhed his great and valuable geographical work; wherein he lays down the globoſity, and

adverſaria; 'non habere ſe hoc nomen in codice accepti et expenſi relatum confitetur; ſed in adverſariis patere contendit.'—The learned Fr. Hotman, in his Commentary on this oration, has never once conceived an idea of any reſemblance to the modern books of accounts.

Aulus Gellius [*L.* xiv, *c.* 2] gives an account of a cauſe tried before himſelf for money ſaid to be owing, but 'neque tabulis neque teſtibus;' and he alſo notices the want of the *chirograph* or hand writing and ſigning of the *tabulæ*. This ſeems to lead to an inquiry, whether the debtor ſigned the account in the creditor's books; or whether the *tabulæ* in this caſe may mean a bond: for the poverty of the Latin language, wherein many very different meanings are expreſſed by the one word *tabula*, leaves us in obſcurity.

* We might almoſt take it for granted from the reaſon of the thing, that every *tabula* or account had two pages, or rather columns; for the books of the ancients were not like ours, which are bound together by the inner ſides of the leaves, but were long rolls containing diviſions called *paginæ*, which we call columns. But we have apparently the authority of Pliny, [*L.* ii, *c.* 7] who ſays allegorically of Fortune, 'Huic omnia *expenſa*, huic omnia *ferunt accepta*; et in tota *ratione* mortalium ſola *utramquè paginam* facit.' I muſt therefor preſume to differ from the learned Scaliger, who, having occaſion incidentally to touch upon *adverſaria*, &c. ſuppoſes the account of what is given or paid away to have been on the face of the paper, and that of what is received, on the back of it; which would be a very awkward and inconvenient arrangement. [*Scaliger in Guilandinum, Opuſc. p.* 48.]

In theſe two notes I have given the quotations thus at large, contrary to my uſual cuſtom, in order to ſave trouble to the reader, and becauſe they are particularly uſeful in illuſtrating a very curious point of commercial antiquity: and they are ſelected, as moſt to the purpoſe, from a large collection of paſſages of Cicero and other authors. To do juſtice to the ſubject, an ample diſſertation, or rather a whole volume, ought to be devoted to it. And ſuch a work, entitled, *Livre de compte de prince a la maniere d'Italie en domaine et finance ordinaire.—contenant ce en quoi s'exerce le tres-illuſtre et tres-excellent prince et ſeigneur Maurice prince d'Orange, &c. par Simon Stevin, Leyden*, 1602, *folio*, is quoted by Mr. Anderſon [*V.* i, *p.* 409] as being in his own poſſeſſion. I have never been able to obtain a ſight of this ſyſtem of princely book-keeping, though I have applied at every place, where there ſeemed to be any probability of finding it.

the centripetal force or gravitation, of the earth, as fundamental principles of geography; and he gives rules for conſtructing globes, which, he ſays, ought not to be leſs than ten feet in diameter, and alſo for maps. But he has injudiciouſly neglected the great and important improvement of fixing the poſitions of places by their latitude and longitude, which was introduced by Hipparchus. Strabo traveled over moſt of the countries between Armenia in the eaſt and Etruria in the weſt, and from the ſhore of the Euxine ſea (near which at Amaſia he was born) as far ſouth as the borders of Ethiopia. In deſcribing the countries which he had ſeen, he is generally very accurate; but in thoſe beyond his own knowlege he is frequently very erroneous. And it muſt be acknowleged, that he is too conceited of his own opinions; whence he is betrayed into frequent and even indecent abuſe of ſome authors, who appear to have been at leaſt not inferior to himſelf in accuracy of information, particularly Herodotus, Pytheas, Megaſthenes, and Eratoſthenes; wherein he has been implicitly followed by many, who lived in later ages, when the veracity of thoſe great men, and the errors of Strabo, have been demonſtrated by experimental philoſophy and new diſcoveries. But, ſetting aſide theſe defects, his work, upon the whole, as it is one of the oldeſt, is alſo in many reſpects the beſt, general ſyſtem of ancient geography, which has come down to our times *: and I have to acknowlege many and great obligations to it in the courſe of this work.

30—There were bankers or exchangers in Judæa, who made a trade of receiving money in depoſit, and paying intereſt for it. [*Mathew, c.* 25.] I have not diſcovered any inſtance of ſuch a profeſſion in Greece or Rome, where the borrowers upon intereſt were apparently only thoſe who wanted money for their own occaſions. The Roman nummularii ſeem to have been only exchangers of one ſpecies of money for another, and perhaps they were employed to pay the public money. [See *Sueton. in Galba, c.* 9.]

41—The firſt knowlege of the exiſtence of the iſland of Taprobane (Seylan or Ceylon) was conveyed to Europe by the writings of Oneſicritus, one of the commanders of Alexander's fleet; and his account of its magnitude was not near ſo much exaggerated as thoſe of ſucceeding writers, who even made it a ſeparate world. It was known before this time, that ivory, turtle-ſhell, and other merchandize, were carried from it to the ports of India; that the navigators of thoſe ſeas ventured to go out of ſight of land, and, like the northern Europeans in the middle ages, uſed birds to point out the land they wanted to go to, whereby they in ſome meaſure made up for the want of a compaſs; and that

* The works of Pytheas, Megaſthenes, Eratoſthenes, and many other antient geographers, are only known to us by quotations from them preſerved by Strabo, Pliny, and ſome other writers.

their veſſels were alike at both ends, and could change their courſe without going about, being probably the ſame which are now called proas. [*Strabo*, *L.* ii, *p.* 124; *L.* xv, *p.* 1012.—*Plin. L.* vi, *c.* 22.] But in the reign of the emperor Claudius the Europeans, by means of an accident, acquired ſome further knowlege of that celebrated iſland *. A veſſel belonging to Plocamus, the Roman farmer of the cuſtoms in the Red ſea, being blown off the coaſt of Arabia by ſtrong north-eaſt winds, ('aquilonibus:' quere, if not rather north-weſt?) and being driven by them in the Ocean for fifteen days, was carried beyond Carmania, and arrived at the port of Hippuros in Taprobanè †. The king of that part of the iſland entertained the officer hoſpitably during ſix months, (being probably the time neceſſary to wait for the commencement of the monſoon proper for his return) and being informed of the greatneſs and power of the Roman emperor, he ſent ambaſſadors to him. As it cannot be ſuppoſed, that the cuſtom-farmer's ſeamen were capable of finding their way back to the Red ſea through the Ocean, we muſt believe, that the ambaſſadors ſailed, either in a veſſel belonging to their own country, or in a foreign trading veſſel, which would moſt likely be an Arabian one ‡. They informed the emperor, that their country con-

* Diodorus Siculus, who wrote in the reign of Auguſtus, relates a ſtrange ſtory [*L.* ii, § 55-60] of one Iambulus being turned adrift in a boat, with only one companion, by the people of Ethiopia, with orders, dictated by an oracle, to ſteer *due ſouth*, and of his arrival in four months at a large iſland, not named by him, but ſuppoſed by moſt modern writers to be Taprobanè, though Madagaſcar anſwers better to the courſe ſteered. He wrote an account of his voyages and diſcoveries, containing ſome probabilities mixed with many falſehoods. It appears from Strabo, [*L.* xv, *p.* 1012] that this pretended diſcoverer, or romancer, was unknown to, or diſregarded by, him.

† To reach the ſouth part of Ceylon in fifteen days the veſſel muſt have drifted about 140 geographical miles every day, even if ſhe kept in a ſtraight courſe for it, which, after making every allowance for the ſtrong current generally running to the eaſtward in that ſea, is a very great drift. Yet ſome people endeavour to perſuade us that Taprobanè was not Ceylon, but Sumatra, which is about 700 miles farther. If the wind which blew her off was really north-eaſt, or north-north-eaſt, (*aquilo*; but it is impoſſible to adjuſt the *twelve*, or *eight*, winds of the antients, concerning the direction of which they do not agree among themſelves, to the modern points of the compaſs) ſhe could never have got near the coaſt of Carmania, and muſt have made good a courſe within eight points of the wind, allowing it to be north-north-eaſt, which is fully as much as moſt modern veſſels can do in a hard gale of wind. It might therefor be ſuppoſed, that ſhe would rather have gone to Madagaſcar, or ſome of the other iſlands on the eaſt ſide of Africa. But the name of Taprobanè, unqueſtionably proved by the Periplus of the Erythræan ſea and Coſmas Indicopleuſtes, and alſo by its poſition near the ſouth part of India, to be the ſame with the modern Ceylon, will by no means admit of ſuch a ſuppoſition; and we muſt ſuppoſe, that Pliny, in the ambiguity of the Latin names of the winds, has applied *aquilo* to any of the northerly winds.

‡ The ambaſſadors are ſaid to have deſcribed the religious worſhip of their country as reſembling that of the Arabs, while their king worſhipped Bachus the Greek god of wine, not one drop of which was produced in his dominions. If the information could be depended upon, it would infer a very ſtrong connection indeed between Arabia and Taprobanè, and alſo preſent a very curious coincidence in the antient and modern hiſtory of religion in Ceylon, the preſent principal king of the iſland being of the Hindu religion, while the bulk of his ſubjects are worſhippers of Boodh, as we learn from Captain Mackenzie's *Antiquities of Ceylon* in the ſixth volume of the *Aſiatic reſearches*. But the relation of ſuch abſtruſe matters, received through the medium of ſeveral interpreters ſcarcely knowing each-other's languages and the reports of others after the firſt hearers, has very probably been miſrepreſented to Pliny; and therefor no eſtimate of the Arabian commercial intercourſe with Taprobanè can ſafely be foundèd upon it.

tained five hundred towns, was very opulent, and abounded with gold, ſilver, and pearls; a piece of intelligence, which, if it had been within the reach of a Roman invaſion, might have proved fatal to it. The nation they belonged to uſed to trade with a neighbouring nation, whom they called the Seres, without the uſe of ſpeech, each party laying down their wares, and making the exchange, when the quantities were adjuſted to mutual ſatisfaction *. They are alſo ſaid to have related many things very wonderful, and ſome abſolutely impoſſible, if they were not rather miſrepreſented by the hearers or reporters. [*Plin. L.* vi, *c.* 22.] It is worthy of remark, that all the writers of antiquity, and among the reſt Coſmas Indicopleuſtes, who profeſſes to write chiefly from his own knowlege, appear not to have known any thing of cinnamon being produced in that iſland, though it is the moſt remarkable and valuable of its productions †.

42—We are not informed, that the embaſſy from Taprobanè gave birth to any commercial intercourſe between that iſland and the Roman ſubjects in Egypt. But it ſeems very probable, that the involuntary drift of the cuſtom-farmer's veſſel *acroſs the Ocean* led the way to the important diſcovery, or application, of the regular winds called the monſoons, by the Greek navigators of Egypt, which took place very ſoon, or more probably immediately, after the return of Plocamus's officer with the ambaſſadors of Taprobanè. The firſt Grecian commander, who availed himſelf of the periodical regularity of the winds in the Indian ocean, was Hippalus; and he was therefor, according to the

* The Seres are generally ſuppoſed the anceſtors of the people now called by us the Chineſe. But Pliny ſays, that theſe Seres were in ſight of the country, from which the ambaſſadors came, and he appears even to infer that they were divided from it only by a river. Moreover they are deſcribed as men of large ſtature, with reddiſh hair and blue eyes, and ſpeaking a language unintelligible to the people of Hippuros. Theſe characteriſtics anſwer to a Scythian or Gothic people. Quere, if a colony of the Scythians, who occupied the banks of the Indus, have made a ſettlement on the iſland, and if it was from them that it has received the name of Seren-dib, the laſt part of which differs nothing from *div*, the uſual termination of the names of iſlands in that part of the Indian ocean. It was alſo called Selan-div, which, when diveſted of the termination, is the modern name, by which we call it.—China, ſo far from being viſible in Ceylon, as the country of the Seres was, is by coaſting navigation at leaſt five thouſand miles from it; ſo that it is rather improbable, that there was any intercourſe at all between them in thoſe days. Some learned men, however, on the ſtrength of this paſſage of Pliny, and another in the 17th chapter of the ſame book, have perſuaded themſelves, that they have found the ſame cautious or jealous policy among them, which regulates the conduct of their ſuppoſed deſcendents, the Chineſe, in their intercourſe with the Europeans. But the Seres of the 17th chapter are evidently a continental people; though Pliny himſelf ſeems in ſome reſpects to confound them with the Seres mentioned in the deſcription of Taprobanè.

† Quere, if the cinnamon has been imported into and naturalized in Ceylon, as cloves were in Amboyna. See *Stavorinus's Voyages*, *V.* ii, *p.* 339, *Engliſh tranſlation.*

Linſchoten [*Voyages*, *p.* 112] names ſeveral places in India producing cinnamon, but none equal to that of Ceylon, which, he ſays, is thrice the value of any other. Since his time the Dutch are ſaid to have extirpated the beſt cinnamon in all parts of India ſubject to their power, except Ceylon, that they might there enjoy a monopoly of it. But ſome aſſert that the real genuine cinnamon never grew in any other part of the world than Ceylon. See *Boyd's embaſſy to Ceylon* in the *Aſiatic Annual regiſter for* 1799.

uſual practice of the Greeks, called the diſcoverer of it *. This judicious navigator, having a good idea (and perhaps a rude kind of chart) of the form of the coaſt, and ſituation of the ports, inſtead of going up the ſouth ſide of the entry of the Perſian gulf till he could ſee the oppoſite ſhore, then going down it, and coaſting along Carmania and Gadroſia, and every bay and creek of the coaſt, as all his predeceſſors had done, obſerved the proper ſeaſon of the monſoon, launched out at once in the Ocean, and committing his veſſel to the ſure and regular impulſe of the ſouth-weſt wind (Libonotus) ſteered as ſtraight a courſe as he could for his port. And in commemoration of this grand improvement, which forms a new and very important æra in the hiſtory of the commercial intercourſe between India and Europe, the Greeks immortalized the name of Hippalus by conferring it upon the ſouth-weſt monſoon, which he firſt taught them to avail themſelves of in their voyages to India †. [*Periplus Maris Erythræi.—Plin. L.* vi, *c.* 23.]

Previous to the new ſyſtem of navigation introduced by Hippalus, the traders from Egypt coaſted in ſmall veſſels to the mouth of the Indus, and alſo to Barygaza, Muſiris, and Barakè, ſeemingly in about 12 degrees north latitude ‡, the trade of all which will be afterwards given more at large. [*Periplus Maris Erythræi.*]

Hitherto the corn ſhips from Alexandria and elſewhere appear to have diſcharged their cargoes at Puteoli, a port about ſeventy-five miles from Rome, which being found very inconvenient, the emperor Claudius, in purſuance of a plan projected by Julius Cæſar, made an artificial harbour in the mouth of the Tiber at Oſtia, by digging a ſpacious baſin in the main land, which was defended by a pier on each ſide, and

* I have all along preſumed, that the monſoons were known, and applied to the purpoſes of navigation, by the Oriental nations, and eſpecially by the Arabs. As we know, that they were navigators in the earlieſt ages, and we are ſure they muſt have obſerved the periodical regularity and ſteady continuation of thoſe winds, we may be equally ſure, that they were not ſo mad as to attempt ſailing in oppoſition to them, or to neglect the obvious advantage of ſailing before them, and that they made their voyages accordingly.

† Unfortunately the date of Hippalus's firſt voyage to India by the monſoons cannot be aſcertained with the preciſion due to its importance. It was certainly not ſo early as Strabo's viſit to Egypt about 28 years before Chriſt: and, as it was unknown to that author, it was apparently not before he finiſhed his great work, which was about the 20th year of the Chriſtian æra. Pliny [*L.* vi, *c.* 23] mentions the courſe for Patala by the wind Hippalus, and a nearer and ſafer courſe ſteered *in the age which followed* ('ſecuta ætas') which was *long* uſed, and *afterwards* ſtill ſhorter routes were found. This ſeries of improvements infers a conſiderable length of time between the firſt uſe of the wind Hippalus and the compoſition of Pliny's work, which he finiſhed in the year 77. Therefor, in order to allow for all thoſe improvements as much time as poſſible, conſiſtent with the preſumption that the uſe of the monſoons in navigation was unknown to the Egyptian Greeks till the arrival of the Taprobanian ambaſſadors, we muſt believe that they arrived in the very beginning of the reign of Claudius, which commenced in January 41, the cuſtom-farmer's veſſel having drifted to Taprobanè in that of his predeceſſor, and that the firſt oceanic voyage of Hippalus took place with the return of the proper monſoon in the year 42.

‡ Pliny makes Patala at the mouth of the Indus the fartheſt extent of their voyages for a conſiderable time after they began to ſail with the wind Hippalus. But Pliny's information was exceedingly defective in Oriental affairs, as I have already had occaſion to obſerve, and is nothing when ſet againſt the Periplus of the Erythræan ſea.

a mole or little iſland before it, on which was erected a light houſe in imitation of the Pharos at Alexandria.

The importation of corn being the branch of trade, which engaged the moſt general attention among the Romans, Claudius, during a time of ſcarcity, did every thing in his power to perſuade the merchants to import it even in the winter, when it was cuſtomary to lay up the ſhips. He took upon himſelf all loſſes and accidents which might ariſe from the inclemency of the ſeaſon, and he alſo made the importers ſure of a certain rate of profit *. He moreover gave large premiums for building ſhips. [*Sueton. in Claud. cc.* 18, 20.—*Dion. Caſs. L.* lx.]

43—The tranquillity of the Britons, and their friendly intercourſe with the Romans and their Gallic ſubjects, were now interrupted. Claudius the Roman emperor, on pretence of reinſtating a Britiſh refugee prince called Beric, ſent an army into our iſland; and Plautius the Roman commander, having conquered ſome of the ſouth part of the country, ſent notice of it to the emperor, that he might by his preſence aſſume the honour of the conqueſt. In the mean time he poſted his army on the ſouth bank of the Thames in a ſtation, which Gale [*Antonini Iter Britanniarum, p.* 64] ſuppoſes to have been near the Horſe-ferry at Lambeth; and he thinks, that thence the great and flouriſhing city of LONDON had its commencement †. The Roman army, with the em-

* It was an improvement upon the premium of two nummi (almoſt four pence ſterling) upon the modius (about a peck) of corn, allowed to the merchants by Tiberius. [*Taciti Annales, L.* ii, *c.* 87.] And this ſeems the only foundation for an aſſertion, that Claudius was the inventor of inſurance upon ſhips.

N. B. Theſe regulations did not take place till the year 51. But I have introduced them here as ſomewhat connected with the preceding paragraph, and to avoid breaking the connection of Britiſh affairs in the ſubſequent years.

† The arguments of Gale, Salmon, and ſome others, for London being originally on the ſouth ſide of the river, are, 1) The Roman road from Verulam is ſaid by Ralph Higden [*Polychronicon, p.* 196, *ed. Gale*] to have paſſed to the weſtward of the preſent city, and to have croſſed the river at the Horſe-ferry near Lambeth, where there are ſome remains of Roman works; and another road, of which Oxford ſtreet and Old ſtreet are parts, ſtretched from eaſt to weſt, alſo quite away from the preſent city, into which it was afterwards bent. —2) Ptolemy long after this time poſitively places London in the province of Kent, which he extends farther weſt than its modern limits. The people of Kent, being comparatively an enlightened and commercial nation, eſtabliſhed an emporium at the extremity of their country in order to enjoy the trade of the inland tribes by the navigation of the Thames. When both ſides of the river fell under the Roman dominion, an appendage of the town was built on the north bank of the river, which by its more healthy and pleaſant ſituation attracted the Roman magiſtrates, merchants, and principal people, and in proceſs of time eclipſed the original town. Now, Ptolemy, who accuſes Marinus of Tyre of placing London erroneouſly, muſt have ſurely been very careful not to fall into an error himſelf.—3) The monk of Ravenna, who lived ſeveral centuries after Ptolemy, has Londini along with ſome places on the ſouth ſide of the Thames; and he afterwards has Londinium Auguſta along with others on the north ſide of that river: and, as it is not to be ſuppoſed, that he mentions the ſame place twice, there muſt have been then a London on each ſide of the river.

To theſe it may be anſwered,—1) There is reaſon to believe that the Roman road, which is ſaid to have croſſed the river at the Horſe-ferry, is imaginary; the works, which are adduced to ſupport the confuſed account of Higden, being not Roman, nor even antient, but raiſed by the parliament in the year 1643. And it is as probable that Stane ſtreet (or Stone ſtreet) in Southwark is the road connected with the Roman ferry. [See *Maitland's Hiſtory of London, pp.* 10, 11.]—2) It muſt be remembered, that, when the country was in a ſtate of nature, the low grounds on the banks of the Thames were overflowed every tide to a great extent; and indeed it is doubtful, if there was any part of its banks oppoſite to the modern London

peror at their head, croſſed the Thames, and took the city of Camulodunum. And Claudius, having reinſtated Plautius in the ſupreme command, after a ſtay of ſixteen days in Britain, returned to Rome.

52—The noble Britiſh prince Caractacus, Caradauc, or Cearatic *, after a gallant oppoſition during nine years, which rendered his name famous throughout the Roman empire, at laſt ſunk under the ſuperior diſcipline of the invaders, and the treachery of his ſtepmother, the queen of the Brigantes, and was carried priſoner to Rome.

Camulodunum (Colcheſter), apparently the principal city at this time in Britain, was made a Roman colony; as appears by a coin of Claudius, dated in the twelfth year of his reign: and Verulam (near St. Albans) was made a municipium †. It is highly probable that the Romans alſo began to inhabit London about this time.

54—'Wherever the Roman conquers, he inhabits.' [*Senecæ Conſol. ad Helviam, c.* 6.] The ſecurity of the government and the intereſt of individuals co-operated in ſeizing on the ſtrongeſt, or the moſt fertile, ſituations for the eſtabliſhment of colonies to be occupied by Romans or their conciliated ſubjects, who, in the capacities of ſoldiers, farmers, and traders, reaped the greateſt advantages, which could be derived from the property of the ſoil in the conquered territories, while the original proprietors were compelled to cultivate their own lands for the emolument of their new lords. As ſoon as the coloniſts were eſtabliſhed in their new ſettlements, they immediately introduced a new ſyſtem of agriculture, building, and other arts and manufactures; one inſtance of which is, that we find cherries were cultivated in this country in eleven years after their firſt landing in it: [*Plin. Hiſt. nat. L.* xv, *c.* 25] and Kent, which being their firſt conqueſt, was probably firſt planted with cherry-trees, retains a character for that fruit to this day ‡.

London or Weſtminſter fit for the habitation of man. The ſurface of the ground, even on the north ſide of the river, was then about twenty feet lower, than it is now, as appears by Roman ſtreets and buildings having been diſcovered at that depth. The argument for Ptolemy's accuracy from his cenſure of Marinus is of no weight: for we have often ſeen thoſe, who are the ſharpeſt in reprehending others, the readieſt to fall into miſtakes.—3) The monk of Ravenna, who has been moſt undeſervedly honoured with the appellation of the *geographer* of Ravenna, is ſo irregular and erroneous, that it is really a ſhame to quote him. His unconnected catalogue of blundered names, if it can prove any thing, proves too much; for he has three, if not four, names, which may all be taken for London, viz. Londinis, Londini, Londinium Auguſta, and Lugundino.

Some antiquaries think they have found London before the reign of Claudius in the inſcriptions on ſome Britiſh coins, and, what is wonderful indeed, on a Roman-Grecian one. The firſt notion is founded on the word NOVANE or NOVANIT; but the connection between it and London can only be ſuggeſted by Geffrey's vile fable of his Troynovantum or New Troy. The Grecian coin has not the ſhadow of a connection with Britiſh affairs.

* The name of Cearatic (pronounced Kearatic) appears on a Britiſh coin, probably of this prince.

† A brief explanation of the nature of colonies, municipia, and other Roman diſtinctions of towns, will be given along with an account of Roman Britain in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate about the year 170.

‡ Many other fruits, trees, &c. were introduced by the Roman ſettlers, ſeveral ſpecies of which are pointed out by Mr. Whitaker, their Roman-like names being his chief guide; in which kind of proof, though often very fallacious, I believe, he is generally right. [*Hiſt. of Mancheſter*, p. 312.]

61—In the reign of Nero we have the firſt undoubted mention of LONDON, which had for ſome time been a Roman ſettlement. It was at this time very much celebrated as the reſidence of a great number of ſuch dealers, as the Romans called merchants; and it contained great ſtores of proviſions. We cannot doubt that the ſagacity of the Romans ſoon marked its convenient ſituation for water carriage, and eſtabliſhed a military magazine of proviſions and ſtores in it. Tacitus, the author who firſt mentions this city, adds, that it was not diſtinguiſhed by the name of a colony; a Roman honour, which, however, was afterwards conferred upon it *.

* 'Londinium perrexit, cognomento quidem coloniæ non inſigne, ſed copia negotiatorum et 'commeatuum maxime celebre.' [*Taciti Annal. L.* xiv, *c.* 33.] Theſe few plain words have been varniſhed over with falſe gloſſes, in order to make a great and magnificent city of London at the very commencement of its hiſtory. [See in particular *Burton's Comment. on Antonine, p.* 154.] But London, like moſt communities or individuals, who owe their dignity to intrinſic merit, has the real honour to be indebted to no ſplendid origin or adventitious helps, (except being the ſeat of government) but has riſen to the firſt rank among the commercial cities of the world, by the advantage of its ſituation, and the indefatigable induſtry and commercial ſpirit of its inhabitants.

Much ſtudy has been employed in tracing the origin of the name of London. Though this is not a work proper for the diſcuſſion of etymological or antiquarian ſubjects, and though I am fully aware, that etymology is a ſource of information ſo fallacious, that thoſe, who are beſt qualified to judge of it, will place the ſmalleſt dependence upon it; yet, as ſuch a city deſerves the moſt careful reſearch into its antiquity, and as I think, that ſome degree of light upon the origin of London may be ſtruck out of what ſeems to me to be the genuine name of it, I beg leave for this once to ſubmit to the reader ſome etymological obſervations.

The name, being evidently not Roman, affords a preſumption, that, before the Romans took poſſeſſion of this ſpot, there exiſted upon it a town, village, or collection of houſes, known to the inhabitants and neighbouring people by a name, which the Romans, adapting it to the genius of their own language, have called *Londinium*, and *Lundonium*, or *Lundinium*. It was in the country of the Belgic Britons, and moſt probably firſt built by them on an elevated ſpot, which on account of its being almoſt ſurrounded every tide by the river, (not then, as now, confined by artificial banks and the elevation of the ſoil) had been neglected by them, when they firſt cleared and cultivated the adjacent country. ['Agros colere cœperunt.' *Cæs. Bell. Gall. L.* v, *c.* 12.] The Belgic Britons were a colony of the Belgic Gauls, who were a mixed race of Germans and Gauls, the greateſt number of them, however, being of German deſcent: conſequently in their language the German was predominant. ['Reperiebat, *pleroſque* Belgas eſſe ortos 'ab Germanis, Rhenumque antiquitus tranſductos, 'propter loci fertilitatem ibi conſediſſe; Galloſque, 'qui ea loca incolerent, expuliſſe.' That is to ſay, they expelled thoſe Gauls, who would not be ſubject to them: for if all were expelled, then not the moſt (*pleroſque*) but the *whole* of the inhabitants of that part of the country muſt thenceforth have been Germans. *Cæs. Bell. Gall. L.* ii, *c.* 4.] Cæſar tells us, that the towns of the Belgic Britons (the only Britons known to him) were built in the midſt of thick woods, and fortified with ramparts and ditches. ['Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, 'quum ſilvas impeditas vallo atque foſſa munie-'runt.' *Bell. Gall. L.* v, *c.* 21.] The ground, where St. Paul's church ſtands, (even now higher than moſt of the adjacent grounds, though they have acquired in ſome places about twenty feet of adventitious height) was probably called *Lund*, or the *wood*, as ſtill retaining its native trees, when the reſt of the country was tolerably well cleared. Such an elevated ſpot would be preferred to the adjacent marſhy or ſlimy grounds for the ſituation of a new village or town, which would naturally get the name of *Lund-duyn* or *Lund-dun*, the hill, or fortified hill, of the wood, or *Lund-tun*, the incloſure, or town of the wood, as the names of new foundations muſt undoubtedly be in the language of the predominant people, and their language muſt have continued for ſome time diſtinct from that of the aboriginal Britons. See the Dictionaries of the Icelandic, Saxon, German, and Dutch, languages, which are all kindred branches of the Gothic; and alſo of the Welſh language, wherein, if I miſtake not, much of the Belgic is preſerved.

To this ſuppoſition, or hypotheſis, it will be objected, that the name is not Lundun but London. But the objection will not be made by any, who have read the Saxon and old Engliſh authors, or even all the Roman writers who have mentioned the place: and ſome of theſe I ſhall lay before the reader for his ſatisfaction.

Tacitus, the father of the hiſtory of London,

Eſtabliſhments founded in rapine and injuſtice muſt be in conſtan dread from the revenge of the oppreſſed. During the reign of Nero the inſolence of the ſoldiery, and the extortions of the procurator and his ſubordinate tax-gatherers, were carried to a pitch beyond all poſſibility of endurance. Praſutag, king of the Iceni, an opulent prince, endeavoured to purchaſe the forbearance and protection of the Roman government, with the ſafe poſſeſſion of a moderate fortune, for his two daughters, by the ſacrifice of one half of his kingdom and property, which he left by his will to the emperor. But he had not read the hiſtory of Egypt or Aſia, to know what kind of guardians the Romans were to princes in their minority. Immediately after his death, inſtead of the protection his family hoped for, his kingdom, and even his houſe, were ſeized upon, his relations were treated like ſlaves, the virgin princeſſes were made the victims of brutal luſt, and Boadicia, the queen, was ignominiouſly ſcourged like the vileſt criminal. Such atrocities excited the warmeſt reſentment in a people not inured to ſlavery: the Britiſh ſpirit was rouſed: and a great army was ſoon in the field under the command of the injured queen, who, taking advantage of the abſence of the Roman governor in the weſt, immediately burnt Camulodunum and Verulam, and ſacrificed to her revenge every Roman in them, and all thoſe who had not abandoned London. She alſo engaged, and cut to pieces the moſt of, the ninth legion; a legion deſtined to ſuffer by Britiſh valour in both ends of the iſland. But at laſt the ſpirit of this noble heroine, and the undiſciplined valour of her army, were found unable to contend with two other Roman legions under the command of the experienced Paulinus. Her death ſoon after put an end to the war, in which near two hundred thouſand of Britiſh and Roman

calls it *Londinium*, as does alſo the Itinerary of Antoninus. Ptolemy has *Londinion*, wherein the only difference is the Greek termination. Heddius and Bede (in ſome editions, for others have Lundonia) the oldeſt of the Anglo-Saxon writers, in their Latin works call it *Londonia*, in imitation of the Romans, moſt of whom followed Tacitus. And a few of the coins of the Anglo-Saxon kings have *Lond* for the initial part of the name.——On the other hand, Ammianus Marcellinus, a Roman author, writes *Lundonium* and *Lundinium*. The greateſt part of the Anglo-Saxon coins (prints of which may be ſeen in Hickes's Theſaurus) and ſome editions of Bede have *Lund* for the initial. The Saxon Chronicle, written by different hands in ſucceſſive ages, has *Lundene*, *Lundone*, *Lundune*, *Lunden-byrig*, *Lunden-burh*, and *Lunden-wic*. King Alfred writes it *Lunden-ceaſter*. Nennius, an antient Welſh writer, has *Cair-Lunden*; and the preſent Welſh write *Llundain*. Ethelwerd, Florence, Eadmer, William of Malmſbury, Henry of Huntington, Simeon of Durham (who alſo ſometimes writes it with *o*) William of Newburgh, Roger Hoveden, Ralph Diceto (who was dean of Lundon), and ſeveral other Engliſh hiſtorians who wrote in Latin, all have *Lund* in the beginning of the name. And the old Scottiſh writers alſo wrote it in the ſame manner, as appears in the Chronicle of Melros and Wyntown's Chronicle. Since the revival of literature the ſpelling of London has been ſupported by the great claſſical authority of Tacitus, and by Bede, alſo and deſervedly a great authority; though every body pronounces *Lundun*, in perfect conformity to what I conceive to be the genuine original name.

As to the fabulous name of *Troynovantum*, if it had any foundation at all, it may have been *Tre Novant*, ſignifying in Welſh *the town of the Novantes*, whoſe capital it may have become after the deſtruction of Camulodunum: for there is no ſufficient authority for the aſſertion of ſome modern writers, that London was deſtroyed or burnt by Boadicia.

lives were ſacrificed to the rapine, luſt, and extortion, of the Roman oppreſſors. And this was the laſtconſiderable ſtruggle made by the Britons of the ſouth for their independence, of which we have any particular account. [*Tac. Annal. L.* xiv, *cc.* 31-37.—*Dion. Caſſ. L.* lxii.]

The portrait of the Britiſh heroine, as drawn by Dion Caſſius, ſerves to give us ſome idea of the manufactures and dreſs of the Britons. Bunduika (ſo he calls her) was tall and elegantly formed, with a modeſt countenance, a clear voice, and long yellow hair. She wore a large gold chain, and a flowing party-coloured robe, which was covered with a thick cloak: and in her hand ſhe bore a ſpear, the emblem of her command. He alſo ſays, that the war was entirely conducted by her, and that ſhe ſupported her authority with great dignity and with maſculine valour *.

72—The Romans, who conquered many other countries almoſt as ſoon as they marched into them, gained their ground in Britain by inches. For though Veſpaſian, who was afterwards emperor, had been engaged in thirty battles, while he was a ſubordinate officer in Britain, and ſubdued two great nations with above twenty towns, together with the iſland of Vecta *(Wight)*, and though the ſpirit of liberty, rouſed by Boadicia, ſeems to have been completely cruſhed; yet they had about this time eſtabliſhed their dominion no farther north than the neighbourhood of Northampton, or the banks of the Severn and the Nen †:

* Gildas, who ſeems to regret, that he was born too late to be a ſlave of Rome, execrates the noble ſtruggle made by Boadicia in defence of Britiſh liberty and the rights of human nature, and from his ample ſtore of bombaſt and foul language he abuſes, or dignifies, her with the epithet of a treacherous lioneſs.

† We have the authority of Pliny to ſay, that in almoſt thirty years from the firſt invaſion the Roman arms had penetrated no farther than the neighbourhood of the Calidonian (or Caledonian) wood. [*Hiſt. nat. L.* iv, *c.* 16.] But where was it? Some pretend to ſay, that there was no Caledonian wood, but in the Highlands of Scotland; and Richard of Cirenceſter, a writer whoſe name, notwithſtanding ſome ſpecks of the darkneſs of the age he lived in, will ever be reſpected by all who ſtudy the antient hiſtory and geography of Britain, has been abuſed for *ignorantly* planting a Caledonian wood in Kent, and another in Lincoln-ſhire. But his Caledonian wood in Kent, and the adjacent country, has the authority of Florus, [*L.* iii, *c.* 10] and apparently that of Lucan. [*L.* vi.] The next Caledonian wood, which has probably left its name in Caledon near Coventry, and overſpread not only Lincoln-ſhire, but the whole of the wide-extended nation of the Coritani or Coitani (i. e. woodlandmen, a name afterwards exactly tranſlated by the Saxons to Myrce, Myrcas, and Myrcwara) was that, which now bounded the Roman conqueſts, according to Pliny. And here muſt have been the Calydonian fields, where Vettius Bolanus gave laws, and in ſight of which were the watch-towers and caſtles, which he fortified with ditches, being apparently thoſe originally built by Oſtorius Scapula along the Severn and the Antona or Aufona (probably the *Nen*), and the boundary now alluded to by Pliny. [*Tac. Annal. L.* xii, *c.* 31, with *Ric. Corin. L.* i, §§ 8, 30, 52.—*Statii Silv. L.* v.] Nay, ſo widely extended was the Caledonian name, that the ſea between Gaul and Britain was called the Caledonian ocean by Valerius Flaccus, and the Caledonian ſea by Auſonius. Now, Lucan and Pliny were dead, and Vettius Bolanus was ſuperſeded in his command in Britain, before any Roman army had approached the Scottiſh Caledonian wood, and before any Roman writer can be rationally ſuppoſed to know of its exiſtence. Hector Boyſe, indeed, in his romance, which he preſumes to call The Hiſtory of the Scots, pretends to quote ſome national records, wherein Julius Cæſar, as if he had not done himſelf ſufficient honour, is ſaid to have penetrated to the Caledonian wood, and deſtroyed Camelodunum, which he has tranſported from Eſſex to the banks of the Carron: for inventors of hiſtory find no difficulty in removing mountains, towns, and whole nations. There is ſome nonſenſe of the ſame ſort alſo in Fordun, though not ſo circumſtantial. But ſuch ignorance was

for the iſland of Mon (*Angleſey*), and the country of the Ordovices (*North Wales*), though over-run by Paulinus, retained their liberty, till they were reduced by Agricola ſeveral years after.

The ſouth-eaſt part of the country ſeems to have now ſunk into a contented ſubjection to the Roman yoke: and the trade, formerly carried on between Britain and Rome by the way of Gaul, may be preſumed to have gradually increaſed. But the only additional articles, that I find any account of, were very trifling in a commercial view, viz. a kind of fowl called cheneros, ſuppoſed by Mr. Whitaker to have been the gooſander; and oyſters from the coaſt of Kent, which, though after ſo long a carriage they muſt have been in a very bad condition, were admired by the epicures of Rome. [*Plin. L.* ix. *c.* 54; *L.* x, *c.* 22.—*Juvenal. Sat.* 4.]

73—There is reaſon to believe, that Hippalus, who taught the Greek traders of Egypt to abridge the navigation to India by truſting their veſſels in ſome degree to the guidance of the monſoons, ſtretched no farther to ſea in his firſt voyage out of ſight of land than juſt croſſing the wideſt part of the entry of the Perſian gulf *. But improvements of real utility are generally carried far beyond the firſt views of the projector. Succeeding Grecian navigators, having their eyes opened to the many advantages of a ſpeedy paſſage, ventured to take their departure from Canè, on the coaſt of Arabia, or the promontory of Aromata (*Cape Gardafui*) the eaſternmoſt point of Africa, and ſteer a direct courſe for the more diſtant ports on the weſt coaſt of India. The improvement in their courſe, which exempted them in a great meaſure from the danger of rocks and ſhoals, and the ſtill-increaſing demand for Oriental luxuries in the Roman empire, encouraged the merchants to enlarge the ſize of their veſſels, which, by carrying cargoes of greater value, enabled them to ſhip a band of archers in each veſſel to beat off the pirates †, who infeſted ſeveral parts of the coaſt of India, and to bear the expenſe of the preſents, which the ſupercargo of every veſſel was obliged to make to the ſovereigns, in order to bribe them to permit their ſubjects to enjoy the advantages of trade. [*Periplus Maris Erythræi.*—*Plin. L.* vi, *c.* 23.]

Though almoſt all the ports on the weſt coaſt of India had been reſorted to by veſſels from Egypt, even before the improvement introduc-

was much more excuſable in their ages than in ours.

The authorities adduced in this note might be greatly enlarged and reinforced: but I wiſh to be as brief as poſſible, whenever it is neceſſary to introduce any antiquarian diſcuſſion.

* So we may infer from Pliny, who ſays, [*L.* vi, *c.* 23] that the courſe ſteered at firſt by the wind Hippalus (the ſouth-weſt monſoon) was from the Promontory of Syagros (apparently Ras-al-Gat, the eaſtern extremity of Arabia) to Patala at the mouth of the Indus.

† The deſcendents of thoſe antient pirates ſtill continue to infeſt the navigation on the weſt coaſt of India; and other piratical tribes, called Sangarians or Sangaries, and the Kulis, and ſome Arab tribes, commit depredations at the mouths of the Indus, and other parts of the coaſt. [*Niebuhr, V.* ii, *p.* 5.—*Rennell's Memoir of a Map of Hindooſtan, p.* 293.]

ed by Hippalus, [*Periplus*, *p.* 174] yet till about this time Patala was the only Indian port heard of at Rome; and now the names of two or three ports beyond it were for the firſt time announced to the Romans by Pliny [*L.* vi, *c.* 23.] The ſame author has given us the following circumſtantial account of the inland navigation and land carriage in Egypt, by which the adventure from Alexandria commenced.

From Juliopolis, a kind of ſuburb of Alexandria, they ſailed 303 Roman miles up the Nile to Coptos, the emporium of the trade in Upper Egypt, by favour of the eteſian winds in twelve days *. From Coptos the goods were carried by camels 258 miles acroſs the deſert to Berenicè upon a road which had been furniſhed with proper reſting places by the attention of the Ptolemies: and this journey performed, according to the cuſtom of thoſe climates, moſtly in the night-time on account of the heat, took up other twelve days †. At Berenicè or Myos Hormos, a port farther up the coaſt, they embarked with their goods for their various voyages. Thoſe bound for India took their departure (in modern nautical language) from Okelis on the ſouth coaſt of Arabia, and arrived in forty days at Muziris on the weſt coaſt of India. The homeward paſſage was begun in December, or early in January, with the north-eaſt monſoon (which Pliny erroneouſly calls Vulturnus, a wind about eaſt-ſouth-eaſt) by which they were carried to the entrance of the Red ſea, where they generally met with ſoutherly winds, which carried them up to their port. Of their various voyages, and the outward and homeward cargoes, I ſhall now have an opportunity of giving an account from better materials than were known to Pliny.

Very unfortunately the age of the author of the PERIPLUS ‡ OF THE ERYTHRÆAN SEA, a work, which, for approved accuracy of geographical, nautical, and commercial, information, ſtands unrivaled by any production of antiquity which has come down to our times, cannot be ſettled ſo near as, whether he lived about the middle of the firſt, or the middle of the ſecond, century §. In this uncertainty I here introduce an extract of the commercial information contained in this pretious relique.

* Agatharchides [*L.* v, *c.* 32] ſays, that veſſels could eaſily ſail in ten days from Alexandria to Ethiopia, the neareſt part of which is far above Coptos.

† In Strabo's time they went from Coptos to Myos Hormos, a journey of ſix or ſeven days. [*Strabo*, *L.* xvii, *p.* 1170.]

‡ Periplus, ſailing round, or circumnavigation.

§ The Periplus not being quoted or mentioned by any antient writer, we can have no knowlege of the author, but what we can derive from himſelf. And from himſelf we know, that he was an Egyptian Greek, a merchant, and a navigator upon the Erythræan ſea; and, indeed, it is eaſy to ſee, that all the very accurate deſcriptions of the coaſts, harbours, and trade, as far as Nelkynda near the ſouthern extremity of India, are given from his own judicious obſervations, the plain narrative of an honeſt man, telling what he ſaw and knew. His account of the eaſt ſide of India, though far inferior indeed, is the narrative of the ſame honeſt man, uſing his beſt endeavour to convey inſtruction to his countrymen, but frequently miſled by the ignorance or roguery of thoſe, whom his thirſt of knowlege urged him to apply to in every port for information reſpecting their native countries, or thoſe they had traveled to. He mentions the names of ſeveral kings reigning when he wrote, and embaſſies ſent by Charibael, king of the Homerites and Sabæans, to the Roman emperors. Some of the ſame kings

Under the name of the *Erythræan ſea* the author comprehends that part of the Ocean, which is between Africa and India, and apparently alſo the Gulf of Bengal. He obſerves, that *the unexplored ocean extends to the ſouthward till it joins the Atlantic*; a moſt capital and important piece of geographical and commercial knowlege, which had lain concealed from almoſt the whole world from the age of Necos king of Egypt (about ſix hundred years before the Chriſtian æra) till the re-diſcovery of the Cape of Good Hope by the Portugueſe: for Herodotus, though he recorded the circumnavigation of Africa by the Phœnicians in the reign of Necos, appears not to have believed it himſelf: and no other Greek or Roman writer, to the beſt of my knowlege, unleſs the Mauritanian prince Juba * may be reckoned among them, had the ſmalleſt idea of the true

are mentioned by Pliny as *his* contemporaries; and he alſo notices ambaſſadors from Arabia, evidently from the ſouth part of it (perhaps thoſe ſent by Charibael) who were in Rome in his time. [*Plin. L.* vi, *c.* 23; *L.* xii, *c.* 14.] It is thence not improbable, that our author and Pliny lived at the ſame time. But it muſt be acknowleged, that ſome kings of the ſame names are alſo mentioned by Ptolemy, who was near a century later than Pliny; though he might copy them from older documents, or the names might be preſerved in the families, or be permanent titles rather than names of individuals. Our author alſo ſays that the city of Arabia Felix was deſtroyed a little before his own time by Cæſar, that is, the Roman emperor. But the deſtruction of the city not being mentioned by any other author extant, it affords us no aſſiſtance in finding his age. It has been aſcribed to Trajan, for no other reaſon than becauſe that emperor was in Arabia, and did a great deal of miſchief in his progreſs: for the aſſertions of Eutropius and Rufus Feſtus, that Trajan reduced Arabia to the condition of a province, are contradicted by the ſubſequent hiſtory of Adrian; and a hyperbolical paſſage in the Philopatris, a dialogue aſcribed to Lucian, is mere rodomontade and prophecy. Trajan marched, indeed, from Cteſiphon againſt the Agarenes, an Arabian nation bordering upon Judæa, and above a thouſand miles from the city of Arabia Felix, from whom he was obliged to retreat with great loſs. But a proper chronological attention to all the circumſtances of his eaſtern expedition might ſhow, that he could not poſſibly have ever gone near the ſouth part of Arabia, and conſequently could not be the deſtroyer of the city of Arabia Felix; though the moſt learned Dodwell, who might be ſuppoſed to have examined the hiſtory of the later years of Trajan with the moſt ſcrupulous attention, when compoſing his lectures on the life of Adrian the ſucceſſor of Trajan, has aſcribed the deſtruction of it to him, and has made our author contemporary with the joint emperors Marcus Antoninus and Verus, becauſe he ſays that Charibael 'ſends frequent embaſſies and preſents to 'our emperors,' by which plural word, he thinks, we muſt underſtand a conjunction of emperors, though there ſeems no reaſon why the embaſſies, being *frequent*, might not be to a ſucceſſion of emperors: or, if there muſt be a conjunction of emperors, let us not forget, that Titus was aſſociated with his father in the imperial dignity long before the age of Antoninus. But it is very clear, that the deſtruction of that city was neither the work of Trajan, nor of any other Roman emperor in perſon. If we could tell exactly, when anchors began to be made of iron, it might perhaps help to fix our author's æra, which was prior to that moſt important improvement. (See below in the nautical notices under this ſame year.) But, after much reſearch, I am inclined to believe, that neither the date of the deſtruction of Arabia Felix, nor that of the introduction of iron anchors, can be aſcertained, however deſirable they may be, as helping to fix the chronology of the Periplus, and alſo on account of their own importance in commercial hiſtory.

The name of this valuable author, and his country, are alſo miſrepreſented. The work is commonly aſcribed to Arrian, a Bithynian Greek, and governor of Cappadocia under the emperor Adrian, who wrote the Hiſtory of Alexander the Great; though it is not in the liſt of his works given by Photius, who flouriſhed in the ninth century, and though it contains ſome miſtakes concerning Alexander, which Arrian could not poſſibly have fallen into. The only reaſon ſeems to be, that Arrian alſo wrote a Periplus, which, notwithſtanding his acknowleged ſuperior literary merit, is as far inferior in intereſting information to our author's Periplus, as the Euxine ſea, Arrian's ſubject, is inferior to the Indian ocean.

* Juba, as quoted by Pliny, [*L.* vi, *c.* 29] had ſome idea of the communication of the Indian and Atlantic oceans; for he extends the later as far as the Moſſyllite promontory (Cape Guardafui), which other writers call the Aromatic promontory.

geography of the ſouth part of Africa, though ſeverals of them have fabulous ſtories of wonderful adventures on ſome of its coaſts. He alone, of all the writers of antiquity, truely deſcribes the coaſt of India as trending from north to ſouth as far as Colchos *(Travancore)*, where, he ſays, the ſhore bends to the eaſt, and afterwards to the north, and then more eaſterly to the Ganges, the greateſt river of India, which increaſes and decreaſes like the Nile. He is alſo, if I miſtake not, the only extant antient writer, who knew the true name of the great ſouthern diviſion of India, which he calls *Dachinabades*, becauſe 'the South is there called *Dachan-os*,' a word differing only by the adjunct Greek termination from *Deccan*, ſtill the general name of all the country ſouth from Baroach, the very limit ſtated by our accurate author.

He deſcribes Myos Hormos as the firſt port of Egypt on the Red ſea *: and from it and Berenicè the Grecian traders ſailed down for their various deſtinations. Thoſe who were only bound to the ports within the Red ſea ſailed any time from January to September, though moſt ſeaſonably in September: but July was the time for commencing voyages to all parts beyond the Straits, whether to the eaſt coaſt of Africa, the ſouth coaſt of Arabia, or the weſt coaſt of India.

The firſt conſiderable trading port on the weſt ſide of the Red ſea was Aduli in the country now called Abyſſinia, ſubject to Zoſcales, a prince diſtinguiſhed as ſuperior to his neighbours in probity and liberality, and alſo acquainted with tl Greek language, a circumſtance ſeemingly inferring a conſiderable reſort of the Grecian traders to his dominions. This was an eſtabliſhed port, to which were brought from the inland markets of Coloè and Axomitè (or Axuma) all the ivory collected in the interior country on both ſides of the Nile, and the turtle-ſhell from a neighbouring nation, called by the Greeks Ichthyophagi (eaters of fiſh).

Into this port the Greeks imported

Coarſe cloths unmilled, manufactured in Egypt for this market;
Robes, made at Arſinoè;
Abollas † (cloaks) of counterfeit or baſtard colour;
Linens;
Fringed mantles;
Glaſs, and murrhine ‡ veſſels of all ſorts, made at Dioſpolis;
Orichalcum, a kind of metal, of which the natives of the country made ornamental trinkets, and alſo coined money;
Braſs veſſels for cooking, which the women of the place ſometimes broke into ſmall pieces to make bracelets, and ornaments for their legs;

* Heroopolis, at the very head of the gulf, was now apparently deſerted.

† The beſt abollas were dyed with the Tyrian purple. The rich colour of one worn by Ptolemy, the ſon of the learned African prince Juba, coſt him his life, the tyrant Caligula, perhaps, thinking it an affectation of ſovereignty. [*Martial. L.* viii, *ep.* 46.—*Suet. Calig. c.* 35]

‡ The murrhine veſſels were in ſuch eſteem in

Iron, to make ſpears for hunting, and for war;
Swords, edge-tools, and other iron-mongery;
Large round cups or bowls of braſs;
Wine of Laodicea and Italy in ſmall quantities;
Oil, alſo in ſmall quantities; and
Roman coins (denarii) for the uſe of the foreigners, whom commerce brought together in the port:
and alſo, as a tribute to the king,
Veſſels of gold and ſilver made after the faſhion of the country;
Abollas; and
A few plain coverlets.

There were likeways imported from Arabia

Indian iron and ſteel;
Indian calicoes, and other cotton goods, of a variety of kinds;
Saſhes;
Coverlets; and
Lack for colouring *.

From this port the only exports noted are

Ivory;
The horns of the rhinoceros.

On the ſouth ſhore of the Straits of Babelmandeb (or Babelmandel) was the ſmall port of Avalites, into which they went with rafts and boats. To this place the Greeks imported

Veſſels of glaſs and ſtone, aſſorted;
Unripe grapes from Dioſpolis;
Cloths, milled and finiſhed for this particular market, aſſorted;
Corn;
Wine; and
Tin in ſmall quantities.

The natives, a rude and ſavage race, traded with their rafts to Okelis and Muza on the coaſt of Arabia, to which they carried aromatics, a

Rome, that two of them were bought by a conſul and an emperor at the price of 300 ſeſtertium (£2,421 : 17 : 6 ſterling) for each. [*Plin. L.* xxxvii, *c.* 2, with *Arbuthnot's Tables of ancient coins, &c.*] The nature of them is much conteſted, ſome aſſerting that they were the porcelain of China, and others maintaining that they were made of a foſſile ſubſtance; and the later opinion ſeems ſupported by Pliny. [*L.* xxxiii, *proœm*; *L.* xxxv, *c.* 12; *L.* xxxvii, *c.* 2.] It is certain from the Periplus, that they were made at Dioſpolis in Egypt: and there is no unqueſtionable authority for the real porcelain of China being heard of in Europe till many centuries after this time.—Qu. What might be the nature of the three *murrine*, or perhaps rather *murrine*, cups belonging to Roger archbiſhop of York in the twelfth century? [*M. Paris, p.* 140, *ed.* 1640.]

* All theſe articles, imported from Arabia, are Indian manufactures: and they furniſh an additional proof of the extent of the Indian commerce in the hands of the Southern Arabians, who ſtill retained their trade with their old cuſtomers, who were independent of the Roman empire.

The ſteel was probably what Pliny [*L.* xxxiv, *c.* 14] calls iron from the country of the Seres of a quality much ſuperior to all other kinds (he has not throughout his whole work any word equivalent to the Engliſh word ſteel); and he adds, that the Parthian (probably that called here Indian) iron was next to it. The country at the mouth of the Indus was now ſubject to Parthia: and there probably both the Seric and Parthian metals were ſhipped for Arabia, from which, or from Aduli, by the agency of the merchants of Alexandria, they found their way to Rome, as appears by Pliny's knowlege of them: and they muſt have been excellent indeed to bear the expenſe of ſuch a ſucceſſion of land and water carriages. It is worthy of remark, that Marco Polo, many centuries after our author and Pliny, mentions *andanicum*, a moſt excellent kind of ſteel, the produce of a country in the eaſt part of Aſia. See *Forſter's Voyages and diſcoveries, pp.* 135, 242, *Engliſh tranſl.*

ſmall quantity of ivory, turtle-ſhell, and myrh in very ſmall quantities, but of the very beſt quality *.

Eaſtward from Avalites there was a better emporium, though a very indifferent harbour, called Malao, and inhabited by a more civilized people.

The imports to this place were

All the articles carried to Avalites;
Tunics, or jackets, in great quantities;
Cloaks (ſaga) of Arſinoè, milled and dyed;
Drinking cups or bowls;
Meliephtha, an unknown article;
Iron;
Gold and ſilver Roman coins in ſmall quantities.

The exports, which ſeem to have been to Arabia, were

Myrh;
Peratic frankincenſe in ſmall quanties;
Cinnamon of ſeveral ſorts, and of inferior qualities †;
Cancamus, ſuppoſed a kind of gum;
Makeir ‡, ſuppoſed mace;
Slaves, but very few.

Farther along the coaſt was Mundus, an emporium with a better harbour, the imports and exports of which were the ſame with thoſe of Malao, with the addition to the later of thymiama mokroton §, believed to be a kind of incenſe. The people of Mundus, though rude and uncultivated, were attentive to commerce.

The next emporium to the eaſtward was Moſyllon, to which were carried

All the articles noted as carried to the others;
Silver veſſels;
Iron in ſmall quantities;
Pretious ſtones.

The exports were

Caſia, or baſtard cinnamon ‖ in ſuch abundance, that larger veſſels were employed in the trade of this port;

* The ſame primitive rude floating craft are mentioned in the ſame place by Agatharchides and Strabo. See above, *p.* 104. Pliny [*L.* xii, *cc.* 15, 19] alſo notices the trade by rafts from this ſhore to Okelis (which he calls Ocila) whence the Africans carried home utenſils of glaſs and braſs, and clothing, together with buckles or claſps, bracelets, and necklaces; trinkets, which have in all ages been acceptable to nations in a ſavage ſtate.

† Theſe were the productions of that part of the country.

‡ Pliny [*L.* xii, *c.* 8] ſays, macir comes from India; and he preſently adds, that the nature of it is unknown to him. He knows nothing of an African ſpecies, which, however, is known to Dioſcorides an earlier author: and macis is mentioned by Plautus, long before either of them.

§ See Salmaſius *in Solin. p.* 500.

‖ Strabo [*L.* xvi, *p.* 1119] notes the growth of pſeudo-caſia (baſtard caſia) as well as cinnamon, frankincenſe, and myrh, in this country. The abundance of theſe productions gave the name of Aromatic, with the Greeks, to the whole country, and particularly to the town and promontory at the eaſtern extremity of it.—Pliny [*L.* vi, *c.* 29] marks Moſyllon as the market to which cinnamon was brought, which may infer, that it was imported thither from India; and ſuch inference ſeems ſupported

Other odoriferous and aromatic articles;
Mokroton, inferior to the Munditic growth;
Peratic frankincenſe;
Ivory;
Myrh, a ſcarce article here.

At the moſt eaſterly point of Africa there was an emporium with a very open, and ſometimes dangerous, anchorage, of which we know no other name than the Greek word Aromata, by which the adjacent point or promontory (Cape Guardafui) was alſo called; and ſouth from it was another promontory, and alſo a trading port, both called Tabæ. To theſe the articles, carried to the other ports on this coaſt, were alſo carried. The produce of this part of the country conſiſted of caſia, gizir, aſyphè, magla, moto, all apparently of the cinnamon ſpecies; alſo frankincenſe, and ſeveral kinds of aromatics.

South from Tabæ lay Oponè, the trade of which included all the articles of import and export in the preceding ports. And from it there were alſo exported ſome of the beſt ſlaves, who were moſtly carried to Egypt, and turtle-ſhell of the very beſt quality in great abundance.

The ports beyond the Red ſea had an *eſtabliſhed* trade with Ariakè and Barygaza, both on the weſt coaſt of India, from which they received

Corn;
Rice;
Butter;
Oil of ſeſame;
Cotton goods of various kinds;
Saſhes;
Cane honey, called ſugar *

Some of the veſſels from India ſailed for thoſe ports on purpoſe; and others only called at them, and, after taking onboard ſuch articles as they found ready, proceeded to their deſtined ports. This trade appears to have been entirely unconnected with that of the Egyptian Greeks, except as it may have ſupplied them with Indian goods in thoſe ports;

ported by Dioſcorides, who [*L.* i, *c.* 13] diſtinguiſhes the cinnamon of Moſyllon as of the beſt quality. He adds, that the beſt caſia is called Daphnitic at Alexandria (from Daphnon a place on this coaſt noted by our author), and that zigir, aſyphenon, citto, and dacar, are inferior ſpecies of it. I would not, however, be poſitive that Pliny did not mean merely that the produce of the adjacent country was carried to Moſyllon to be ſhipped, as myrh is ſaid, three lines higher in the ſame chapter, to be carried to a port called Iſis.

* Our word *ſugar* is from the Greek σακχαρ, which is exactly the Indian word *ſacar*. [*Linſchoten's Voyages*, *p.* 104.] The Periplus gives a clear proof, of what I have ſaid already, that ſugar was called honey by the Greeks, till they got the genuine name of it from the Eaſt: and that the genuine name was but very lately known, may be inferred from the author thinking it neceſſary to preſerve the old name (cane honey) as an explanation.

It is rather ſurpriſing, that ſugar does not appear in the Periplus among the direct imports from any part of India to Egypt. We know that Indian ſugar found its way to Rome at this time, apparently through the hands of the merchants on the eaſt coaſt of Africa, as Pliny [*L.* xii, *c.* 8] diſtinguiſhes it from Arabian ſugar by its ſuperior quality. He ſays, it was ſcarce, being uſed only in medicine: and he deſcribes it as a white gum, brittle, and in pieces not larger than a filbert nut. This deſcription anſwers to the Indian, or perhaps rather Chineſe, white ſugar-candy, which is compared to diamonds for clearneſs and hardneſs. And I ſuppoſe, the Indian ſtone, deſcribed by Megaſthenes [*ap. Strab. L.* xv, *p.* 1028] as ſweeter than figs and honey, was the ſame hard ſugar-candy. [See alſo *Doctor Moſeley's Treatiſe on Sugar*, *p.* 71, *ſecond ed.*] The ſpiritous or inebriating liquor, made from the ſugar-bearing cane, mentioned by Nearchus, [*ap. Strab. L.* xv, *p.* 1016] was probably alſo carried to Rome, though there is no mention of it in Pliny or the Periplus.

and it ſeems to have commenced before they began to make any voyages out of the Red ſea, but how long before, nobody can preſume to conjecture, as the eaſt coaſt of Africa was totally unknown to the Greeks and Romans, and moſt probably alſo to the Egyptians, till a little before this time *.

Though our author has many nautical and topographical remarks on the coaſt of Africa beyond Oponè, he has not one trading port till he comes to Rhapta, ſo called by the Greeks, becauſe the natives uſed canoes with raiſed ſides, which were not nailed, but ſewed to the bottom †. The natives are ſaid to be very tall, but he ſays not a word of their colour, which muſt have been black. Though every diſtrict had its own chief, all of them had long been ſubject to the king of Mapharitis in the ſouth part of Arabia. The country was alſo tributary to the merchants of Muza who ſent their veſſels thither under the care of Arabian commanders and ſupercargoes, connected with the natives by intercourſe and affinity, and well acquainted with their language, and with the navigation of the coaſt ‡.

The imports at Rhapta conſiſted of

Lances, or ſpears, made at Muza;
Axes;
Cutlaſſes, or knives;
Awls;
Glaſs veſſels of all ſorts;

and alſo corn and wine, not for ſale, but for treating the uncivilized natives of ſome parts of the coaſt.

The exports were

Ivory in great abundance, but inferior to that of Aduli;
The horns of the rhinoceros;
Turtle-ſhell, the beſt of any, next to that of India;
Nauplius §, a ſmall quantity.

* The ſame trade has been kept up ever ſince; and the ſame kind of cargoes have been carried from the neighbourhood of the Zinde, or Indus, to thoſe parts of Africa. [See *Purchas*, *B.* iii, *p.* 307; *B.* iv, *pp.* 347, 350, 351, 352.]

† Ῥαπτω, to ſew, or join together. The Greeks ſurely could not be ignorant of the indigenous name of the place, to which they traded. But this is one of the innumerable inſtances of the licence they took in perverting the names of places, whereby they have introduced much confuſion and uncertainty in geography, Ptolemy places Rhapta between eight and nine degrees ſouth of the line, which anſwers pretty well to the ſituation of Quiloa, which the Portugueſe diſcoverers ſuppoſed Rhapta: and there the ſame ſewed boats are ſtill uſed.

‡ If the merchants were ſo powerful as to exerciſe ſuch an act of ſovereignty as the exaction of a tribute, they muſt have been aſſociated in a great body, like a modern Eaſt-India company. But perhaps the tribute, for which the Greeks ſaw them ſend their veſſels, was the produce of plantations ſettled on that coaſt by the merchants of Muza, as many Weſt-India plantations are now ſettled and owned by Britiſh merchants.

Agatharchides, at leaſt two hundred years older than our author, informs us, that the commercial Arabians eſtabliſhed colonies in foreign countries: (ſee above, p. 104) and the coaſt on which Rhapta was ſituated is occupied to this day by Arabians, who ſtill retain the mercantile ſpirit of the antient founders of their colony. When the Portugueſe arrived on this coaſt in their firſt voyages of diſcovery, they found it frequented by veſſels of various nations.

§ Nauplius, an article unknown. Pliny [*L.* ix, *c.* 30] has a deſcription of a ſhell-fiſh of that name, which

Beyond Rhapta the coaſt was unknown in the days of our author. He therefor returns to the Red ſea, and goes down the eaſt ſhore of it, beginning at Leukè komè (or White town) a port and caſtle in the poſſeſſion of the Romans, which was frequented by ſmall veſſels from the conſiderable trading ports in the ſouth, loaded with merchandize for the ſupply of the neighbouring country and for the merchants of Tyre, upon which a duty of twenty-five per cent was exacted by a Roman centurion, ſtationed there with a competent military force for that purpoſe.

From Leukè komè down as far as the Burnt iſland the navigation was very dangerous, and the coaſt beſet with rocks and without any harbours*; and therefor the navigators were very careful never to approach it. This inhoſpitable coaſt was occupied by various barbarous tribes, differing in manners and in language, of whom ſome ſubſiſted by fiſhing and others by paſturage: but they were all pirates, and plundered the veſſels which came near their coaſt, or were wrecked, and made ſlaves of the people. The kings of the neighbouring induſtrious nations were therefor continually exerting themſelves to ſuppreſs thoſe general enemies, and carry them into captivity.

The country below the Burnt iſland was poſſeſſed by a more civilized people, employed in breeding cattle and camels, the later, no doubt, for the ſervice of the caravans.

In the fartheſt bay of the eaſt coaſt of the Red ſea, about thirty miles from the Straits, ſtood Muza †, an eſtabliſhed emporium, inhabited by experienced ſeamen, and numerous capital merchants, who, beſides dealing in the native commodities, traded to Barygaza and other foreign countries ‡.

The articles imported from Egypt were

The fineſt purple cloths in great quantities;
Arabian garments with and without ſleeves, adorned with gold in various manners;
Saffron;
Cyperus, or galingal;
Muſlins (or perhaps rather fine cotton ſtuffs of Egyptian manufacture);
Abollas or cloaks;
Coverlets, a few;

which anſwers ſo well to the nautilus, deſcribed by him in the preceding chapter, that it ſeems the ſame animal, taken from a different author. But the ſhell of it, though very beautiful, ſeems rather too trifling to be ranked among eſtabliſhed articles of trade.

* If this coaſt had been occupied by a commercial people, there would have been no want of harbours. It would be eaſy to enumerate many: but Jidda, about mid-way between the two ends of the Red ſea, is at preſent the principal port, beyond which veſſels from India are not allowed to paſs; and it is capable of receiving large veſſels, which reſort to it from our Eaſt-India ſettlements. [*Niebuhr, V.* i, *p.* 224.]

† Muza is deſcribed in the Periplus as having no harbour, but only a ſandy ſhore, near which the veſſels lay at anchor in the bay. There is now a poor village called Muza, with good water, a great object in thoſe countries, which is four miles from the ſhore at Mokha, apparently the ſame place, though now become inland in conſequence of the conſtant gradual receſſion of the water, by which the whole of the flat border called the Tehama ſeems to have been formed. Mokha, built about four centuries ago, may be preſumed to have ariſen on the decline of Muza. See *Niebuhr, V.* i, *p.* 297.

‡ Pliny was misinformed in reſpect to Muza, which, he ſays [*L.* vi, *c.* 23] had no India trade.

Saſhes;
Ointment of a middling quality;
Corn and wine in ſmall quantities, ſome of both being produced in the country;
Money ſufficient to ſettle the balances.

The merchants alſo preſented to the king
Horſes;*
Mules for burthen;
Veſſels of gold and ſilver plate and of braſs;
Magnificent dreſſes.

The exports, conſiſting of native productions, were

Myrh of the choiceſt quality;
Stacte, or tears of myrh, of the moſt excellent quality; †
Lygdus, a fine kind of alabaſter, of which boxes were made;
Alſo all the articles exported from Aduli.

At no great diſtance from Muza reſided Colæbus king of Mapharitis, and, as already obſerved, ſovereign of the diſtant country adjacent to Rhapta on the African coaſt; and ſomewhat farther inland was the ſeat of Charibael king of the Homerites and Sabæans, who alſo extended his ſway over a part of Azania on the eaſt coaſt of Africa. This prince cultivated the friendſhip of the Roman emperors by ſending frequent embaſſies and gifts to them.

Paſſing Okelis, which was juſt without the Straits, and only a watering place and harbour for inward-bound veſſels, our author proceeds about 120 miles eaſtward along the ſhore to the port of Arabia Felix. This city long flouriſhed the greateſt emporium on all the ſhores of the Erythræan ſea (or Indian ocean) weſtward from the River Indus. From it Egypt and the other countries of Africa, the merchants of Phœnicia and Carthage, and through them all the countries bordering upon the Mediterranean, and even thoſe on the Atlantic ocean, including perhaps our own Britiſh iſlands, and, by the caravans, all the weſtern countries of Aſia, were ſupplied with Oriental produce and manufactures in exchange for their own commodities. And in this happy ſtate of apparently-uninterrupted commercial proſperity it continued till the

* Horſes imported from Egypt into Arabia, and into that part of it which is moſt celebrated for the ſuperiority of its horſes! Is it certain that Arabia has been famous for its breed of horſes ever ſince the days of Iſhmael, as alleged by hiſtorians quoted by Leo Africanus? Or have horſes, as well as coffee, (another article mentioned by no antient Greek or Roman author, and believed to be a native of Abyſſinia) been introduced into Arabia in the darkneſs of the middle ages?—Horſes are not mentioned in either of the two enumerations of Job's property, though camels and other animals are.—Solomon imported horſes from Egypt and from other countries, but Arabia is not particularized.—In Ezekiel's account of the commerce of Tyre, horſes are brought from Togormah, (Cappadocia, the country which ſupplied the Perſian kings with horſes, a breed celebrated by many antient authors) but only ſheep and goats from Arabia, which alſo furniſhed the ſame kinds of animals, as we find by *II Chron. c.* 17, to Jehoſophat king of Judah.—The learned and indefatigable Bochart has not a word of an Arabian breed in all the paſſages concerning horſes which he has collected in his *Hierozoicon*.—This ſubject will be touched upon again under the year 345.

† Στακτὴ σμυρναία, or perhaps rather Στακτὴ ἀδουλιτικὴ σμυρναία, myrh of the beſt quality produced in the country of the Minæi. See *Bochart, Geog. ſacr. col.* 119.

Greeks of Egypt, ſupported and encouraged by the power and wealth of the Roman empire, began to repair to India for the goods they had hitherto received from the Arabian merchants. But the Romans, perhaps not content with what their ſubjects could abſtract from the commerce of Arabia Felix by a fair competition, ſuppoſed, that, if they could deſtroy the commerce of an independent people, whom they had in vain attempted to ſubdue, (ſee above, p. 120) it would devolve upon their own ſubjects. Whether in conſequence of ſuch a ſyſtem of oppreſſive confidence in their own ſuperior power, which they might pretend to call a patriotic attention to the commercial rights of their ſubjects, (for ſovereigns in all ages have too often made power the ſtandard of right) or in conſequence of any quarrel, for which they were never at a loſs to find a pretence, this moſt flouriſhing commercial city was deſtroyed by the Romans a ſhort time before our author was born. We may, however, be aſſured, that the conſequence would not be what the Romans may be ſuppoſed to have expected. The merchants would transfer their commerce, with whatever they could ſave of their property, to other ports of Arabia more remote from the Roman dominions, and to the Arabian colonies on the diſtant coaſts of Africa, which would thereby be ſtrengthened and enriched. And to ſuch a forced emigration was probably owing a great part of the trade between Africa and India, noted by our author.

Arabia Felix was now ſo far recovered from its aſhes as to have the appearance of a village, but we do not find that it had any commerce; and it was only reſorted to on account of having a more convenient harbour and better water than Okelis.

The next emporium was Canè, about 200 miles eaſt from Arabia Felix, in the territory of Eleazus, the country producing frankincenſe, which was brought to this emporium, ſome by land carriage upon camels, and ſome by water in veſſels and upon rafts made of hides filled with air. The merchants of this port traded to Barygaza, Scythia (the country of the Indo-Scythians at the mouth of the Indus), Omana, and other places in the neighbourhood of Perſia.

The merchants of Egypt imported thither

Corn and wine, in ſmall quantities, as in Muza;	Braſs;
Arabian clothing, common and plain, and moſtly counterfeit;	Tin; *
	Coral; †
	Styrax, or ſtorax, an odoriferous gum;

* It is very probable, that all the tin mentioned here and in other ports, was the produce of the Britiſh mines, and deſtined for India. The merchants of Gadir (or Cadiz), I preſume, ſupplied thoſe of Alexandria with it.

† As the Arabs had corals in great abundance on the ſhores of their own country, that which was carried from Europe muſt have been the ſuperior ſort found on the Gallic coaſt near Maſſilia, and in the ſea adjacent to Sicily. It was appar-

And all the articles carried to Muza:	Statues;
They alſo carried for the king	Horſes;
Silver veſſels engraved or chaſed;	Magnificent and plain dreſſes.
Money;	

The exports were

Frankincenſe } native commodi-	The merchandize imported into
Aloes } ties;	Muza from other ports.

Between Arabia and Africa, but nearer to the former, and ſubject to the ſame king Eleazus, was Dioſcorides, a large, deſert, marſhy iſland, with many rivers, and abounding with crocodiles, vipers, and very large lizards, the fleſh of which was good to eat, and the fat for making oil *. It alſo produced turtle of the genuine, the land ſpecies, the white, and the mountain, kind. They were remarkable for the largeneſs of their ſhell, but eſpecially the mountain kind, the ſhell of which was of prodigious ſize and thickneſs. Of theſe ſhells were made cheſts, caſkets, writing tables, and other ornamental articles †. The land produced neither corn nor wine, and nothing of value, except cinnabar of the Indian ſpecies, a gum dropping from trees. A few Arabians and Indians, and ſome Greek merchants, ſettled there for the ſake of trade, who lived on the north ſhore facing the continent. The merchants of Muza had ſome dealings with it, and veſſels in the India trade ſometimes called at it, and ſupplied the inhabitants with rice, corn, Indian linen, and ſometimes female ſlaves, in exchange for turtle-ſhell, (or turtle) of which they got enough to load their veſſels ‡.

Beyond the vaſt promontory of Syagros (apparently Ras al Gat §) was the port of Moſcha (*Maſkat*), a great emporium for the frankincenſe produced in the adjacent Sachalitic country. Veſſels from Canè traded to this port: and thoſe from Limyrica and Barygaza in India, when

ently deſtined by the Arabian merchants for India, where, Pliny ſays, the men were as fond of the berries of coral as the women of Rome were of the Indian pearls; and thence the demand for India made them ſo ſcarce in the place of their growth, that the Gauls could not now, as formerly, indulge in the luxury of adorning their ſwords, ſhields, and helmets, with them. [*Plin. L.* xxxii, *c.* 2.]

* This appears to be the animal called the *guana* in the Weſt-Indies.

† The Romans were exceedingly fond of turtle-ſhell. Beſides the uſes of it mentioned in the Periplus, they adorned their bedſteads, and veneered wood, with it. [*Plin. L.* ix, *c.* 11; *L.* xvi, *c.* 43.]

‡ It is generally agreed that Socotora is the Dioſcorides of the antients. As our author's deſcription of it by no means anſwers to Socotora, which is rocky and dry, I have been ſomewhat fuller in extracting it, that thoſe who are better informed of the nature of the iſland may aſcertain whether Socotora, or ſome of the iſlands nearer the Arabian ſhore, has been the antient Dioſcorides. Neither our author, nor Pliny in his account of Dioſcorides, mentions aloes as the produce of it, which are now the ſtaple of Socotora: and as they were an eſtabliſhed article in the commerce of the Egyptian Greeks, our author's ſilence may be admitted as a full proof that none grew on the iſland of Dioſcorides in his time. Dioſcorides [*L.* iii, *c.* 23] ſays the Indian aloe is the beſt, but has not a word of any coming from the iſland of his own name.

§ Syagros is ſaid by Harris [*Collection of voyages*, *V.* i, *p.* 431, *ed.* 1744] to be beyond controverſy Cape Fartack; but that does not correſpond with our author's geography, nor with Pliny's. I obſerve, that even in Ptolemy's time it was diſputed which headland was Syagros. Our author's deſcription of it, 'the greateſt promontory in the 'world,' may help to decide the queſtion.

too late for accompliſhing their voyages, uſed to paſs the winter here, and exchange their calicoes, corn, and oil, for frankincenſe, the ſale of which the king moſt rigorouſly monopolized in his own hands *.

Apologus, an eſtabliſhed and celebrated emporium at the mouth of the River Euphrates, and Omana on the coaſt of Perſia, (or rather of Carmania) were frequented by large veſſels from Barygaza with cargoes of braſs and woods of various kinds, and they received frankincenſe from Canè. The exports from them to Barygaza and Arabia were

Pearls, found near the mouth of the Perſian gulf, inferior in quality to the Indian, in great quantities;
Purple drapery, manufactured in Perſia;
Wine;
Palm, or perhaps palm wine, (φοῖνιξ) in great quantities;
Gold;
Slaves.

And boats, called *madaratæ*, joined together by ſewing, were carried from Omana to Arabia.

The firſt trading port in India is called in the Periplus the Barbaric emporium †, ſituated on the principal ſtream of the Sinthus, (Sindi,

* This monopolizing ſpirit is general among the ſovereigns of many of the Oriental countries to this day.

All the antient authors, from Herodotus downward, who have had occaſion to treat of Arabia, have given us a number of fabulous ſtories of wonderful hardſhips and dangers incurred in collecting frankincenſe, cinnamon, &c. from the mortal bite of flying ſerpents, which infeſted the frankincenſe groves, terrible bats which flew at the eyes of thoſe who gathered caſia, and cinnamon only to be obtained from the neſts of birds, which brought it from the country where Bachus was born. According to Theophraſtus, [*Hiſt. plant. L.* ix, *c.* 4] there was a report, that all the myrh and frankincenſe produced in Sabæa was depoſited in the temple of the Sun, each proprietor placing a note of the quantity and price upon his own parcel. The merchants, having choſen their parcels, carried them away, leaving the ſpecified ſums of money in their places. Then came the prieſt, who took a third part of the money for the god, and the remainder was ſacredly preſerved for the proprietor. Perhaps this is a mythological way of telling us that there was a public hall, where the cultivators conſigned their produce to proper agents to be ſold for them, and paid a heavy duty to the prieſts. The author of the Periplus has no flying ſerpents, no bats, no birds importing cinnamon; but he ſays, that the frankincenſe trees infected the air with peſtilential vapours, and that the gathering was a taſk impoſed upon condemned criminals, to whom it was certain death. He adds, that it needed nobody to guard it, the gods taking that charge upon themſelves, ſo that if any perſon carried a ſingle grain of it onboard his veſſel *without the king's permiſſion*, it would be impoſſible for her to get out of the harbour *unleſs by the particular intervention of the deity*. We find by Pliny [*L.* xii, *c.* 14] that thoſe very vigilant gods were quite neglectful of the frankincenſe after it was out of their own country; for in Alexandria the moſt ſevere reſtrictions were not ſufficient to prevent the embezzlement of it. Pliny ſays, that the Arabian ambaſſadors who were at Rome gave ſuch anſwers to thoſe who made inquiries concerning the nature of frankincenſe, as left them more at a loſs than ever reſpecting it; and he very juſtly remarks, that the wonderful ſtories were circulated in order to raiſe the prices. [*L.* xii, *cc.* 14, 19.] They alſo ſerved to prevent the Phœnicians and other foreigners from attempting to diſcover the places where ſome of thoſe pretious articles, which were not natives of Arabia, were produced. Juſt ſo the Portugueſe in the ſixteenth century ſpread terrible reports of the wonderful dangers and hardſhips of navigating the Indian ocean.

† It is not improbable that this emporium, affectedly called *Barbaric* by the Greeks, was that to which the Arabians traded in the time of Agatharchides, and the Greeks at the commencement of their India trade, (ſee above, pp. 104, 157) which Pliny calls Patala, a name which appears from Dionyſius Periegetes and Arrian to be indigenous. Ptolemy, indeed, has both Barbari and Patala on branches of the Indus: but his Minagara is on a river far diſtant from the Indus, in direct contradiction to the Periplus, which is ſurely ſuperior authority.

Zind, or Indus) in the country occupied by a Scythian nation *, and at this time ſubject to the Parthian empire. All the commodities brought into this port by the veſſels of various countries were ſent up the river to the king at Minnagara. The imports conſiſted of

Drapery, moſtly plain, ſome counterfeit;
Chryſolithes;
Corals;
Storax;
Frankincenſe;
Glaſs veſſels;
Silver plate;
Money;
Wine in ſmall quantities.

The exports were

Coſtus, an aromatic root;
Bdellium, a fragrant gum;
Lycium, a drug or dye ſtuff;
Callien ſtone (perhaps found in the River Callien at Goa);
Sapphires;
Skins from the country of the Seres;
Silk thread, or raw ſilk †, from the ſame;
Calicoes;
Indigo. ‡

The next, and a much greater, emporium, was Barygaza, which by many marks appears to be the modern Baroach, Broatch, or Broot-Chia, on the Nerbuddah. On account of the great trade of this port, the extraordinary tides, the danger attending the ſpring tides, the bore, and the difficult pilotage of the river, are deſcribed with the moſt minute attention; though the native fiſhermen were accuſtomed to cruiſe a good way off in their long veſſels, called in their own language *trappaga* and *kotymba*, in order to meet veſſels, and carry them up to the city. The ſovereign of the country, reſolving to concentrate all the foreign trade in this favourite port, ſhut his ports of Acabarus, Uppara, and Calliena, againſt the Greek traders from Egypt, who, if they happened to put into any of them, were ſent with a guard to Barygaza. There the merchants found all the various productions of a very extenſive inland country, inhabited by a variety of induſtrious manufacturing nations, together with the merchandize of Bengal, and even of the country of the Seres,

* Theſe were the people called Indo-Scythæ by other authors. We learn from Herodotus [*L.* vii, *c.* 64] that the Perſians gave all the Scythians the name of *Sak*-ai, or *Saks*: and *Seiks*, the modern name of the people who occupy the country adjacent to the Indus, and bordering on the eaſt ſide of Perſia, is probably a very ſlight variation of the ſame word.

† 'Νῆμα σηρικὸν,' ſtrictly *ſeric thread or yarn* (νῆμα, from νεω, *to ſpin*). But a Greek could find no better name for raw ſilk ſpun only by the ſilk-worm; and, notwithſtanding the confuſion of antient authors upon the ſubject of *ſericum*, there appears to be no doubt that it was ſilk.

‡ 'Ινδικὸν μελαν,' which I have tranſlated *indigo*, becauſe there is a great exportation of that article from the country near the mouths of the Indus. The *indicum* of Pliny, [*L.* xxxv, *c.* 6] however, which he claſſes with ivory black, &c. among painters' colours, ſeems to be the Indian ink, which we uſe in drawing; and the addition of μέλαν, *black*, might ſeem to infer that the Ινδικὸν of the Periplus was the ſame, but for the conſideration that indigo muſt have become an article of great importance in commerce as ſoon as it was known, and that Indian ink muſt have been too trifling to be enumerated among eſtabliſhed articles. The authority of Iſidore, ſuch as it is, is alſo in favour of *indicum* being indigo.

brought by land carriage over the Bala-gaut mountains *, and alſo the produce of every coaſt, from Africa to the fartheſt Eaſt, imported by the veſſels of the country. And ſuch was the diſpatch in tranſacting buſineſs in this great mart, that a veſſel's cargo could be ſold, and a new cargo put onboard in three days; whereby we learn that the merchants of Barygaza were numerous, and that they had large capitals, and were extenſive dealers †.

The imports from Egypt were

Wine of Italy, Laodicea, and Arabia;
Braſs;
Tin;
Lead;
Coral;
Chryſolithes;
Garments, plain and counterfeit, of all kinds;
Saſhes made of many threads, perhaps net-work;
Storax;
Melilot;
White glaſs;
Sandarak;
Stimmi, or ſtibium, (perhaps black lead);
Ointment of ordinary quality, and in ſmall quantity;
Money of gold and ſilver, in exchanging which with the money of the country there was a conſiderable profit; ‡

And there were preſented to the king, in name of tribute or cuſtom,
Pretious ſilver veſſels;
Muſical inſtruments;
Beautiful virgins for the ſeraglio;
Wine of the firſt quality;
Plain dreſſes of the fineſt fabric;
The moſt pretious ointments.

The exports were

Spikenard of various kinds, brought from Proclais;
Coſtus;
Bdellium;
Ivory; §
Onyx ſtones from Plithana and Ozenè (believed to be Ougein);
Murrhine ſtones from Ozenè;
Myrh;
Lycium;
Muſlins (Σινδόνες Ἰνδικαὶ) from Tagara and Ozenè;
Calicoes of all ſorts (or perhaps figured);

* See Lieutenant Wilford in the *Aſiatic reſearches*, *V.* i, *p.* 370.

† It is very common for the native merchants of India to buy whole cargoes by the invoice: and that there were many merchants at Barygaza who did the ſame in thoſe days, and alſo had ſtocks of goods ready in their warehouſes ſufficient to load the veſſels immediately with the articles wanted, is evident from the diſpatch. The author adds, that the ſame diſpatch was given in Scythia, meaning, I ſuppoſe, the Barbaric emporium: but as the goods were to be ſent up the river to the king, it is not clear from what time the three days could be reckoned there.

‡ Roman coins, probably thoſe carried from Egypt in this trade, and alſo Greek coins, are ſtill met with at Surat, about thirty miles ſouth from Baroach, where ſome of both kinds were collected by the Dutch navigator Stavorinus. (See his *Voyages*, *V.* ii, *p.* 11, *Engliſh tranſl.*) The Greek ones were perhaps thoſe of Apollodotus and Menander, ſovereigns of ſome of the eaſtern part of Alexander's conqueſts, which were current at Barygaza in our author's time. We may obſerve, that every writer of veracity, who has gone over the ſame ground with the author of the Periplus, illuſtrates the accuracy of his ſtatements.

§ Pliny repeatedly obſerves that the largeſt ivory was got from India. [*L.* viii, *cc.* 3, 11.]

Silk ſtuffs;
Molochinum (ſuppoſed cotton cloth of the colour of mallows) from Ozenè;
Silk thread, or raw ſilk;
Long pepper;
Calicoes of inferior quality *, brought in great quantities from Minnagara and Tagara;
with many other articles.

To the ſouthward of Barygaza there were Acabarus, Uppara, and Calliena, already mentioned, and alſo Semylla, Mandagora, Palæpatma, Melizigara, Byzantium Toparon, and Tyrannoboas, ports only frequented by the veſſels of the country. Beyond theſe were ſome iſlands occupied by pirates, probably the anceſtors of thoſe by whom the ſame part of the coaſt is infeſted in the preſent day. Then followed Naura and Tyndis, ſituated on the Ocean, and Muziris on a river, which were all ports of Limyrica, the kingdom of Ceprobotus, uſed by the country traders; but Muziris only is noted as reſorted to by Grecian veſſels; and we are not informed of the particular articles of its trade.

Pandion was ſovereign of the next kingdom, comprehending the ſouth point of India, wherein the firſt port was Nelkynda, about twelve miles up a river, at the mouth of which was Barakè †, where the veſſels, whereof there were very great numbers, attracted by the ſuperior quality and abundance of the pepper and malabathrum, lay at anchor to receive their cargoes.

The goods imported by the Grecian traders were

Chryſolithes;
Plain clothing in ſmall quantities;
Stimmi;
Corals;
White glaſs;
Braſs;
Tin;
Lead;
Wine in ſmall quantities;
Sandarak;
Arſenic;
Conſiderable ſums of money to make up the purchaſe of their homeward cargoes.

There were carried thither from the other ports of India

Pepper of Cottonara ‡ in very great abundance;
Excellent pearls in great numbers;
Ivory;
Silk ſtuffs;
Spikenard from the Ganges;

* Coarſe *dungarees*, as tranſlated by Mr. Wilford. [*p.* 369.] But, to moſt readers out of India, *dungarees* needs to be tranſlated at leaſt as much as ἱδόνιον χυδαῖον. If we are uncertain of the application of theſe genuine Greek words to Indian manufactures, we muſt be ſtill more at a loſs with ſeveral names of articles in the Periplus, which are apparently Indian words imported with the goods, juſt as we now uſe *jacanet*, *coſſae*, *mulmul*, for denominations of Indian fabrics. Therefor ſome of them, which were apparently uſed only in mercantile language, and are found nowhere but in the Periplus, may perhaps be improperly tranſlated, notwithſtanding all my endeavours to get at their real meaning.

† Pliny calls it Becarè; and he ſeems alſo to write Necanidon inſtead of Nelkynda.

‡ This is the black pepper of Malabar, reckoned the beſt in India. White pepper was alſo imported, as we learn from Pliny. [*L.* xii, *c.* 7.]

Malabathrum from the interior country;
Diamonds *, hyacinths, and a variety of other pellucid gems;
Turtle-ſhell, of a kind called Chryſonetiotic (from a golden iſland), and alſo from the iſlands oppoſite to Limyrica.

The inveſtments of the Grecian traders, which our author has not ſpecified, undoubtedly conſiſted of all the articles, native and imported, found in the place.

Balita, Comar, Colchi, (near which was the principal fiſhery for pearls, performed entirely by condemned criminals) Camara, Podukè, and Sopatma, were ports in the ſouth part of India which do not appear to have been frequented by the Egyptian Greeks. But a great coaſting trade was carried on in them, partly by veſſels belonging to other parts of India, and partly by their own. From Limyrica, and other northern parts of India, they received the various articles imported from Egypt, together with the native productions and manufactures. Some of their veſſels, conſiſting of large canoes joined together, were called *ſangara*; and others, called *kolandiophonta*, which were of the largeſt ſize, were uſed in the trade with the River Ganges and the countries beyond it †.

The productions of the large iſland near the ſouth end of India, formerly called Taprobanè, but at this time Palæſimundi, were pearls, gems, turtle-ſhell, and muſlins ‡.

On the continent oppoſite to this iſland was Argali, a country producing a kind of muſlin called ebargaritid, and poſſeſſing a pearl fiſhery; Maſalia, ſtretching into the interior, where much muſlin was manufactured; and, adjacent to it, Deſarenè, a country abounding with elephants of the ſpecies called boſarè.

Though our author's account of the countries beyond the ſouth point of India, being all from report, is much inferior to the reſt of his work,

* Pliny ſays [*L.* xxxvii, *c.* 4] that the *antients* knew of no diamonds larger than cucumer ſeeds, but in his time there were ſome even as large as the kernel of a filbert nut; a proof that no very large diamonds had yet been carried to Rome. Arbuthnot, by a curious overſight, tranſlates *avellana* walnut, inſtead of filbert.

† I here recapitulate the names of the ſeveral kinds of Oriental veſſels noted by our author, viz. *madaratæ*, ſmall veſſels joined together by ſewing, in the Perſian gulf; *trappaga* and *kotymba*, long veſſels, uſed by the fiſhermen and pilots of Barygaza; *ſangara*, (whence the pirates called Sangarians perhaps took their name) ſeemingly like the double canoes of the South-ſea iſlands deſcribed by Captain Cook; and *kolandiophonta*, of which there is no other deſcription than their great burthen, and capacity to perform diſtant voyages; in hopes that thoſe who are acquainted with the Eaſtern ſeas may perhaps be able to trace the names in the language of the preſent race of a people, among whom manners, laws, religion, and language, have ever been, in ſpite of conqueſts, perſecutions, and devaſtations, ſo much more ſtationary than in our quarter of the world.

‡ Not a word of cinnamon (ſee above, p. 149) as a production of this iſland. The name of it, if we may truſt entirely to Grecian information, was remarkably fluctuating. *Taprobanè*, the name under which it was firſt announced to the weſtern world by Oneſicritus, had now given place to Palæſimundi, which in Ptolemy's time was ſuperſeded by *Salikè*, and by *Seria*, the name given to it by Pauſanias, an author of the ſame age. [*Eliac. L.* ii.] But about the beginning of the ſixth century *Taprobanè* was again reſtored, at leaſt among the Greeks, as we learn from Coſmas Indicopleuſtes, who adds, that the genuine name was *Siele-diba*, (*Sele-div*, the iſland of *Selè*) a ſlight perverſion of which produced the *Salikè* of Ptolemy, and alſo *Ceylan*, *Ceylon*, *&c.* the names now given to it by the Europeans.

and even wanders into the marvelous, which has in all ages vitiated and characterized the deſcriptions of unknown parts of the world, he has obtained a pretty accurate account of the nature of the famous River Ganges, as already obſerved: and ſo well was he informed of the trade and manufactures of that diſtant region, that he remarks the ſuperior excellence of the Bengal muſlins *, which took their name, at leaſt among the Grecian traders, from the river, or a town of the ſame name on its banks. From that port were alſo ſhipped malabathrum, Gangetic ſpikenard, and pearls. Near the mouth of the Ganges he places an iſland called Chryſè, the eaſtern extremity of the world, and producing the beſt turtle-ſhell in all the Indian ocean. And farther north, where the ſea terminates in the country of the Sinæ †, he has a very great inland city called Thina, from which wool, (perhaps the remarkably-fine wool of Thibet) thread (which muſt be ſilk in a raw or ſpun ſtate) and ſilk ſtuffs ‡, were carried over land through Bactria as far as Barygaza. But in his attempt to deſcribe the ſituation of Thina, the route of the trade from it, the inhabitants, and their manner of obtaining three kinds of malabathrum from offall leaves left behind them by a neighbouring ſavage nation, he is confuſed and embarraſſed, at which we need not wonder, conſidering how very far it was beyond the utmoſt limits of Grecian voyages or travels.

I have now finiſhed my extracts from the very valuable *Periplus of the Erythræan ſea*, which has never yet received the fame due to its ſingular merit: a neglect perhaps owing in ſome degree to the ſmall ſize of the book, but probably more to the abſence of battles and ſlaughters in it §.

It is worthy of remark, that the ſubjects of Rome, in all their eagerneſs for purchaſing ſpices and other luxuries, appear to have known nothing as yet of nutmegs and cloves ‖, and ſcarcely any thing of mace ¶; and that cinnamon and ſugar were hitherto imported by the Greek

* ‘ Σινδόνες αἱ διαφορώτατοι, αἱ Γαγγιτικαὶ λεγόμεναι;’ at once a noble teſtimony of the long-eſtabliſhed character of the Bengal muſlins, and of the veracity of the Periplus.

† Quere, if the Chineſe?—or Siam?—or Pegu, antiently called Cheen, as we learn from the *Ayeen Akbery*, *V.* i, *p.* 7. The editions of Blancard and Stuckius, and the Italian tranſlation of Ramuſio, vary in the names of this nation or city; and unfortunately we know of no manuſcript to appeal to.

‡ ‘ Ὀθόνιον τὸ σηρικὸν.’—Ὀθόνιον is properly linen cloth, but I have tranſlated it calico, when applied to Indian manufactures; and with the addition of σηρικὸν (ſilken) we can ſcarcely conceive it to be any other than ſilken ſtuff.

§ If an edition of the Periplus, with proper illuſtrative accompaniments, were executed by a gentleman poſſeſſing, along with claſſical learning, a competent knowlege of the languages, topography, navigation, and trade, of the countries between the Red ſea and Ceylon, aſſiſted by a good manuſcript to correct ſome errors of tranſcribers in numbers, points of the compaſs, and omiſſions, it would be a very great acquiſition to literature in general. The edition of the Periplus by Stuckius, with a multitude of pedantic and trifling notes, is no exception to what I have ſaid in the text: neither does Dodwell's profuſion of erudition throw much light even upon the æra of it, the principal object of his diſſertation.

‖ Pliny [*L.* xii, *c.* 7] has an Indian fruit called *gariophyllon*, like a pepper-corn, but larger and more brittle, which was imported for the ſake of the ſcent. This deſcription is very unlike cloves.

¶ See above, p. 161, note ‡.

traders, not directly from India, but through the medium of the merchants of Arabia or the eaſt coaſt of Africa. Could the Greek merchants, who frequented the ports of India, poſſibly be ignorant that thoſe articles were to be had in the greateſt perfection in that country, when Alexander's officers knew that cinnamon, ſpikenard, and other aromatics, were produced in the ſouth parts of it? [*Strabo, L.* xv, *p.* 1018.]

We may be well aſſured that the demand throughout the wide extent of the Roman empire, and, what was in a great meaſure a conſequence of that, the demand in the Oriental regions, made the manufactures of Egypt more flouriſhing at this time than they ever were in any former age, and that they continued to proſper while the Oriental commerce continued to flow in a full tide, which it probably did as long as the empire retained its vigour *.

Of all the merchandize imported into Egypt by the Red ſea, the greateſt part was re-ſhipped at the buſy port of Alexandria for the various ſhores of the Mediterranean; and a great proportion of the whole, as they conſiſted moſtly of articles of luxury, went to the imperial city, where, for one inſtance, cinnamon and caſia were to be found in ſuch abundance, that Nero is ſaid to have conſumed more than a whole year's growth of them at the funeral of his wife Poppæa, or in embalming her †. [*Plin. L.* xii, *c.* 18.—*Tac. Ann. L.* xvi, *c.* 6.]

The natives of India, deriving all the neceſſaries and enjoyments of life from their fertile ſoil and their own induſtry, cared very little for the productions of the Weſt. The Grecian merchants were therefor obliged to lay in their cargoes chiefly with money; and we are told by Pliny, [*L.* vi, *c.* 23] that, at the loweſt computation, five hundred ſeſtertia (reckoned by Arbuthnot [*p.* 193] equal to £403,645 : 16 : 8 of modern ſterling money) were every year ſent out of the Roman empire to India in payment for goods, which were ſold in Rome at an advance of an hundred for one ‡. But that muſt ſurely be a miſtake, as we have no reaſon to believe that there was any monopoly in Alexandria or Rome, or that there could be a combination of the ſellers in either place ſufficiently powerful to command ſale at ſuch enormous prices.

Nor were the natives of India the only foreigners, who received a

* We ſhall have an opportunity of ſeeing the declining ſtate of the Oriental trade in the ſixth century, when the Roman world was reduced to the empire of Conſtantinople.

† Before the Romans had obtained the ſovereignty of Egypt, and when the commerce of that country with Arabia may be ſuppoſed to have been in a declining ſtate, prodigious quantities of frankincenſe, cinnamon, and other ſpices, were conſumed at the funeral of Sylla, [*Plut. in Vita Sullæ*] about a century and a half before that of Poppæa. And we even find many kinds of Oriental ſpices and perfumes mentioned in the comedies of Plautus, who died above a century before Sylla.

‡ 'Merces [Indicæ] quæ apud nos centuplicato veneant.'—In the improved edition of *Harris's Voyages, V.* i, *p.* 431, the author has reduced this monſtrous and incredible advance to cent per cent, which I ſuppoſe would not be ſufficient to cover the heavy charges upon the complex conveyance from India to Rome.

large balance in money from the Roman empire. The ſouthern Arabians, notwithſtanding the deſtruction of the city of Arabia Felix, apparently the principal ſeat of their commerce, ſtill preſerved a commercial rank, wherein, if they were in any reſpect inferior to the merchants of Alexandria *, it was entirely owing to the treaſure of ſo large a portion of the world being in the hands of the Romans, and ſo conſiderable a part of it being conveyed to that city to pay for the corn and other productions of the fertile ſoil of Egypt, and the luxuries of the Eaſt, for the later of which a conſiderable part of the Roman wealth found its way into the hands of the Arabian merchants, the money annually paid to them and the Seres † being together eſtimated equal to that remitted to India. Pliny ſeverely reprehends ſo vaſt an expenditure (the whole amounting to £807,291 : 13 : 4 of our money) for articles of mere luxury and female vanity: [*Plin. L.* xii, *c.* 18,—and ſee *Tac. Ann. L.* iii, *c.* 53] and it muſt be acknowleged, that, as moſt of the merchandize imported from the Eaſt very juſtly came under that deſcription, as there were no raw materials for manufactures, except ſome iron and ſteel, and a ſmall quantity of the very extravagant article of raw ſilk, and as there could ſcarcely be any re-exportation to foreign territories, the trade was undoubtedly prejudicial not only in a moral view, but alſo upon the principle of gold and ſilver being the moſt valuable poſſeſſions.

But gold and ſilver being valuable to their poſſeſſors, merely as they enable them to obtain whatever they need or deſire, thoſe, who poſſeſſed redundant maſſes of the pretious metals, might think diamonds and pearls more valuable, and therefore deſire to have them in exchange for their ſuperfluous money. Thoſe trinkets, though of no real value, were very durable, and nothing the worſe for being uſed, or exhibited. But ſilk, though liable to be deſtroyed by accident, and certain to be worn out by uſing, being ſupplied very ſparingly from the Eaſt, ſtill kept up ſo extravagant a price, that it was cuſtomary to decompoſe the moſt expenſive kind, called the Aſſyrian *bombycina* ‡, untwiſt the threads, thereby reducing the ſtuff to a raw material, and then re-ſpin it very ſmall and re-weave it of ſo thin a fabric (probably like the modern ſlight ſilks called perſians) that it was too tranſparent to conceal what was under it.

* The judicious reader, who has attended to the articles of import and export in the trade of the Egyptian Greeks with Arabia, Africa, and India, muſt have obſerved ſeveral inſtances of the ſuperior commercial knowlege of the Arabian merchants. But the Greeks were probably ſuperior to them in the extent of their dealings.

† Perhaps the money paid to the Seres, in Pliny's eſtimate, was diſtinct from that paid for Seric merchandize in the ports of India, and was the coſt of the goods carried through the heart of Aſia by caravans and inland navigation to the Euxine ſea. See above, p. 141.

‡ Pliny ſays, [*L.* xi, *c.* 22] that it was made of ſilk produced by ſilk-worms (*bombyces*) natives of Aſſyria. But he muſt aſſuredly have been misinformed; and his Aſſyrian *bombycina* muſt have been the manufacture of a more diſtant country, procured by the agency of the Aſſyrians: for we ſhall afterwards ſee, that two Perſian monks clandeſtinely brought the eggs of the ſilk-worm from the country of the Seres to the Roman emperor at Conſtantinople, which would not have been neceſſary, if the genuine ſilk-worms had already been in Aſſyria, a province on the confines of the Roman and Perſian empires.

[*Plin. L.* vi, *c.* 17; *L.* xi, *c.* 22.] For upwards of a century the moraliſts and ſatyriſts of Rome had execrated and ridiculed the indecent expoſure of the perſon by ſuch gowns of glaſs, ſuch tranſparent clothing, 'if indeed it might be called clothing,' ſays Seneca, 'when a woman dreſſed 'in it could ſcarcely ſwear that ſhe was not naked;' and yet it ſtill kept its ground *.

There was another kind of ſilk of an inferior quality, ſaid to be produced by a ſpecies of ſilk worms in the iſland of Cos, which ſome of the fine gentlemen of Rome wore in ſummer, though the uſe of ſuch effeminate dreſs was diſapproved by the graver people, and had actually been forbidden by the ſenate in the reign of Tiberius. [*Plin. L.* xi, *c.* 23.—*Tac. Ann. L.* ii, *c.* 32, where, however it is called *ſericum.*] But the Aſſyrian *bombycina* was reſigned to thoſe ladies, who could afford to purchaſe it: and thoſe, whoſe fortunes were not equal to their vanity, wore *ſubſericum*, a fabric of ſilk with a mixture of cheaper materials †, in the uſe of which the men afterwards began to indulge ‡.

* If we may truſt to the teſtimony of Publius Syrus, a dramatic writer contemporary with Julius Cæſar, and after him Varro, Tibullus, Propertius, Horace, Seneca, Pliny, and Juvenal, ſome of the Roman ladies really did wear dreſſes ſo exceſſively thin, that their ſkins actually appeared through them: and that could ſcarcely be an idle groundleſs tale, (like the modern news-paper ſtories of naked ladies in the ſtreets of London) which was kept up 130 years. We muſt ſuppoſe from thoſe authors, that the Roman ladies had no other clothing under their thin ſilks. Certainly a modern lady, dreſſed in a gown of muſlin, which is ſufficiently tranſparent, would abſtract little or nothing, either from the warmth or the chaſtity of her dreſs, by diveſting herſelf entirely of her gown.

† I am not certain, that the *ſubſericum* was in uſe ſo early as this time.

‡ Commentators have frequently confounded the *byſſinum*, the *bombycina*, and the *ſericum*, of the antients. Some have ſuppoſed the *byſſinum* a cotton ſtuff; ſome make it the ſame with the *ſericum*; and others, a very fine linen. It was made from a plant called *byſſus*, which grew in Egypt, Judæa, India, and Elis, the only diſtrict of Greece which produced it. [*Ezekiel, c.* 27 *in Jerom's tranſlation.* —*Pauſanias in Eliacis L.* i.] From the ſeveral deſcriptions of *byſſus* by Pauſanias, [*in Eliac. et in Achaiac.*] from its growing in Egypt, which has in all ages been famous for the ſuperior quality of its flax, and from the certainty that the Greeks had neither cotton nor ſilk, we may be almoſt aſſured that it was a very fine kind of flax; and, if neceſſary, we may add the poſitive aſſertion of Iſidore, [*Orig. L.* xix, *c.* 27] that it was an exceeding white and ſoft kind of flax; though, like a careleſs compiler, he elſewhere calls *byſſus* coarſe flax. Conſequently the *byſſinum* muſt have been a very fine flaxen fabric, probably like the modern cambric. Herodotus [*L.* ii, *c.* 86] ſays, the dead bodies of the rich in Egypt, after being embalmed, were wrapt in bandages of *byſſine ſindon* ('σινδόνος βυσσινης'), which could ſcarcely be any other than fine linen made of *byſſus*, and the ſame with the fine Egyptian *ſindon* mentioned by Julius Pollux [*L.* vii, *c.* 17] and Clemens of Alexandria. [*Strom.* i.] Of the byſſus there was alſo made a fine kind of net-work, perhaps like the modern lace, by the manufacture of which, and of the fine byſſine cloth, many women in Achaia, the diſtrict next to Elis, ſupported themſelves. [*Pauſan. in Achaic.*] Pliny ſays, [*L.* xix, *c.* 1] that the ladies were very fond of *byſſinum*, and uſed to buy it for its weight in gold, which, I believe, would not even now be a very extravagant price for lace or the fineſt cambric. The ſtrange deſcription of *byſſus* produced from trees, and worn by the ſuperior ranks on the banks of the River Indus, while the reſt of the people wore linen, given by Philoſtratus in his *Life of Apollonius*, need not be minded, as his work is not hiſtory but romance.—There was another plant called *amorgis* (from Amorgus, an iſland of the Ægæan ſea, where it grew) apparently a ſpecies of flax ſtill finer than the *byſſus*, for which, and the ſtuff made of it, with the authorities, ſee *Bochart, Geog. ſacr. col.* 414.

The *bombycina* was generally underſtood to be made from the threads ſpun by an inſect called *bombyx*. The *ſericum* was ſuppoſed to be made from wool, or from a woolly or downy ſubſtance found upon the leaves of trees, and it was alſo confounded with the *bombycina*, which came nearer to the truth, the name of *bombycina* being evidently derived from the animal of whoſe ſpoils the ſtuff was made, and *ſericum*, unqueſtionably ſilken ſtuff, from the Seres, the people from whom it was got

As a proper appendage to what has been ſaid of the commerce, produce, and manufactures, of the Oriental countries, I annex a ſpecimen

in a finiſhed ſtate, who long enjoyed a monopoly of the pretious inſect producing the ſilk, and who even now, by poſſeſſing a better kind of ſilk-worms, or of the mulberry trees wherewith they are fed, or by better management, and the experience of thouſands of years, command the market for the moſt brilliant ſilk.

Silk does not appear to have been known to Homer, nor even to Herodotus, though he himſelf, and the Greeks of his age, had much intercourſe with the Egyptians, Phœnicians, and Perſians, opulent and luxurious nations, but who, perhaps had not obtained any knowlege of it in his time. Ariſtotle, though the moſt antient naturaliſt extant, gives the beſt account of the ſilk-worm to be found in antiquity. He deſcribes it as a horned worm, which he calls *bombyx*, (a name given by him to other inſects) and ſays, that it paſſes through ſeveral transformations in the courſe of ſix months, and that *bombykia* is produced from it. He adds, that ſome women decompoſed the *bombykia* and re-ſpun and re-wove it, Pamphila, a woman of Cos (an iſland near the coaſt of Caria) being ſaid to have firſt practiſed that kind of weaving. [*Hiſt. anim. L.* v, *c.* 19.] He ſays nothing of the native country of the bombyx.—Pliny, though he makes Aſſyria the native country of the *bombyx*, from the *web* of which the *bombycina* was made, tranſplants Pamphila, and her manufacture of a delicate clothing for women, to Ceos, an iſland on the oppoſite ſide of the Ægæan ſea near the coaſt of Attica, being apparently miſled by Varro; and he immediately adds, that the *bombyx* was alſo *reported* to be a native of the iſland of Cos. He elſewhere ſays, that the ſtuff (he never uſes the word *ſericum*) which the women of Rome undid and wove anew, was made from a white woolly or downy ſubſtance, combed by the Seres from the leaves of trees, which were different from the wool-bearing trees (cotton) of the iſland of Tylos in the Perſian gulf, and that the drapery (of that kind) was imported from the Seres, along with their excellent iron, and furs or ſkins. I have now extracted the ſubſtance of all that Pliny has throughout his great work [*L.* iv, *c.* 12; vi, 17; xi, 22, 23; xii, 10; xxxiv, 14] any way connected with ſilk-worms or ſilk.—Moſt of the other writers after Ariſtotle, particularly Nearchus, Ariſtobulus, Theophraſtus, Virgil, (who has miſled his commentator Servius, and others) Dionyſius Periegetes, Mela, Seneca, Arrian, Solinus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Claudian, Jerom, &c. including a period of nine centuries, ſuppoſed that *ſericum* was made from fleeces growing upon trees, from the barks of trees, or from flowers, and, with the confuſion of ideas, which is a neceſſary conſequence of attempting to deſcribe what they did not know, mingling what they had heard of ſilk-worms feeding on the leaves of trees, of cotton growing on trees, of flax, and of the coir, or inner rind, of the coco-nut, in an unintelligible jumble. And Iſidorus biſhop of Hiſpalis in Spain, though he lived a century after the introduction of ſilk-worms and the manufacture of ſilk in Greece, was as ignorant as any of them, and ſervilely copied Pliny. [*Orig. L.* xix, *cc.* 17, 22, 27.] So tardy was the progreſs of information, even to learned men in public ſtations, in thoſe ages. But, what is more ſurpriſing, Harriſon, who may be called a modern author, has perverted the words of Dionyſius Periegetes, deſcribing the manufacture of the Seres, which, he ſays was ſpun finer than the work of the ſpider, to yarn made of the *wool* of Britain, a country at the oppoſite extremity of the earth. [*Dionys. v.* 757.—*Deſcription of Britain prefixed to Holinſhed's Chronicle, V.* i, *p.* 221, *ed.* 1586.]

But whatever doubts or errors the authors, who wrote before ſilk-worms were brought to Europe, might fall into, it was clearly aſcertained that ſilk, ſericum, or Median drapery, was made of the ſlender threads (μεταξα) ſpun by worms in the country of the Seres, by *Procopius, Gothic. L.* iv, *c.* 17—*Theophilacti Simocattæ Hiſt. L.* viii, *c.* 9, and the extract in *Photii. Bibl. p.* 93—*Theophanes in Photii Bibl. p.* 79—*Suidas, vo.* Σηρες, Σηρικη—*Zonaras, V.* iii. *p.* 50, *ed. Baſil.* 1557—And by all the writers of the middle ages, who have occaſion to mention ſilk, and eſpecially Otho Friſingenſis [*Geſt. Friderici I, ap. Muratori Script. V.* vi, *col.* 668] when relating the tranſportation of the ſilk-weavers ('opifices qui *ſericos* pannos texere ſolent') from Greece, the only Chriſtian country where the manufacture was known, to Sicily. Suidas, in particular, ſays expreſsly, that *ſericum*, called by ſome *metaxa*, is produced by a worm in the country of the Seres, and therefor the ſtuff made of the metaxa which was formerly called *Median*, was afterwards called *ſericum*.—With ſo many poſitive evidences before them, it is really ſurpriſing, that any doubt concerning the application of thoſe names ſhould have exiſted among the learned of modern times.

With reſpect to the ſilk *reported* to have been produced in Cos, not Ceos, it muſt have been of a very bad quality, or in very minute quantities, if the women, poſſeſſing it, would ſubmit to the tedious and laborious operation of making raw materials out of foreign finiſhed goods for their own manufacture. But it ſeems to be a miſtake to ſay, that there were any ſilk-worms, or bombyces, in that iſland: and it may be preſumed, that whatever manufacture of ſilk-goods was carried on there, was, like thoſe of Tyre and Berytus (to be mentioned afterwards), ſupplied with raw-ſilk imported from the Eaſt, which may be ſuppoſed of a quality inferior to that retained by the original proprietors for their own manufacture, and thence the different

of the prices of ſeveral Oriental commodities in Roman *denarii* and their tenth parts, called *aſſes*, and alſo in modern pounds, ſhillings, and pence, ſterling *, as they were ſold about this time in Rome by the Roman pound, equal to twelve ounces of our avoirdupois weight †.

	Roman.		British.		
	d.	*a.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Sandarak -	0	5	0	0	4
Cinnabar -	12	5	0	8	1
Ladanum, the beſt -	4	0	0	2	7
Bdellium, genuine -	3	0	0	1	11¼
Myrh, from	13	0	0	8	4¾
to	22	0	0	14	2½
Stactè, tears of myrh, from	6	0	0	3	10½
to	50	0	1	12	3½
Frankincenſe, from -	14	0	0	9	0¼
to	16	0	0	10	4
Ginger, -	6	0	0	3	10½
Cardamomum,	12	0	0	7	9
Myrobalans,	2	0	0	1	3½
Storax, the beſt	19	0	0	12	3¼
Long pepper	15	0	0	9	8¼
White pepper	7	0	0	4	6¼
Black pepper	4	0	0	2	7
Coſtus -	16	0	0	10	4
Indian ſpikenard from	30	0	0	19	4½
to	100	0	3	4	7
Cinnamon wood -	20	0	0	12	11
Cinnamon oil, formerly	1,000	0	32	5	10
now ‡	1,500	0	48	8	9
Malabathrum, from -	1	0	0	0	7¾
to -	300	0	9	13	9
Malabathrum oil -	60	0	1	18	9

As the nautical ſcience of the Greeks and Romans, or, to ſpeak more correctly, of the Egyptian Greeks ſubject to Rome, was probably now brought to its higheſt degree of improvement, I have thought this a proper place to throw together a few detached hints of the naval affairs of the Roman empire in theſe ages.

The Romans were apparently the moſt awkward ſeamen in their own empire; and they knew nothing of the tides, or of the management of veſſels in the Ocean, as is evident from the damage ſuffered by Cæſar's

different eſtimation of the Coan and Oriental fabrics at Rome: for we are aſſured by Theophanes and Zonaras, that, before ſilk-worms were brought to Conſtantinople in the middle of the ſixth century, no perſon in that capital knew that ſilk was produced by a worm; a pretty ſtrong evidence that there were no ſilk worms of any kind in an iſland ſo near to Conſtantinople as Cos is.

* The Roman *denarius* is rated at ſeven pence three farthings ſterling, reckoning the ounce of ſtandard ſilver at five ſhillings. See *Arbuthnot's Tables*, *p.* 15.

† All the articles are extracted from the great theſaurus of Pliny; and all, except the two firſt, from his twelfth book. Moſt of them are alſo inſerted in Arbuthnot's ninth chapter. But the doctor's copy of Pliny muſt have differed very much from my two, which I find agree exactly in all the numbers.

‡ The price was ſo high as 1,000 denarii in conſequence of the article being monopolized by the king of the Gebanites (or Catabeni): and the ſtill-higher price was occaſioned by the trees being wilfully burnt down. Pliny has nowhere given us the price of the bark of cinnamon, the moſt pretious part; but we may judge of it from the price of the wood: or Qu. did he call the bark wood?

fleet on the coaſt of Britain, and the wreck of that of Druſus on the coaſt of Germany. What little nautical knowlege they had was merely ſubſervient to the purpoſes of war: for commerce, as beneath the dignity of the conquerors of the world, was abandoned to their ſubjects of Gadir, New Carthage, Maſſilia, Rhodes, Phœnicia, Egypt, &c. Their own veſſels were of two kinds, the one adapted for battle, and the other for tranſporting their armies. Their ſhips intended for battle, though they carried ſeveral tires of oars, drew very little water *. They were very long in proportion to their breadth; and probably their bottoms were flat, or ſo nearly ſo, that they could be conveniently hauled up upon the beach †, and their ſides parallel to each other, being according to the beſt judgement I can form of them, in the conſtruction of their bodies, much more like the coal barges on the River Thames than ſhips fit to go upon ſalt water. They were called *long ſhips* to diſtinguiſh them from others, which, having their bottom timbers ſomewhat rounded, and their ſides bending in to the ſtem and ſtern-poſt, were called *round ſhips* ‡. Their tranſports, or ſhips of burthen, which Cæſar calls great ſhips, and ſays, they required (comparatively) deep water, drew in fact ſo little water, that the ſoldiers leaped over their ſides, and walked onſhore, as ſailors do from a ſhip's long-boat.

The natives of Greece appear to have been even now but very indifferent ſeamen. Polybius, about a century and a half before the Chriſtian æra, had obſerved, that in his time very few of them ventured ſo far from home as Byzantium; a voyage not half ſo long as that aſcribed to the Argonauts in the fabulous ages. If we may truſt to the poetical authority of Ovid, they ſtill perſiſted in the groſs ſtupidity of preferring the greater bear to the leſſer one as their mark for the north pole in the enlightened age of Auguſtus. And Lucian, contemporary with the emperor Antoninus the Philoſopher and his ſon Commodus, repreſents the whole city of Athens as ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the ſight of a very large ſhip. It may be obſerved, however, that moſt of the names uſed by the Roman writers to diſtinguiſh the different kind of veſſels, were received by them from the Greeks §.

* The Liburnians decoyed their enemies, probably Romans, who were onboard a *triremis*, into ſhallow water, which, by crouching down in it, they made to have the appearance of a *deep* ſea ('alti maris'), wherein men's heads only could be ſeen above the water. The *triremis* got aground, and was taken. [*Frontini Stratagemata*, *L.* ii, *c.* 5.] How many feet, or rather how many inches, of water did this ſhip of war require to float her? —Paulus Æmilius went up the Tiber (which, if I am rightly informed, has ſcarcely four feet of water) to Rome in a veſſel of *ſixteen* tires of oars, taken from the king of Macedonia. [*Livii Hiſt. L.* xlv, *c.* 35.]

† The common practice of hauling their veſſels out of the water required flat bottoms: and Lucian's fiction (in his *True hiſtory*) of his veſſel going upon the ice infers, that ſhe could ſtand upright without being ſupported by the water, and without the additional keels given to the ice boats in America.

‡ Some have ſuppoſed, that thoſe veſſels were literally *circular*, or, in other words, that people went to ſea in tubs. See a repreſentation of a round veſſel in the plate at p. 31.

§ A liſt of the various kinds of veſſels may be found in Aulus Gellius. [*Noct. Att. L.* x, *c.* 25.] But as it only contains bare names, it would be uſeleſs to tranſcribe it.

The Greeks of Egypt were now by far the beſt navigators of the Roman empire, having apparently ſucceeded to the nautical knowlege, as well as to the commerce, of the Phœnicians: and they poſſeſſed the important advantages, which the others ſcarcely ever had, of a free navigation in the Oriental ſeas as well as in the Mediterranean, and of having a conſtant, great, and ready, market for their merchandize in the wealthy capital of the Roman world. Their induſtry and ingenuity, thus cheriſhed and encouraged, were further ſtimulated by the example of the Arabians, as far as we know, the oldeſt, and apparently the beſt, navigators upon the Indian ocean, or Erythræan ſea, with whom they had much intercourſe. And we may preſume, that they had acquired a conſiderable degree of proficiency in the theory and practice of navigation by the aſſociation of great numbers of Phœnician ſeamen, who, on the decline of trade in their own ports, would undoubtedly reſort to Alexandria: for ſeamen are a claſs of people, who feel leſs inconvenience in expatriating themſelves than thoſe of any other profeſſion; and they muſt ever follow the footſteps of commerce, with which they are ſo cloſely and ſo inſeparably connected. As to the natives of the old Egyptian race, they do not appear in any age to have had the ſmalleſt concern in maritime affairs or active foreign commerce.

The antient ſeamen truſted chiefly to their oars for making way, neither the hulls of their veſſels nor their ſails being calculated for going to windward: and thence, as the motion of the veſſel through the water was pretty uniform, we find the diſtances of places generally noted by ſo many days' courſes, a kind of menſuration, which, however prepoſterous it would be in modern times, was then tolerably accurate, eſpecially when applied to paſſages which had been often repeated. When the wind was fair, they hoiſted their ſails, which appear from medals and ſculptures, the only kinds of information we poſſeſs, to have been very ſmall, and went before it. And they alſo knew how to trim their ſails by ropes anſwering apparently to the ſheets and tacks, and perhaps alſo to the braces, in modern veſſels, ſo as to avail themſelves of any wind, which was not before the beam, as we find antient authors mention veſſels going oppoſite courſes with the ſame wind when moderate *, or, in modern ſea language, ſailing with the wind upon the beam †. In the runs between the Red ſea and the coaſt of India they never had the

* 'The wind Argeſtes (about weſt-north-weſt) 'is gentle, and equally convenient for going and 'returning.' [*Senec. Quæſt. nat. L.* v, *c.* 16.]

† Compare Pliny, *L.* ii, *c.* 47, where 'prolatis 'pedibus' ſeems to mean *hauling forward the tacks*, with Virgil, *Æneid. L.* v, *v.* 16, where the wind being northerly when the Trojans are bound from Carthage to Italy, but firſt to make Sicily, the ſails are trimmed to the wind, and helped by the oars; and alſo with *v.* 289, where the ſail is ſquared by the tacks or ſheets, ('Una omnes fe-'cere pedem' which word Servius explains as meaning the rope, by which the ſail is ſtretched out) and one of the *lofty* yard-arms is hauled in, while the other is eaſed off, which could only be done by braces; the oars are laid in; the rowers gone to ſleep on their benches; and the fleet is gliding through the water before a pleaſant breeze.

monſoons right aft; and ſometimes they muſt have had them almoſt barely upon the beam.

The maritime part of the Itinerary of Antoninus, which was compiled by imperial authority, ſeemingly not long after this time, gives us a good picture of the timid practice of the Mediterranean ſeamen in creeping into almoſt every bay on the coaſt. It begins with directing what ports are to be touched at in making a paſſage from Achaia in Greece to Africa, of which there are no fewer than twenty, and ſome of them *at the heads of bays* on the coaſts of Greece, Epirus, Italy, *within the Sicilian ſtraits as far as Meſſana*, then along the eaſt and ſouth ſides of Sicily to the weſt point of it, whence to the Maritime iſland, and from it a long run, rated at nine hundred ſtadia (about ninety miles) to the coaſt of Africa.

Though the general practice was to keep cloſe to the ſhore, or at leaſt to have it conſtantly in ſight, yet, as they were ſure of an extenſive range of coaſt for their land-fall, they ſometimes ventured to depart from that dilatory and dangerous timidity, when they could depend upon a fair wind by the regular return of the eteſians in the Mediterranean, or the monſoons in the Indian ocean. We have ſeveral inſtances of what they called the *compendious paſſage*, among which I ſhall inſtance the following runs to Alexandria. Agrippa went from Rome to Puteoli, where he found a veſſel belonging to Alexandria ready to ſail, and he arrived in that port in a few days. [*Joſeph. Antiq. L.* xviii, *c.* 8.] Galerius was conveyed to Alexandria in the ſeventh, and Babilius in the ſixth, day from the Sicilian ſtraits. [*Plin. L.* xix, *proœm.*] Theſe might be reckoned pretty good paſſages even in modern times *.

In the Mediterranean, during the winter, mild as it is in that ſea, and ſhort as the nights are, compared with thoſe of our more northern climate, all navigation was ſuſpended, as well now as in the age of the antient Greek poet Heſiod, unleſs upon ſome very extraordinary and urgent occaſions, or when avarice, as Pliny ſays, overcame that cautious regulation. Even the Phœnicians uſually finiſhed their voyages for the year about the end of autumn, and laid up their veſſels during the winter. [*Acts of the apoſtles, cc.* 27, 28.—*Plin. L.* ii, *c.* 47.—*Sueton. in Claud. c.* 18.—*Veget. L.* iv, *c.* 39.—*Luciani Dial. Toxaris.*] We muſt, however, remember, that the owners of veſſels or goods had not the opportunity of guarding againſt the ruinous conſequences of ſhipwreck, by paying a moderate premium of inſurance †: and, indeed, the ſame

* Pliny [*L.* xv, *c.* 18] tells a ſtory of the firebrand Cato, 'burning with deadly hatred to Carthage,' ſhowing a fig to the Roman ſenate, which, he ſaid, had been pulled only three days before at Carthage, as an argument againſt permitting a powerful city ſo near them to exiſt; and he adds, with ſome flowers of rhetoric, that that ſingle apple (he makes figs a ſpecies of apple) was the cauſe of the deſtruction of Carthage. But Cato's aſſertion muſt have been falſe with reſpect to the time, the paſſage to Rome being at leaſt 500 miles, which alone was more than ſufficient to take up three days.

† It has been ſuppoſed, that inſurance upon veſſels was introduced by the emperor Claudius, but without any authority, as I have already obſerved, p. 151 note.

caution, and even legal reſtrictions againſt winter navigations, have continued in late ages.

As their coaſting navigation neceſſarily brought them among ſhoals and rocks, it was often neceſſary to paſs the whole night lying at anchor. But in croſſing well-known bays, or in making a run to the oppoſite ſide of the Mediterranean, they often ventured to proceed in the night-time, ſteering their courſe by the ſtars, of which they had more knowlege than is to be found among the untaught part of our modern ſeamen, whoſe compaſs directs their courſe in the darkeſt nights with certainty and confidence.

The navigators of the Erythræan ſea were probably ſuperior to thoſe, who confined their practice to the Mediterranean. We know that they ſailed in the night, even in their coaſting voyages along the African ſhore*: and we have at leaſt one inſtance of great knowlege of the theory of the tides, of the knowlege of the polar ſtar, of the nature of the ſpring tides, and even the difference of night tides, of the indications of the approach to land, and of the pilotage of the various harbours, in that judicious merchant and navigator, who wrote the Periplus of the Erythræan ſea.

They ſtill preferred fir, and other timber of a ſimilar nature, as the Greeks did in the age of Theophraſtus, for building their veſſels, which they bolted with braſs in preference to iron. They covered the bottoms with wax, which was at leaſt ſometimes mixed with pitch. [*Theophraſt. L.* v, *c.* 8.—*Plin. L.* xvi, *cc.* 10, 12.—*Arriani Peripl. Pont. Eux. p.* 117, *ed. Blancardi.*—*Veget. de re mil. L.* iv, *c.* 34.] An inſtance of extraordinary attention to the preſervation of the bottom appeared in a veſſel, ſaid to have belonged to Trajan, which was dug up in the fifteenth century from the Lake Nemoreſe, or Lake of Aricia. It was doubly planked with pine and cypreſs, over which there was a coat of pitch, to which a covering of linen was faſtened, and over all a ſheathing of ſheet lead (' chartam plumbeam') faſtened with nails of braſs †. [*Leonis Bapt. Alberti de re ædificatoria L.* v, *c*, 12.]

The maſts and yards were made of fir on account of its lightneſs. [*Plin. L.* xvi, *c.* 39.] The uſe of three maſts, introduced by Archimedes in Hiero's great ſhip, [ſee above, p. 98] does not appear to have become general; for I find but one inſtance (in Julius Pollux) of a ſhip of three

* Marinus, as quoted by Ptolemy [*L.* i, *c.* 7] quotes Diodorus Samius, as ſaying, that the navigators in the Indian ocean, when going from India to Limyrica (which, however, is a part of India) kept the conſtellation called the Bull in the middle of the ſky, and the Pleiades upon the middle of the yards; and thoſe who ſailed from Arabia for Azania on the eaſt coaſt of Africa ſteered by the ſtar Canopus. This account may be admitted as very ſufficient evidence of their nocturnal navigation, though it is blundered in paſſing through ſo many hands; for no ſeaman could be ſo ignorant as to think, that the ſtars would bear on the ſame part of his veſſel through the whole night.

† The French Encyclopedie [*art. Doublage des vaiſſeaux*] has *Greek* pitch, and nails of *copper*, inſtead of *black* pitch and nails of *braſs*.

masts, belonging to Antigonus, which was remarkable on that account; a pretty good evidence that such vessels were uncommon. Even the largest vessels seem to have had but one mast, and that scarcely so lofty as the lower masts of modern ships, with the addition of poles set up at the head and stern to carry small sails. Most of the masts were raised and lowered occasionally, like those of modern small craft, which go under bridges. [*Virg. Æn. L.* v, *v.* 287.—*Frontini Stratag. L.* ii, *c.* 5.] But the Alexandrian ships appear to have had proper standing masts.

Pliny says [*L.* xix, *proœm.*] that in addition to the larger sails, of which each vessel appears to have carried but one, and that, according to our modern ideas of sails, a very small one, they had lately introduced others above them, besides sails in the prow and others in the stern *; 'and by so many ways did they challenge death.' The sails were made of flax, and of a fabric much too slight for standing a gale of wind, if we may judge from the same names being applied to them, which expressed the kind of linen used for clothing. But we know, that the large ships of Alexandria (to be described presently) and also those of the Veneti in Gaul (already described, p. 115) carried sails made of leather †.

The sails, besides their principal use in impelling the vessel by the force of the wind, served also for signals, and for distinguishing the vessels of a fleet, by means of the colours wherewith they were stained. The story of the fatal mistake in the colour of Theseus's sail is known to every school-boy. Various colours of the sails for distinguishing the divisions of the fleet seem to have been introduced by Alexander the Great: and we find Cleopatra's royal galley distinguished by a purple sail in the famous battle of Actium. In the night time the vessels were distinguished by lights: Scipio's own galley carried three lights, each transport, two, and every warlike vessel in his fleet, one. [*Plin. Hist. L.* xix, *c.* 1.—*Flori Hist. L.* iv, *c.* 11.—*Livii Hist. L.* xxix, *c.* 25.—and see *Polyæni Stratag. L.* vi, *c.* 11.] We learn from Procopius, that the same distinctions by sails and lights were used in the fleet of Belisarius in the sixth century, and they appear to have continued through the middle ages, till the distinguishing colour was removed from the sails to the flags fixed more conspicuously on the heads of the masts, or the stern.

The *gubernacula* ‡, or steering paddles, of which each vessel carried two §, had palms, or blades, much broader than those of the oars; and

* There is an incredible story of a Roman ship intended to carry *fifty* sails, already noticed, p. 83 note.

† Pliny has not a word of any kind of cloth being made of hemp, which, he only says, [*L.* xix, *c.* 9] is useful for making cordage; though the Thracians, as we learn from Herodotus, had made cloth of hemp many ages before his time.

‡ These are usually translated *rudders*. But we may be satisfied from coins and other antient representations, that they bore no resemblance to modern rudders.

§ A learned commentator recommends the use of two rudders on the *quarters* of modern ships—because the stream of water passing the ship must be stronger there than at the stern-post.—Did he suppose a ship formed like a chest? The vessels of his country, to-be-sure, come nearer to that form than those of any other in Europe.

they ſeem to have been worked on the quarters much in the ſame manner that ſailors ſometimes ſteer a ſmall boat with an oar *, except that the handles were brought within-board through little ports or pigeon-holes, and that they were fixed by ropes, which during engagements were ſometimes cut aſunder, or rendered unmanageable, by ſkilful divers going under the quarters. Beſides the people of Tapbrobanè, already mentioned, [p. 148] the Suiones a German nation, the Byzantines, and upon ſome occaſions the Romans, had veſſels, which ſteered at both ends, ſo that, either end being the head, they never needed to go about. [*Æliani Hiſt. var. L.* ix, *c.* 40.—*Tac. Ann. L.* ii, *c.* 6; *Germ.*—*Veget. L.* iv, *c.* 46.—*Dion. Caſſ. L.* lxxiv.]

Each veſſel carried two or more anchors, the largeſt of which was called the ſacred anchor, and, like the ſheet anchor of modern ſeamen, was reſerved for the greateſt neceſſity. Though the propriety of making anchors of iron ſeems to be obvious, yet the old practice of making them of ſome weaker ſubſtance ſeems ſtill to have been kept up. But in the following age iron anchors became general †.

The veſſels employed in the corn trade between Egypt and Rome were apparently the largeſt of any upon the Mediterranean ſea, which was perhaps a conſequence of the corn bounty given by Tiberius. Two of the three ſhips, in which the apoſtle Paul made his paſſage from Judæa to Italy, were of Alexandria; and one of them carried two hundred and ſeventy-ſix people, beſides her cargo of corn. It is probable, that the veſſel, wherein Joſephus, the Jewiſh hiſtorian, was caſt away on his paſſage to Rome, which carried ſix hundred people, was alſo of Alexandria. But theſe are nothing to the aſtoniſhing magnitude of the Iſis of Alexandria, which, if the dimenſions of her, as deſcribed by Lucian ‡, in his dialogue called *the Ship*, be correct, muſt have meaſured *about four*

* The corrocorros of India, which were perhaps, through the medium of the Arabians or Tyrians, the models of the naval conſtruction of the Greeks, are to this day ſteered by two broad paddles; [*Stavorinus's Voyages, V.* ii, *p.* 306 *of Engliſh tranſlation*] as was alſo the galley wherein Captain Foreſt made his voyage of diſcovery to New-Guinea, though he generally found one ſufficient.

† I believe, no antient author has told us, when anchors were firſt made of iron. In the early ages of Mediterranean navigation the Phœnicians had anchors of wood loaded with lead. And in the ages now under conſideration the Phœnicians, and alſo the Arabians, navigators at leaſt not inferior to the Phœnicians, may be preſumed to have ſtill had their anchors of no better materials; ſeeing that the Egyptian Greeks, who had the example of both thoſe maritime nations before their eyes, had anchors, which, as we learn from the Periplus of the Erythræan ſea, were cut to pieces and ground away by the ſharp points of the rocky bottom in the bays of Barakè and Barygaza. But in the reign of Adrian we find, that the anchors were made of iron; for Arrian, in his Periplus of the Euxine ſea addreſſed to that emperor, [*p.* 120, *ed. Blancardi*] ſays, that the people of Colchis pretended to poſſeſs an anchor belonging to the ſhip Argo, which, ſays he, 'cannot be genuine, *becauſe it is made of iron*, 'though otherways ſomewhat different from the 'anchors of our times.' He alſo ſaw at the ſame place the fragments of a very antient anchor made of ſtone.—Now, of what material were the anchors of the Grecian veſſels in the Indian ocean compoſed? Were they of wood loaded with ſtones, ſuch as are ſtill uſed inſtead of graplings for ſmall craft and boats in ſome remote places? And were anchors of iron introduced ſo late as between the age of the author of the Periplus of the Erythræan ſea and that of Arrian, and the pretendedly-antient one ſhewn to Arrian, one of the firſt rude eſſays?

‡ Though Lucian flouriſhed in the later part of the ſecond century, his deſcription of the Iſis is inſerted here for the ſake of connection.

thouſand tuns, or about twice the burthen of one of our firſt-rate ſhips of war. As there is nowhere elſe ſo complete a picture of an antient merchant ſhip, I have extracted the following deſcription of this ſtupendous veſſel, with an account of her tedious paſſage, wherein we have a good view of the navigation of the beſt of the Mediterranean ſeamen of thoſe days.

Heron, the commander of the Iſis, ſailed from the Pharos of Alexandria with a moderate breeze, and on the ſeventh day got ſight of Acamas, the weſt point of Cyprus, where he met with a gale of wind from the weſt, which drove him out of his courſe as far as Sidon. Thence he proceeded with a heavy gale through the channel between Cyprus and the continent, and in ten days reached the Chelidonian iſlands on the coaſt of Pamphylia, where there never fails to be a heavy ſea when the wind is at ſouth-ſouth-weſt. There they were in great danger of being loſt, till ſeeing a light upon the coaſt of Lycia, they thereby knew where they were: and at the ſame time a bright ſtar, one of the Dioſcuri (Caſtor and Pollux) ſettling upon the top (or maſt-head) pointed the way out to ſea, when they were almoſt aground. Thence ſailing through the Ægæan ſea, they put into the Piræus, the port of Athens, on the ſeventieth day after their departure from Egypt. Had they been able to keep their proper courſe to the ſouthward of Crete and the Peloponneſus, they ſhould have been in Italy long before that time.

One of the many Athenians, who went to gaze upon this wonderful ſhip, got the following account of her from her carpenter. She was one hundred and twenty cubits (180 feet) long, her breadth above the fourth part of her length, and her depth from the upper deck to the loweſt part of the hold at the pump-well, twenty-nine cubits*. The reſt of the deſcription, which is without meaſurement, is all in the language of admiration at the prodigious maſt and yard (no mention of more than one of either) the number of hides over one another in the ſail, a ſailor going up the ropes and running out to the yard-arm. Upon the upper part of the ſtern, there was a golden figure of a gooſe; and where the prow (or head) ſtretched out, there was on each ſide a figure of the goddeſs Iſis. The ornaments, the paintings, the flame-coloured *paraſion* of the ſail, the anchors, the engines for turning round (ſeemingly anſwerable to the winlaſs and capſtan in modern ſhips) and the lodging rooms, or cabins, at the ſtern, all ſtruck the viſitors with aſtoniſhment, who compared the number of people onboard her to an army. They were moreover told, that her cargo of wheat would be ſufficient to feed all the people of Attica for a whole year, (but that muſt be merely ſailor's rodomontade) and that the annual profit made by her owner was about twelve Attic talents, or £2,325 ſterling †.

* Here the carpenter has exaggerated in what the ſtrangers could not ſee, for the honour of his ſhip: and it is from this exaggerated dimenſion that her burthen comes to be about 4,000 tuns.

† Some further notices concerning the ſhipping of the antient Greeks and Romans may be found to *Iſidori Orig. L.* xix, *cc.* 1, 2, 3.—*Non. Marcel. de proprietate ſermonum, c.* 13.—*Fulgentius de priſco ſermone.*

If from the ſubjects of the Roman empire we paſs to the free nations of the northern parts of Europe, we ſhall find, indeed, very few materials for naval hiſtory, but thoſe few very honourable to their nautical knowlege and enterpriſe. Without the aid of aſſured periodical fair winds and ſmooth water, without the certainty of a nightly anchorage, or of a land-fall on the oppoſite coaſt of an inland ſea, but truſting to the appearance of the ſtars, with probably the aſſiſtance derived from the flight of birds carried with them for the purpoſe *, they committed themſelves to the boundleſs and ſtormy Northern ocean, and held their fearleſs courſe from Nerigon (ſuppoſed to be Norway) to Thule; [*Plin. L.* iv, *c.* 16] which by the moſt moderate and probable hypotheſis was Shetland. Thoſe who inſiſt upon making it Iceland, lengthen the voyage, and exalt without, however, exaggerating, the ſcience and intrepidity, of the navigators of the North. The Suiones, a people of the Baltic ſea, are ſaid by Tacitus [*Germania*] to have had powerful fleets. Their veſſels, as already obſerved, were conſtructed ſo as to reverſe their courſe without the operation of going about; and their oars were not fixed to the row-ports, like thoſe of the Mediterranean veſſels, but looſe, and ready to be ſhifted or laid in, like thoſe of modern boats. They made no uſe of ſails. (See above, pp. 137, 184.)

77—Pliny finiſhed his great work, entitled *Natural hiſtory*, in thirty-ſeven books †. The firſt ſix, after the preliminary one, contain, in very compreſſed language, a complete ſyſtem of coſmography and geography, as they were then underſtood; and the remaining thirty contain deſcriptions of every article in the animal, vegetable, and mineral, claſſes, or kingdoms, and alſo all the works of art, together with ſyſtems of agriculture and medicine; the whole work containing, according to his own prefatory, or dedicatory, letter to the emperor Titus Veſpaſian, twenty thouſand things worthy of obſervation, extracted from about two thouſand volumes, many of which were ſcarcely ever read, even by the ſtudious, and exhibiting a copious picture of the univerſal ſcience of the age. This work which has furniſhed about half of the materials for the view of the trade of the Roman world, and to which I have on ſo many other occaſions been indebted, fully deſerves the character given of it by his nephew, of being 'copious, learned, and no leſs diverſified than 'Nature herſelf:' and it is undoubtedly one of the moſt ſignal monuments of indefatigable induſtry and univerſal knowlege that was ever

ſermone. But they were all mere grammarians, who knew no more of the ſubject, upon which they have undertaken to inſtruct others, than what they collected from the old Roman poets and hiſtorians, who lived many centuries before them, and were perhaps almoſt as ignorant as themſelves. Marcellus ſays, the yards are held faſt by the anchors!

* For the method of ſteering by the flight of birds ſee below under the year 890.

† Though they are numbered, and quoted, as thirty-ſeven books, they are in truth only thirty-ſix, what is called the firſt book being merely a table of contents, with catalogues of the authors quoted or followed, who are moſtly Greeks. Pliny himſelf calls them thirty-ſix books. His nephew, however, in the enumeration of his finiſhed works, makes them thirty-ſeven.

produced by one man, and can be equalled by no other work, that ever was produced in the world before the Encyclopædias of modern times, which are compiled by the united labours of many collectors: and, what is ſtill more ſurpriſing, it was but a part of many works compoſed by him * before he completed the fifty-ſixth year of a life, devoted not only to literature, but alſo to public buſineſs and official duties †.

When Pliny wrote, Rome was in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate under the prudent and vigorous government of Veſpaſian. Grecian literature was highly eſteemed, the ſciences were aſſidiouſly cultivated, and the arts were encouraged by men of liberal education and ample fortune. The periods of the revolutions of the planets were known; and the theory of eclipſes was underſtood, or at leaſt received from the tables conſtructed by Hipparchus. The earth was known to be of a ſpherical form; though its poſition was erroneouſly fixed in the centre of the univerſe. But even profeſſed geographers, Hipparchus alone excepted, had not yet diſcovered that the application of latitude and longitude to the poſition of places was the very life and ſoul of their ſcience. [*Strabo, L.* ii, *p.* 194 B.] And the following ſurpriſing inſtance of ignorance in one of the beſt-informed of the Romans gives room for a ſuſpicion, that what they knew of the ſyſtem of the univerſe was implicitly received from more enlightened nations; and not real ſcience deduced from experiments, and founded upon rational principles. An Egyptian obeliſk had been ſet up at Rome by Auguſtus, with tables engraved on braſs, affixed to it, containing rules for knowing the hours by the length of the ſhadow. For about thirty years before Pliny wrote, theſe rules had been found erroneous; which he, as great a philoſopher as he was, endeavoured to account for by earthquakes, inundations of the river, the earth having moved from its centre, or even the ſun itſelf having wandered out of its place; in ſhort, by any thing rather than by the obvious reflection, that there might have been an error in the original calculation of the tables. [*Hiſt. nat. L.* xxxvi, *c.* 10.]

* Beſides his finiſhed works in one hundred and two books, there were one hundred and ſixty common-place books of ſelections, which he left to his nephew. They were written upon both ſides of the paper, and very ſmall and cloſe, ſo that they were not handſome library books, nor, indeed, books at all, but materials for compoſing from. Before they became ſo numerous, he was offered 4,000 nummi (£3,229 : 3 : 4) for them. [*Plinii Epiſtolæ, L.* iii, *ep.* 5.] Such was the value, even of collections of materials judiciouſly choſen, in thoſe days, when, for want of printing, learning was confined to the few, whom heaven had bleſſed with a taſte for it, along with the enjoyment of a plentiful fortune.

Selections from Pliny's Natural hiſtory, eſpecially if they were accompanied with the judicious remarks of an enlightened teacher, would form a ſtudy for youth, not leſs pleaſant, and infinitely more uſeful, than the abſurdities, to call them no worſe, of Ovid and Virgil.

† The firſt eruption of Veſuvius, recorded in hiſtory, which deſtroyed the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii, was alſo fatal to Pliny, whoſe curioſity to examine the nature of that awful phænomenon carried him ſo near to it, that he was found dead, ſuffocated, as was ſuppoſed, by the ſulphur: and ſo his valuable life fell a ſacrifice to that ardent thirſt of knowlege, which has rendered his name immortal. [*Plinii Epiſt. L.* vi, *ep.* 16.] It appears from Condamine's *Tour in Italy*, that the foundations of the houſes in Herculaneum conſiſt of volcanic lava, which proves, that the eruption of Veſuvius, which overwhelmed that city, was not, as is uſually ſuppoſed, the firſt.

Their knowlege of the ſurface of the earth was more defective than could be ſuppoſed poſſible, if we had not the moſt convincing proofs of it. Even Strabo and Pliny believed, that the two temperate zones were the only habitable portions of the earth; and Pliny, like the poets, aſſerts, that there can be no communication between them on account of the intolerable ſcorching heat of the intermediate torrid zone. Notwithſtanding this aſſertion he names ſeveral places within the tropic, where he obſerves that the ſun for ſome time projects ſhadows ſouthward; and he even mentions a mountain of India called Maleus, which, as he deſcribes it, having the ſun for ſix months on its north, and other ſix on its ſouth, ſide, ought to be on the equinoctial line *. [*Strabo, L.* ii, *p.* 171.—*Plin. L.* ii, *cc.* 68, 73, *L.* vi, *cc.* 19, 29 *et paſſim.*] The antient geographers, however, allowed less than its true breadth to the torrid zone. They were ſtill ignorant of the Caſpian ſea being an inland lake. Pliny ſays, that Arabia is of the ſame figure, and ſize, and preciſely in the ſame latitude as Italy; with which it has nothing in common, except being a peninſula and ſtretching to the ſouth-eaſt. After examining the accounts of Polybius, Agrippa, and Artemidorus, he gives the following comparative view of the magnitude of the great diviſions of the earth, viz. Europe ſomewhat above a third, Aſia about a fourth, and Africa about a fifth, of the whole. [*Hiſt. nat. L.* ii, 67; *L.* vi, *cc.* 13, 28, 33.] Such was the knowlege obtained of the diſtant parts of the world by the beſt-informed of the Romans, in the extended ſtate of the Roman empire, and the ſun-ſhine of Roman ſcience.

79—Agricola, the father-in-law of Tacitus the hiſtorian, was now the Roman commander in Britain. Having already ſerved in it under Suetonius Paulinus, he was acquainted with the nature of the country, and of the people; and he employed ſoothing arts, as much as force, to eſtabliſh the Roman authority: for, at the ſame time that he was erecting forts, and extending military ways, through the country, he enticed the Britons to aſſemble in towns, and to adopt the arts and the luxuries of the Romans. After reducing the Ordovices and Mona (*North-Wales* and *Angleſey*), he marched northward, along the weſtern ſhore, and led the firſt Roman army into that part of the iſland now called Scotland (a°. 80), ſubduing the tribes who lay in the line of his march, and making an excurſion as far as the river Tay, whence he returned (a°. 81) to the iſthmus between the Forth and the Clyde, which he guarded with a chain of forts: and next year he reduced the ſouth-weſt part of the country, afterwards called Galloway.

83—Britiſh liberty ſurvived now only on the north ſide of the Forth;

* For this Pliny quotes Beton, an artiſt employed by Alexander the Great as a ſurveyor, who moſt certainly never ſaw, and can ſcarcely be ſuppoſed to have heard of, any place on the equinoctial line. Surely, the antients, when they ſpoke of ſoutherly ſhadows, muſt have only meant ſhadows not projecting ſo far north at noon as thoſe in their own countries.

and there Agricola determined utterly to extirpate it. He croſſed the Forth, and marched along the coaſt of Fife, his fleet attending and ſupporting him all the way; a meaſure which the event ſhewed to be abſolutely neceſſary; for the Caledonians watched him cloſely, attacked his forts, and almoſt drove him to the reſolution of repaſſing the Forth. The ninth legion, recruited, after being nearly exterminated by Boadicia, was again almoſt totally cut to pieces by the Caledonians, who were, however, afterwards repelled by the reſt of the Roman army.

84—The Caledonians, next ſpring, raiſed an army, conſiſting, by Agricola's account, of above thirty thouſand men, under the command of the brave Galgacus, who, we are told, were utterly defeated at the Grampian mountain, and the Roman allies (for the legions were not engaged) loſt only three hundred and forty men. The conſequence of this victory was, that Agricola abandoned the ground for which he fought, and retreated into the country of the Horeſti, a tribe on the ſouth ſide of the Tay, who had ſubmitted to him; ſo that it very much reſembled the victory pretended to have been gained by the Phocæans, over the united fleets of the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, after which Corſica, the object of their contention, was totally abandoned by the pretended conquerors. (See above, p. 47.)

Agricola, having received hoſtages from the nations who had ſubmitted to him, ordered his fleet to ſail round the whole country, though the ſummer was far ſpent: and ſuch a voyage of diſcovery and danger, would need the whole of a ſummer, even if conducted by the ableſt ſeamen. Theſe navigators alleged, that they firſt diſcovered the Orkneys, and that they firſt made it certain that Britain was an iſland; diſcoveries, which were made by Pytheas many centuries before, and noticed by many authors after him, of whom I ſhall mention only Cæſar and Pliny, whoſe writings ought at this time to have been well known in Rome*. [*Taciti Vita Agricolæ.*]

Tacitus alſo informs us, that at this time the harbours of Ireland, which, he ſays, lies half way between Britain and Spain, were better known to

* Every unprejudiced, or unromanized, reader, who peruſes the Life of Agricola by Tacitus with due attention, muſt perceive, that it is not ſo much hiſtory, as poetical panegyric ("*liber honori Agricolæ ſoceri mei deſtinatus*"). It may be proved, that the Roman army was not outnumbered by the Caledonian, even if it did conſiſt of 30,000 men, which however is utterly improbable. King David I, when poſſeſſed of all Scotland and Cumberland, could not raiſe 27,000 men, though he had Engliſh, Normans, and Germans, beſides his own ſubjects, in his army. King Robert I, when his crown and life depended on the event of a ſingle battle, could not, with the exertion of ſeven months, collect 31,000 fighting men. How then ſhall we believe, that above 30,000 warriors could be raiſed in Caledonia only? for all the ſouth part of modern Scotland, as far as the Tay, was ſubject to the Romans: and it is very probable, that the weſtern tribes of Caledonia were not concerned in this war.

It is worthy of obſervation, that Agricola, who makes ſo great a figure in the works of modern writers, is not ſo much as mentioned by any writer of general Roman hiſtory now extant, except once, very ſlightly, by Dion Caſſius. Nor does his name appear in ten familiar letters from the younger Pliny to Tacitus, though the ſubjects of ſome of them ſeem to give a fair opportunity of introducing it.

the merchants, by means of their commerce, than thoſe of Britain. [*Vita Agric. c.* 24.] Whether his geographical and his commercial informations were equally correct, I ſhall not pretend to judge.

98-117—The emperor Trajan was a great conqueror. He added Dacia, a large province beyond the Danube, to the Roman empire. He undertook an expedition into the Eaſt, and there alſo he carried the Roman arms far beyond the limits of the empire, into Armenia, Meſopotamia, and Aſſyria, which he reduced to the condition of provinces. But his conqueſts, rapid and deſtructive as a whirlwind, ſerved no purpoſe, but to exhauſt the blood of his ſubjects, and of the nations who had the misfortune to lie in the track of his career: for, as ſoon as the ſtorm was paſt, they reſumed their independence *. Trajan alſo poſſeſſed ſeveral of the more valuable qualifications of a ſovereign. He adorned Rome with elegant buildings, and brought water to thoſe parts of it, which were deſtitute of that accommodation; he eſtabliſhed great libraries; he encouraged learning by protecting learned men; he made good roads from one end of the empire to the other; he conſtructed a convenient harbour at Centum cellæ, (now Civita vecchia) and another at Ancona, on the Adriatic ſea; and he apparently repaired, or renewed, the Egyptian canal between the Nile and the Red ſea †.

Adrian, the next emperor, adorned not only Rome, but the whole empire, with magnificent buildings, which were executed under his own eye; for his whole reign was a continual peregrination. As the Britons were not yet reconciled to the Roman yoke, he viſited this iſland in one of his journies, and reformed ſeveral abuſes in it (a°. 121). Giving up all thoughts of completing the conqueſt of it, he conſtructed a wall of about eighty miles in length, between the rivers Tine and Eden, in order to cut off all communication between the *Barbarians* and the Romans, or rather the Romanized Britons. And this kind of fortification by a continued wall, of which he ſet the firſt example, was repeatedly uſed in the ſucceeding ages of the Roman domination in this iſland. Adrian, for theſe actions, obtained the title of Reſtorer of Britain.

In the beginning of the reign of Antoninus Pius the Roman territories in Britain were under the government of Lollius Urbicus, who has not obtained his due ſhare of the fame uſually beſtowed upon conquerors. He quelled ſome commotions in the conquered country (a°. 140), and built a ſecond wall, which extended between the Firths of Forth and Clyde; the ſame which in later times has been called Gramis dyke, i. e. warriors dyke. He alſo carried the Roman eagles as far as the æſtuary of the river Varar, (now called the Farar, or Beulie) founded

* Modern commentators have extended his ravages to the ſouth coaſt of Arabia, and made him the deſtroyer of the city of Arabia Felix, but without any authority. See above, p. 157, Note §.

† I believe Ptolemy's mention of the *Trajanian river* in his deſcription of Egypt, is the only antient authority we have for this work of Trajan.

Roman towns*, which he connected by military roads; and, in ſhort, provinciated a tract of country, moſtly unknown to former Roman commanders, extending from the wall and the Firth of Forth northward to the Moray Firth; and from the Ocean weſtward to Loch Long, or, perhaps, Loch Fyne, the great ridge of mountains called Drumalban, and Loch Neſs. The new province was called Veſpaſiana, a name given, or continued, by the modeſty of Antoninus, in honour of Veſpaſian, in whoſe reign the command of the Roman forces in Britain was delegated to Agricola, who, under the two ſucceeding emperors, brought a ſmall portion of this province, on the ſouth ſide of the Tay, under a momentary ſubjection to Rome. [*Jul. Capitolin. Ant. Pii Vit.—Ricard. Corinens. L.* i, *c.* 6, § 2, 43, 50.]

It was apparently during the adminiſtration of Lollius, and probably under the direction of Seius Saturninus, who, as Jabolenus and Richard of Cirenceſter inform us, was then commander of a fleet ſtationed on the coaſt of Britain, that the maritime ſurvey, or rather two partial ſurveys of the north part of Britain, were performed, from which the geography of that part of the iſland was compiled by Ptolemy. The more accurate ſurveys of the ſouthern part of the iſland, muſt be preſumed to have kept pace with the gradual extenſion of the Roman conqueſts.

137-160—The emperor Antoninus, adorned Rome and many other cities with public buildings, and repaired or renewed harbours, lighthouſes, bridges, and aqueducts. He favoured virtuous and learned men. He ſold ſome of the ſuperfluous property, attached to the imperial office, for the benefit of the public, and defrayed many public expenſes out of his private fortune. Under his adminiſtration all the provinces of the empire flouriſhed. His virtues deſerved the ſurname of Pius, which, though it was afterwards proſtituted to many imperial monſters, was truely honourable to him, becauſe it was given by the unanimous conſent of his contemporaries, and confirmed to him by the impartial ſuffrage of poſterity.

161—The worthy emperor, Antoninus Pius, was ſucceeded by Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, uſually called the Philosopher, who was nothing inferior to him in every virtue. The reigns of theſe two excellent princes gave the Roman world above forty years of the felicity flowing from a government, whoſe only object was the good of the ſubjects; a period not to be equalled in the hiſtory of the Romans; and, indeed, not frequently occurring in that of any other people.

He was the author of many good laws, one of which directed, that ſhipwrecked merchandize ſhould belong entirely to the lawful owners,

* The names and poſitions of the towns, or ſtations, as given by Ptolemy, who wrote ſoon after the conqueſts of Urbicus, and the more copious enumeration of them, with the intermediate diſtances, compiled by Richard of Cirenceſter from antient Roman authorities, contain all the information we poſſeſs reſpecting this fartheſt acquiſition of the Romans in Britain.

without any interference of the officers of the exchequer: and he ordered, that thoſe who were guilty of plundering wrecks ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed. Theſe laws he borrowed from the Rhodian code, which he made the ſtandard of his conduct in maritime affairs. When Eudæmon, a merchant of Nicomedia, complained to him, that, after ſuffering ſhipwreck, he had been plundered in the Cyclades by the imperial officers, he replied, that he indeed was lord of the earth, but that the ſea was governed by the Rhodian laws, and that his cauſe ſhould be determined by them.

The emperor Antoninus alſo attended carefully to the reparation of the roads; and thence it is exceedingly probable, that the work deſcribing all the roads with their ſtages, and intermediate diſtances, and alſo the maritime ſtations for veſſels, throughout the Roman empire, which is ſo well known to the learned, under the name of the *Itinerary of Antoninus*, and is ſo uſeful in illuſtrating antient geography, was compiled under his authority, if not under that of his predeceſſor, and has been occaſionally renewed, with alterations adapted to the times, though ſtill bearing the original name of Antoninus, juſt as almanacks, and other modern periodical compilations, retain the names of the original undertakers of them through all their renovations *.

From this Itinerary, and alſo from the more copious Itinerary of Britain, drawn up by a Roman commander in this iſland, and happily reſcued from oblivion by Richard of Cirenceſter, London appears to have been already the moſt important city in the iſland, as it is the center of a greater number of roads than any other.

In the reign of the emperor Marcus Antoninus, flouriſhed Ptolemy, a Grecian native of Egypt, the moſt celebrated aſtronomer and geographer of antiquity, and, after Hipparchus, whoſe works are loſt, the firſt who applied graduation to maps, and reduced geography to ſome degree of regularity: ſo that his works were deſervedly entitled to the preeminent rank they held for fourteen centuries as the ſtandard in thoſe ſciences. The copies of them abound in errors, as may be expected from the frequent tranſcription of a work much in requeſt, conſiſting almoſt entirely of tables of names and numbers. But, if examined with due care, and proper allowances, they will be found not ſo inaccurate or deſtitute of information, as ſome have rather raſhly pronounced them. The moſt conſpicuous of his errors are in the Brit-

* It was a part of the duty of a Roman general to have accurate ſurveys made of all the roads in the country under his command, with particular deſcriptions and maps. [*Veget. de re militari, L.* iii, *c.* 6.] As a thing done of courſe, it is only mentioned by hiſtorians, when an uncommonly great, or univerſal, ſurvey or reparation of the roads was made: and ſuch a great work was undertaken by Trajan; *Aurel.* [*Victor de Cæs.*—*Galen. L.* ix, *c.* 8] and it is probable, that the finiſhing hand was put to it in the reign of Marcus. [See *Jul. Capitol. in M. Anton.*] Another meaſurement of the provinces of the world was made by order of Theodoſius. [*Dicuil*, quoted in *Ware's Hibernia, p.* 101.]

iſh iſlands, with which he begins his geographical tables, and in India. In joining the ſeveral Britiſh ſurveys, which muſt have been in a great meaſure, if not wholely, deſtitute of celeſtial obſervations, he has made the north part of Britain project to the eaſt, inſtead of the north; and he has ranged the Weſtern iſlands eaſt and weſt, along the north ſhore of Ireland, inſtead of north and ſouth, along the weſt coaſt of the north part of Britain, the weſt being the true north point in them, as the eaſt is in his north part of the main land. Inſtead of delineating India as a triangular figure, projecting from the mouths of the Indus and the Ganges, he makes it almoſt a right line, running from weſt to eaſt, and but a little to the ſouthward of a line drawn between thoſe rivers. He had ſome information of the names of places beyond the Bay of Bengal, but exceſſively confuſed and erroneous; and he makes the Indian ocean a vaſt lake *, though he muſt have poſſeſſed the better information of Herodotus and Megaſthenes, ſanctioned by the correct judgement of Eratoſthenes †. The total ignorance of the antients reſpecting the northern parts of Europe, which no Grecian or Roman navigator, and perhaps no one from any of the Phœnician ports had ever viſited, is almoſt as little to be wondered at as their total ignorance of America ‡.

The geographical knowlege of the Roman ſubjects in Egypt appears to have advanced between the age of the author of the Periplus of the Erythræan ſea and that of Ptolemy. The later, I have juſt obſerved, had obtained the names of ſome places beyond India, and he had alſo the names of ſome of the Oriental iſlands with their poſitions, though exceſſively erroneous. Marinus, a geographer of Tyre, who wrote a little while before Ptolemy, and is frequently quoted by him, was acquainted with at leaſt the name of Praſum, a place on the African coaſt ſeveral degrees beyond Rhapta, the fartheſt place known to the author of the Periplus. Theſe circumſtances give reaſon to believe, that their commerce was alſo increaſing.

It is due to the antient commercial pre-eminence of the city of Arabia Felix, to obſerve, that, though it was reduced to the condition of a

* The notion of a vaſt continent, the ſouthern boundary of Ptolemy's great lake, was kept up, after voyages quite round the globe deſtroyed the belief of the lake, every iſland ſeen in a ſouthern latitude being ſuppoſed a part of the *Terra auſtralis*. Even in the eighteenth century, men of the firſt geographical abilities, maintained the *phyſical neceſſity* of a correſponding maſs of earth near the ſouth pole, to balance the great proportion of land in the northern hemiſphere. The ſuppoſed ſouthern continent has been gradually abridged in its extent by the diſcoveries of modern navigators; and, at length, it is totally annihilated by thoſe of Captain Cook.

† To theſe might be added the author of the Periplus of the Erythræan ſea, but that his age is diſputed.

‡ Egypt, which in the reign of Seſoſtris produced the very firſt geographical maps known in hiſtory, alſo in after ages produced four of the greateſt geographers of antiquity, Agatharchides, Eratoſthenes, the author of the Periplus of the Erythræan ſea, and Ptolemy. But our veneration for the wiſdom of Egypt muſt not make us forget, that theſe great men were all Greeks, and that Agatharchides, Eratoſthenes, and Ptolemy, acquired the moſt of their knowlege in the celebrated academy of Alexandria, founded and ſupported by the Grecian ſovereigns of Egypt.

village, and a mere watering place for ſhipping, in the time of the author of the Periplus of the Erythræan ſea, it had already ſo far recovered from the ruin brought upon it by the Romans, as to be again a trading emporium; and it is deſcribed under that character by Ptolemy.

The natives of India now extended their voyages beyond their former limits, and took an active ſhare in the trade with Egypt. As it appears probable from Agatharchides, and certain from the Periplus, that they traded to Arabia, probably from the moſt remote ages; ſo we know from Ptolemy [*L.* i, *c.* 17] that they now ſailed up the Red ſea as far as Egypt, where he converſed with ſome of them, who were from Timula, an emporium on the weſt ſide of India, called Symylla by the Greeks *.

166—The Parthians, in conſequence of an embaſſy to Chang-ti, emperor of China (who died a°. 88) had carried on a commercial intercourſe with that empire, of which (according to the Chineſe writers) they were ſo jealous, that they would never permit any foreigners to paſs through their territories to China. The Roman emperor, Marcus Antoninus, conſidering the demand for ſilk, which was produced in no other part of the world than China, and the exorbitant price of it in Rome, determined to ſend ambaſſadors to negotiate a more direct commercial intercourſe with that country than the ſubjects of Rome had yet been able to accompliſh. His ambaſſadors proceeded by the way of Egypt and India, arrived in China, and preſented ſome ivory, rhinoceros's horns, and pretious ſtones, to the emperor Ouon-ti, who, being, perhaps, informed of the general character of the Romans, received them very coolly. After this firſt known communication of any European government with that of China, the Romans began, according to the Chineſe hiſtorians, to have a more direct intercourſe with that empire †. But, if their intercourſe was by ſea, there is not the ſmalleſt hint of it in any Greek or Roman author now extant. It is more probable, that it was effected by caravans, who traverſed the continent of Aſia beyond the northern boundary of the Parthian empire; and perhaps the ſtation in 43° north latitude, noted by Ptolemy [*Aſia, tab.* vii] as a reſting place for the merchants who traveled to the Seres (as thoſe merchants may be preſumed to have been ſubjects of Rome) was eſtabliſhed on that occaſion: and caravans may alſo have traveled to China from the weſt coaſt of India.

* It was probably the port called Semylla in the Periplus, and noted as having only a coaſting trade. It now ſent veſſels to Egypt, and received Egyptian veſſels.

† We are indebted to the Chineſe hiſtorian, Ven-hien-tung Kao, and to the Oriental literature and reſearch of Mr. de Guignes, [*Reflexions ſur les liaiſons des Romains avec les Tartares et les Chinois*, in *Memoires de litterature*, *V.* xxxii, *p.* 355] for theſe facts reſpecting the embaſſy from Antoun, the king of the people of the Weſtern ocean. The reception of the Roman ambaſſadors at the Chineſe court obliges us to ſuppoſe, either that the Seres, who are ſaid to have ſent embaſſies to ſolicit the favour of Auguſtus, and other Roman emperors, and even of this ſame emperor Antoninus, were a people totally different from the Chineſe, or that the Roman writers ſometimes ſpoke *at random* of the diſtant countries from which they received embaſſies.

170—The Roman empire in Britain having been carried by the conquests of Lollius Urbicus in the north to a height which it never exceeded, but from which about this time it declined, never again to recover, it seems proper here to take a view of the principal Roman towns now in this island, which, according to the Itinerary of Antoninus, the geography of Ptolemy, and the valuable and curious geographical commentaries of Richard of Cirencester, were the following *.

DUROBROVÆ, S	now *Rof-chester* or *Rochester*.
DUROVERNUM or CANTIOPOLIS, B M, S	*Canterbury*.
RHUTUPIS, C, the station of that division of the Roman fleet, which guarded the North sea,	*Richburgh* near Sandwich.
NOVIOMAGUS, B M	some place in Surry.
CALEBA, B M	*Silchester* in Hampshire.
VINDOMUM, B M, S	uncertain.
CLAUSENTUM,	*Southampton*.
VENTA BELGARUM, B M, S	*Wint-chester*.
SORBIODUNUM, L	*Old Sarum*.
THERMÆ, or AQUÆ SOLIS, C	*Bath*.
DURINUM or DURNOVARIA, B M, S	*Dor-chester*.
ISCA DAMNONIORUM, B M, S	*Ex-ceſter*, or *Exeter*.
VENTA SILURUM, B M, S	*Caer-Went*.
ISCA SILURUM, C, the quarters of the second Augustan legion,	*Caer-Leion*.
MURIDUNUM, B M, S	*Caer-Marthen*.
SEGONTIUM, S	*Caer-Segont* near Carnarvon.
URICONIUM, B M	*Wreken-caſter*, or *Wroxeter*.
DEVA, C, the quarters of the twentieth victorious legion,	*Cheſter*.
CORINIUM, B M, L	*Ciren-ceſter*.
GLEVUM CLAUDIA, C	*Glo-ceſter*.
VERULAMIUM, M	*St. Albans*.
LUNDINUM, B M, C †	*London*.
CAMULODUNUM, C, the quarters of the twin Martian legion,	*Col-chester*.

* The British part of the Itinerary of Antoninus, has been illustrated by the labours of Talbot, Camden, Burton, Gale, Horseley, Stukeley, and the topographical historians of almost every shire. Even the incoherent and blundering catalogue of stations in Britain, ascribed to a monk of Ravenna, has been laboured upon by Horseley and Baxter. But no commentary has yet been *published* upon the more valuable Itinerary contained in the work of Richard.

† Lundinum was made a colony, with the name of Augusta, after the time of the historian Tacitus; but the exact time is unknown. See below A. D. 360, 368.

DURNONIACUS, I	probably the town on the Nen, called *Kair-Dorm*, and noted, as totally ruined, by Henry of Huntingdon, f. 171 b.
VENTA ICENORUM, B M, S	ſeems *Caſter* near Norwich.
CAMBORICUM, C	ſeems *Attleburgh* in Norfolk.
RAGÆ, or rather RATÆ, B M, S	*Leiceſter.*
LINDUM COLONIA, C	*Lind-coln*, or *Lincoln.*
ISURIUM, B M	*Auld-burgh* in York-ſhire.
CAMBODUNUM, L	*Slack* near Huddersfield.
CATARACTON, L	*Thornhaugh* at Catterick.
EBORACUM, C, afterwards M, the quarters of the ſixth victorious legion,	*York.*
COCCIUM, L	*Blackrode* in Lancaſhire.
MANCUNIUM,	*Manchеſter.*
LUGUBALLIUM, L	*Car-lile.*
CURIA OTADINORUM, B M	*Melros* on the Tweed.
BREMENIUM, S	probably *Riſingham* on the Reed.
TRIMONTIUM,	perhaps *Middleby* in Anandale.
LUCOPIBIA, B M	ſome place on the eaſt ſide of Wigton bay *.
VANDUARA,	perhaps *Paſley.*
VICTORIA, L	perhaps *the ruins* at the mouth of the Earn; perhaps *Abernethy.*
ORREA, B M	*Scone*, or near it.
DEVANA, B M	*Aber-deen.*
PTOROTON, L	perhaps the old caſtle of *Nairn*, now overwhelmed by the ſea; perhaps *Inverneſs.*
ALCLUITH (afterwards THEODOSIA, and L)	*Dunbarton.*

Beſides Rhutupis, noted as a ſtation for the government veſſels, and Lundinum, a conſiderable trading port, there were ſeveral other ports of ſome note, viz.

* Camden, the prince of Britiſh geographers, poſſeſſed no ſurveys, and had very little topographical information, of the northern parts of the iſland; and he has been obliged to depend too often upon a ſuppoſed reſemblance of names. Thence the firſt part of the name of Lucopibia is ſuppoſed to be the Greek word λευκος white (as if Britiſh towns could have Greek names) and to be the ſame with the firſt part of the name of White-hern; and, in conſequence of this imaginary identity he is obliged to remove Lucopibia from the *eaſt* ſide of Wigton bay, where Ptolemy placed it, to the *weſt* ſide. Trimontium is in like manner removed from the weſt, to the eaſt, ſide of the country, becauſe a hill near Melros has three ſummits. As Camden has been implicitly followed by moſt of our great antiquaries, to whom increaſing knowlege offered better lights, I have thought it neceſſary in theſe two inſtances to hint my reaſons for preſuming to differ from them.

PORTUS FELIX, the proſperous harbour, or bay of the Gabrantuiki,	ſeems *Filey bay* in York-ſhire, near which is *Flix-town*, apparently preſerving the Roman name.
DUBRÆ,	*Dover*.
PORTUS LEMANUS,	apparently *Lime*, though now inland.
NEW HARBOUR, ſeemingly afterwards called ANDERIDA,	*Pevenſey* in Suſſex.
PORTUS ADURNI,	the mouth of the *Adur* in Suſſex.
MAGNUS PORTUS, or Great harbour,	*Port-cheſter*.
MENAPIA, the port for Ireland,	*St. Davids*.
PORTUS SETANTIORUM, or SISTUNTIORUM,	on the coaſt of Lancaſhire;

beſides ſome noted only as ferrying places.

There were alſo about one hundred and forty more towns or places, the names of which are mentioned in geographical liſts and itineraries; but we know nothing further of their condition. Some of them undoubtedly were conſiderable, and others appear to have been noted merely as being ſtages or reſting places for the army or travelers, as ſingle inns appear along with towns in modern books of the roads.

Of the above towns the two marked M were *Municipia*. In virtue of that diſtinction they were inveſted with the privilege of enacting laws for the regulation of their own affairs, and they were exempted from being ſubject to thoſe of the empire. The inhabitants, without being diveſted of the citizenſhip of their native towns, were alſo citizens of Rome.

The ten marked C were *Colonies*. Towns of this claſs were occupied by Romans, and moſtly by the legionary ſoldiers, who received portions of land in the neighbourhood as a reward for their ſervices, and as an encouragement to be vigilant in ſuppreſſing any attempts of the natives to recover their liberty. Their conſtitutions, their courts of juſtice, and all their offices were copied from Rome; and the inhabitants were Roman citizens, and governed by Roman laws.

The ten marked L were inveſted with *Latian privileges*. They were exempted from the ordinary juriſdiction of the prætor, and were permitted to chuſe their magiſtrates among themſelves; and thoſe magiſtrates were inveſted with the rank and privileges of Roman citizens.

The twelve *Stipendiary* towns marked S were governed by officers deputed by the prætor *.

B M affixed to a town mark it as the metropolis of a Britiſh nation.

Several towns in Ireland were now known to geographers, which infers, that there was ſome trading intercourſe with that iſland, though

* In this brief account of the nature of *municipia*, &c. I have followed Mr. Whitaker, [*Hiſt. of Manchester, B.* i, *c.* 8] who may be conſulted for the authorities.

the nature of it is unknown. The following ſeem to have been the moſt conſiderable of them.

NAGNATA, diſtinguiſhed by Ptolemy as a famous town, } on the weſt coaſt.
MANAPIA, oppoſite to, and probably a colony from, Menapia in Britain. }
EBLANA, *Dublin.*

and ſeven inland towns, noted by Ptolemy, and by Richard, who has alſo ſeveral others unknown to Ptolemy.

Some commotions broke out in Britain; and Calphurnius Agricola was ſent to ſuppreſs them: but of his ſucceſs the Roman writers are entirely ſilent *. [*Capitolini M. Ant. Philos.*]

175—The Romans being again threatened with war by the Britons, or, to ſpeak more correctly, the Caledonians, the emperor ſent over a large body of Iazygian horſemen to reinforce his legions.

183—The war with the Britons of Caledonia was the moſt formidable of all thoſe in which the Romans were now engaged. The Caledonians, not ſatisfied with the recovery of that part of their own country, which had for ſome years been a Roman province under the name of Veſpaſiana, broke down the wall erected by Lollius Urbicus, ravaged the country, ſlew the Roman general, and cut his army in pieces. Marcellus, the next Roman commander, repulſed them with ſome loſs: but the Romans never recovered their loſt province of Veſpaſiana. This, if I miſtake not, is the very firſt province of their empire, from which the Romans were driven out by the natives †. [*Dion. Caſſ. L.* lxxii.—*Lamprid. in Commod.*]

193—It is perhaps rather beneath the dignity of commercial hiſtory to relate, that the ruffians of the prætorian guard, whoſe duty it was to defend the perſon of the emperor, after murdering Pertinax, becauſe he was too virtuous to tolerate their abuſes, had the inſolence to proclaim an auction of the imperial title to the higheſt bidder. Didius Julian became the purchaſer at the price of above two hundred pounds ſterling to each man, the total ſum being between three and four millions ſterling; probably the largeſt purchaſe ever made by an individual. In return for ſuch an enormous ſum of money he enjoyed the

* Cicero obſerves, that it was a common practice with the Roman writers to paſs over their defeats in ſilence. [*Orat. pro lege Manil.*]

† Richard of Cirenceſter [*p.* 52] dates the expulſion of the Romans from Veſpaſiana in the year of the world 4170 or A. D. 170; and the ſhort hints we have of two wars in Britain during the reign of Antoninus the Philoſopher favour his chronology. However, as in adapting the Roman chronology to the years of the world he has neglected the names of the conſuls, and as in events of known date he ſometimes differs a few years from the truth, I would not be poſitive, that the expulſion from that part of the country took place ſo early. At any rate we are certain, that it was now (183) entirely delivered from the Roman yoke.

ignominious and dangerous elevation ſixty-ſix days, and then was executed as a criminal in his own palace.

198—The Romans began now to employ their money, the ſinews of war as well as of trade, in purchaſing from the braver *barbarians*, as their arrogance ſtiled all the free nations in the world, a temporary forbearance of hoſtilities, thereby enabling, as well as alluring, them to renew their invaſions with augmented vigour: and henceforth this humiliating mode of making peace was often reſorted to by the maſters of the world. Such a tribute was now paid by Lupus, the governor of the north part of Roman Britain, to the Caledonians. [*Digeſt. L.* xxviii, *tit.* 6.]

208—Severus, now ſole maſter of the Roman empire, could not reſt ſatisfied with having conquered three rival emperors, deſtroyed the uncommonly ſtrong and commercial city of Byzantium, and ſubdued ſeveral eaſtern nations, unleſs by the total conqueſt of Britain he could add to his other titles that of *Britannicus*. He therefore tranſported himſelf and his two ſons with a prodigious army into Britain, and next year marched againſt the Caledonians and Mæatæ, who wiſely avoided coming to a pitched battle, but led him into ſo many ſnares and difficulties, that fifty, or according to others ſeventy, thouſand of his men periſhed in ambuſcades and ſkirmiſhes, and by the multiplied hardſhips of their march to ſome part of the country, which the writers of that age call the extremity of Britain. The Caledonians, however, to get rid of the enemy, conſented to yield to him ſome part, either of their own country, or of their conqueſts. Severus thereupon returned to Eboracum (*York*), now apparently the chief city of Britain, and there fixed his reſidence, while his army was employed in building a new wall acroſs the iſland (a°. 210).

The Caledonians ſoon after reſumed the poſſeſſion of the diſtrict, which had been extorted from them; whereupon Severus was ſo provoked, that he ordered Baſſianus Antoninus, his oldeſt ſon, to march into their country, and to ſlaughter every man, woman, and child in it. But the emperor dying ſoon after, his ſon, more intent upon deſtroying his hated brother than the Caledonians, purchaſed a peace from them with the reſignation of the lands in diſpute. Bremenium (apparently *Riſingham* in Northumberland) on the eaſt, and Blatum Bulgium, twelve * miles beyond Luguballium (*Carlile*) on the weſt, ſide of the country, appear to have been fixed upon on this occaſion as the frontier poſts of the Roman empire in this iſland.

It is very ſurpriſing, that the knowlege of the Romans concerning Britain ſeems to have diminiſhed in proportion as their opportunities of knowing it increaſed. Although it was aſſuredly known to be an iſland

* Twenty-four, according to ſome copies; which add to the difficulties attending one of the obſcureſt parts of the Itinerary, ſo far as it concerns Britain.

ever ſince the diſcoveries of Pytheas; though Ariſtotle, or the author of the book upon the world aſcribed to him, Cæſar, who was a man of ſcience as well as a ſoldier, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo a profeſſed geographer, Pliny, &c. had expreſsly and repeatedly called it an iſland; though Tacitus had ſaid, that his father-in-law's fleet had confirmed (what they pretended was doubtful) its being an iſland; and though Ptolemy the geographer, who flouriſhed only about forty years before the invaſion of Severus, had deſcribed the whole circuit of the coaſt, and alſo a number of iſlands beyond it; we are informed by Dion Caſſius, that a queſtion, whether the north part of it was joined to the continent, was now agitated, and became a frequent ſubject of diſquiſition, among their philoſophers, who in the thick miſt of their ignorance wrote many volumes on both ſides of the queſtion, which have all had the good fortune to ſink into the quiet grave of due oblivion. Even after the expedition of Severus had in ſome meaſure cleared up this almoſt incredible doubt, it was believed in Rome, that the unconquered part of the iſland, which furniſhed ſuch armies as could baffle the moſt ſtrenuous exertions of the conquerors of the world, muſt be more extenſive than the part ſubject to them; though it was in truth not equal to one third of it in extent, and ſtill more inferior to it in fertility and population. Can we believe from theſe ſymptoms of a retrogradation of knowlege among the Romans, that the works of the celebrated authors above mentioned were unknown to them, or are we to ſuppoſe, that their government, for ſome reaſons of ſtate, thought proper to ſpread a veil of ignorance and myſtery over the geography of the UNCONQUERABLE ISLAND?

211—It is worthy of obſervation, that the great abundance of fiſh, which ſwarmed on the northern ſhores of Britain, was known to Dion Caſſius, who alſo remarks the neglect of that bleſſing by the natives, who, perhaps from motives of ſuperſtition, even abſtained from taſting fiſh. This is the earlieſt notice of the ſuperior advantage, which Scotland might in all ages have enjoyed in carrying on a moſt extenſive fiſhery. But Solinus who lived at the ſame time with, or immediately after, Dion *, ſays, that the people of the Hæbudes (*Weſtern iſlands of Scotland*) derived a principal part of their ſubſiſtence from fiſhing. Both accounts may be true: the fiſhery might be neglected on the eaſt coaſt, which was beſt known to the Romans; and it might be attended to by the natives of the weſt coaſt and the iſlands.

214—The Romans again had recourſe to the wretched expedient of purchaſing treaties of peace; and the Catti, Alemanni, and other nations of Germany, who had much valour and little money, were induced by all-powerful gold to permit the Roman emperor to retire from

* See Dodwell on the æra of Iſidorus Characenus, ap. *Hudſoni Geograph. vet. Græc.*

their country, and to make peace with him. Such tributes ſoon exhauſted his ill-managed treaſury; and he was driven to the tyrannical ſhift of creating a fictitious kind of money, made of gilded copper and lead plated with ſilver, which, as he could not pay his allies in ſuch coin, he compelled his unhappy ſubjects to receive and circulate among themſelves. [*Dion. Caſſ. L.* lxxvii.]

216—The ſanguinary monſter, to whoſe frantic and arbitrary commands the many millions of people compoſing the Roman empire tamely ſubmitted the diſpoſal of their lives and fortunes, thought proper to amuſe himſelf with the ſpectacle of a general maſſacre of the citizens and ſtrangers in Alexandria, whereby he very nearly depopulated that hitherto flouriſhing city, almoſt the only ſeat of commerce within the graſp of their power, which had been preſerved from deſtruction by the Romans.

The ruin of almoſt every commercial ſtate, which fell under the dominion of Rome, neceſſarily reduces the materials for commercial hiſtory in theſe ages to a very narrow compaſs, and in a manner obliges me, in order to preſerve ſome degree of chronological connection, to deviate a little into the general hiſtory of our own iſland, deſtined to make ſo important a figure in the commercial hiſtory of ſucceeding ages.

230—The emperor Alexander Severus made ſome regulations in the cuſtoms, which, being ſtill extant, ſhew that the Oriental trade was then nearly in the ſame ſtate as it is deſcribed by the author of the Periplus of the Erythræan ſea. In order to induce merchants to reſort to Rome, he favoured them with ſeveral immunities. He reduced the rate of intereſt to four per cent ('ad trientes penſiones'). And he encouraged literature and learned men.

272—The commercial republic of Palmyra, after maintaining its independence for ages, had been ſwallowed up in the vaſtneſs of the Roman empire. The merchants of Palmyra being found uſeful as competitors with thoſe of Alexandria for conveying the rich merchandize of the eaſt to Rome, their commerce was not cruſhed, but appears even to have increaſed during their ſubjection to Rome. In the confuſions, which now announced the approaching downfall of the Roman empire, the citizens of Palmyra, under the ſovereignty of Odenathus and his heroic widow Zenobia, aſpired to conqueſt and dominion, and actually formed a new empire conſiſting of moſt of the Aſiatic provinces and Egypt, all which they had rent from the dominions of Rome. But merchants never proſper as conquerors; nor do the imaginary advantages of victory by any means compenſate the real calamities of even a ſucceſsful war, which at the expenſe of the blood and treaſure of the community only elevates individuals to a ſupremacy over their fellow

citizens, and often to be their ſcourge, while the ſplendid deluſion of their conqueſts ſeduces their minds, and abſtracts their capitals from their proper objects of laudable commercial activity; whereas the whole community is overwhelmed in irretrievable ruin upon a reverſe of fortune. Such was the fate of the illuſtrious commercial republic of Carthage; and ſuch was the more ſudden fate of Palmyra: for Aurelian, who during a ſhort reign revived the military ſuperiority of Rome, eager to wipe off the diſgrace of a captive emperor languiſhing in Perſian chains, and of the fineſt provinces of the empire being withheld from Rome by a woman, led his forces into the Eaſt, and ſpeedily recovered the provinces which formed the Palmyrene empire. The city of Palmyra, after a reſiſtance, which does great honour to the military ſcience of its defenders, who aſſailed the Romans with every engine then known in the art of war, ſome of which darted artificial fire, being betrayed by their mercenary allies, ſurrendered to the Roman emperor, who was ſo merciful as only to plunder the inhabitants of all their property, including, beſides gold and ſilver, great ſtores of jewels, ſilk, and other rich merchandize of Arabia and India (a°. 273).

The citizens of Palmyra having made an attempt to recover their liberty, their city was deſtroyed, and all the people found in it, not excepting helpleſs age and infancy, were maſſacred by Aurelian; who ſoon after, regreting the loſs of the trade of Palmyra, gave permiſſion to ſome few of the inhabitants, who had eſcaped the general ſlaughter, to rebuild their city, and reſtore their commerce. But commerce does not ſtart into exiſtence at the command of a tyrant, though any ſavage, inveſted with power, may deſtroy in one day the accumulated labours of ages of ſcience and induſtry. The deſolation of Palmyra was complete and irretrievable: and, though it was afterwards made the ſtation of a band of Roman ſoldiers, and even fortified and ſupplied with water by the emperor Juſtinian, it has in all ſucceeding ages been only the retreat of a few miſerable families, whoſe wretched huts deform the ſtill-ſplendid remains of antient magnificence.

Firmus, an opulent merchant of Egypt, was largely concerned in trade with India, with the Blemyes an Ethiopian nation, and with the Saracens of Arabia, and ſeems to have alſo carried on very extenſive manufactures of paper and glue, ſince he boaſted, that he could maintain an army with the produce of thoſe articles. Unfortunately for himſelf he preferred the perilous ſituation of a pretender to ſovereign power to the calm felicity of a proſperous merchant. Perſuading the people of Egypt, that he was able, by his wealth and his foreign connections, to deliver them from the dominion of Rome, he aſſumed the title of emperor, ſtiled himſelf the ally of Zenobia, made himſelf maſter of Alexandria, and prevented the uſual ſupplies of corn from being

ſhipped for Rome. His deſtruction was the conſequence of his miſtaken ambition *.

282—The emperor Probus is ſaid to have granted permiſſion to the people of Gaul and Pannonia, and alſo, according to Vopiſcus, to the Britons, to cultivate vines and make wine, which had been prohibited by a decree of Domitian.

284—The Perſians, who had recovered the ſovereignty of their country from the Parthians, were no leſs careful than they had been to exclude the Romans from a participation in the trade with Serica, or China. There was moreover at this time a war between the two empires; and the Romans, finding the intercourſe with China by the way of India too tedious and expenſive, had allowed the trade to fall off almoſt to nothing. For theſe reaſons a ſecond embaſſy was diſpatched from Rome to China †; and probably ſome new arrangements were then ſettled, which may have produced the caravan trade, whereof the route by the way of the Stone tower will be noticed under the year 353.

285—The Franks and other German nations, ſituated near the mouth of the Rhine, uſed to infeſt the adjacent coaſts with piratical incurſions. In order to repreſs thoſe ſea rovers, the emperor Maximian built a fleet of ſhips, the command of which he gave to Carauſius, an officer of great experience in naval and military affairs, appointing Geſſoriacum (*Boulogne*) in Gaul for their principal ſtation. The new admiral was ſoon accuſed of retaining for himſelf the prizes he retook, inſtead of delivering them to the owners, or to the imperial treaſury; and orders were already given to put him to death. But Carauſius, having the people in the fleet ſtrongly attached to him, prevented his fate by ſailing over to Britain, where he perſuaded the military forces alſo to join his ſtandard, and aſſumed the title of emperor (a°. 286), his dominions

* As an inſtance of the opulence and luxury of Firmus, it is ſaid that he had ſquares of glaſs fixed with bitumen in his houſe; and, though Vopiſcus, the author who mentions the circumſtance, [*Vita Firmi, c.* 3] has not a word of windows, this has been ſuppoſed the earlieſt inſtance of windows furniſhed with glaſs. However, Lactantius, an author contemporary with Firmus, ſpeaks of glaſs in a manner that infers, that it and the more antient thin plates of an almoſt-tranſparent kind of ſtone were both uſed in windows in his time; 'per 'feneſtras lucente vitro aut ſpeculari lapide.' [*De opificio Dei, c.* 5.]

Pliny, who deſcribes the manufacture and the various uſes of glaſs, [*L.* xxxvi, *c.* 26] appears to have been ignorant of the moſt valuable application of it in admitting the light into, and excluding the cold and the rain from, our houſes. And Polydore Vergil, in his compilation upon Inventions, by merely tranſcribing the moſt common of the antient authors, gives room to ſuppoſe him equally ignorant of the uſe of window glaſs, though common in moſt parts of Europe in his time.

In the *Philoſophical tranſactions*, *V.* l, *part* 2, and *V.* lii, *part* 1, there are two papers by Mr. Nixon on the uſe of plate glaſs among the antients, occaſioned by a piece of plate glaſs being found in the ruins of Herculaneum, which was overwhelmed by the lava from Mount Veſuvius in the year 79.

Mr. Valois [*Hiſt. de l'acad. des inſcript. V.* i] ſuppoſes the *lapis ſpecularis* of the antients the ſame with the modern talc of Ruſſia. This later is a foſſile ſubſtance called marienglas: it ſplits into laminæ like ſheets of paper, quite tranſparent, and is uſed for windows and lanterns all over Ruſſia, having this advantage over glaſs, that it is not liable to break by the exploſion of cannon.

† For the knowlege of the ſecond embaſſy, as well as the firſt, we are indebted to the Chineſe hiſtorians and Mr. de Guignes. See above, p. 194.

comprehending the Roman part of Britain, with a conſiderable diſtrict on the oppoſite coaſt of Gaul.

Carauſius knew, that a naval force, which had conferred the ſovereignty upon him, could alone maintain him in it againſt the power of the Roman emperors. He therefor beſtowed the greateſt attention on that moſt important object: and he encouraged foreign ſeamen and artiſts of every deſcription to reſort to his dominions. A fleet, which Maximian, after long preparation, had fitted out againſt him, was completely defeated by his experienced ſeamen; and the joint emperors of Rome found themſelves under the neceſſity of acknowleging the independent ſovereignty of the Britiſh emperor (a°. 289).

Britain ſeems to have flouriſhed under the government of Carauſius. The general opulence, and the flouriſhing ſtate of the arts are atteſted by the number and elegance of his coins, three hundred of which, all different, have been publiſhed by his biographer, Doctor Stukely. He firſt repelled, and then lived in friendſhip with, the Caledonians. His fleets for ſeveral years rode triumphant in the narrow ſeas, and even gave laws to the Atlantic ocean as far as the African ſhore: and now for the firſt time BRITANNIA RULED THE WAVES.

The Roman emperors could not ſit down contented with the deprivation of Britain, the value of which they ſeem to have been more ſenſible of from the want of it. In order to depoſe Carauſius, a great naval and military force was collected under the command of Conſtantius Cæſar, whoſe firſt attempt was againſt Geſſoriacum, which after an obſtinate defence fell into his hands, together with a part of the fleet (a°. 292).

294—While the Romans were carrying on their preparations for invading the Britiſh emperor, he was treacherouſly murdered by Alectus, one of his officers, who immediately uſurped the dangerous pre-eminence, and, with very inferior talents, expoſed himſelf to be the firſt object of the vengeance of the Roman empire.

296—At length Conſtantius put to ſea with the fleet, which he had been about four years * employed in getting ready; and the wonderful courage of the Romans, who ventured out with a ſide wind, and in weather ſomewhat boiſterous, was thought worthy of panegyrical celebration. They ſurely had no Phœnician or Alexandrian navigators in their fleet. Conſtantius effected his landing in two diviſions; and Alectus, hated and deſerted by his involuntary ſubjects, who were moreover haraſſed with a long march from London, was ſlain in battle on the ſouth coaſt near the iſle of Wight.

* Theſe ſeveral Roman fleets, and the time employed in preparing them, may be compared with thoſe, which the Romans, when maſters of only the peninſular part of Italy, are ſaid to have fitted out completely in a few days, in the very infancy of their naval undertakings, and without the aſſiſtance of any people experienced in maritime affairs. See the judicious remark of Gibbon, *Vol. vi, p. 179. Note, ed. 1792.*

A body of Franks, who had eſcaped, or withdrawn, from the battle, haſtened to London, intending to pillage it, and then to retreat to their own country with the plunder by ſeizing the veſſels in the Thames. But a part of the Roman fleet, which had been driven into the river, came very opportunely to protect the city, and drove off the intended plunderers with great ſlaughter.

Thus a ſingle battle, ſimilar in ſeveral of its circumſtances, and in its deciſive conſequence, to that which was fought near the ſame place between Harold king of England and William duke of Normandy ſeven hundred and ſeventy years afterwards, reunited the Britiſh dominions of Carauſius to the Roman empire, after a ſeparation of about ten years.

It is remarked by Eumenius in his panegyric upon Conſtantius, that Britain produced ſuch abundance of corn, that it was ſufficient to ſupply not only bread, but alſo a drink which was comparable to wine *. He alſo remarks the innumerable multitude of tame animals, ſome with their udders diſtended with milk, and others loaded with fleeces of wool. From him alſo we learn, that the artificers of Britain in the reign of Carauſius were eſteemed excellent in their profeſſions, and were therefor employed by Conſtantius, in preference to thoſe on the continent, in rebuilding the city of Auguſtodunum in Gaul.

At the ſame time Diocletian re-annexed Egypt to the empire, and we may believe, that the commerce of that country with India muſt have ſuffered upon the occaſion; for he almoſt depopulated Alexandria, which ſtood a ſiege of eight months; and he totally deſtroyed Coptos, the town at which the Oriental goods were unloaded from the backs of the camels, and ſhipped in boats on the Nile for Alexandria.

The Egyptian expedition of Diocletian furniſhes the earlieſt notice of the pretended ſcience of alchymy. He found in Egypt books, ſaid to be antient, which profeſſed to teach the wonderful art of making gold and ſilver. The emperor, who appears to have formed a very proper judgement of the deluſion and its dangerous conſequence, committed the whole of them to the flames.

306—The emperor Conſtantius, having made an expedition againſt the Caledonians, took up his reſidence, and ſoon after died, in the imperial palace at Eboracum (*York*), which was thus a ſecond time diſtinguiſhed by the reſidence, death, and deification of a Roman emperor. His ſon Conſtantine there alſo took upon him the title of emperor as colleague with Galerius. He afterwards became ſole emperor, made Chriſtianity the eſtabliſhed religion of the Roman empire, and removed the ſeat of the imperial government from Rome to Conſtantinople.

314—York, London, and Colcheſter, were apparently the principal cities

* 'Segetum tanta fæcunditas, ut muneribus utriſque ſufficiat, et Cereris et Liberi.'

of Roman Britain at this time: for we find three biſhops taking their titles from them at the council, or ſynod, of biſhops held at Arelatè in Gaul. On this, as on former occaſions, York (or Eboracum) appears to have had the firſt rank among the Roman-Britiſh cities, and London had, probably by means of its advantageous ſituation for trade, now riſen to the ſecond rank, Colcheſter, which ſeems to have been once the moſt conſiderable, as the earlieſt Roman colony, having ſunk to the third place *.

323—The fleets collected by Conſtantine and Licinius, when they contended for the monarchy of the Roman world, furniſh a pretty juſt comparative eſtimate of the opulence, commerce, and ſhipping, of the ſeveral countries bordering on the Mediterranean ſea at this time. Conſtantine, emperor of the Weſt, appears to have got no ſhips of war from Italy. The fleets appointed by the policy of Auguſtus to be permanent and ſtationary at Miſenum and Ravenna, had gone to ruin for want of commerce to ſupport and man them. His force conſiſted of only two hundred ſmall warlike veſſels, furniſhed by Greece, which, according to Zoſimus, carried only thirty oars each, and above two thouſand tranſports, of the ſize of which we have no information. Licinius, the ſovereign of the Eaſt, iſſued his orders to his ſubjects to provide veſſels proper for war; and they amounted to three hundred and fifty, as enumerated by Zoſimus, viz. eighty *triremes* furniſhed by Egypt, eighty by Phœnicia, ſixty by Ionia and Doria, thirty by Cyprus, twenty by Caria, thirty by Bithynia, and fifty by Africa. Though theſe ſeem to be all ranked as *triremes*, yet from a ſubſequent paſſage of Zoſimus it appears, that ſome of them were only veſſels of fifty oars in ſingle tires. [*Zoſim. L.* ii, *pp.* 94, 95, 98, *ed. Oxon.* 1679.] *Quinqueremes* and other larger ſhips were now unknown; and ſoon after this time they were almoſt forgotten among the Romans. [*Veget. L.* iv, *c.* 37.]

If from this view of the naval power of the Mediterranean countries we turn the ſlighteſt glance to their proſperous ſtate, before the Roman empire aroſe, what a prodigious difference ſhall we find! Phœnicia alone, when even reduced to a province of Perſia, furniſhed three hun-

* In the liſt of eccleſiaſtics, who attended the ſynod of Arelatè, the three Britiſh biſhops are placed after the eight biſhops of Gaul, and before the one biſhop and ſeveral preſbyters of Spain, as follows.

Eborius epiſcopus, de civitate Eboracenſi, provincia Britannia.

Reſtitutus epiſcopus, de civitate Londinenſi, provincia ſupraſcripta.

Adelfius epiſcopus, de civitate Colonia Londinenſium.

The laſt word is erroneouſly written. It ought to be Camulodunenſium (*the inhabitants of Colcheſter*); or perhaps Lindenſium (*the inhabitants of Lincoln*); and the former ſeems the moſt probable. The corrupted name has no reſemblance to any other of the Roman colonies. [*Uſſerii Britann. eccleſ. antiq. pp.* 98, 195 *and* 60, *ed.* 1639.—*Spelman Concil. Britann. p.* 42, *ed.* 1639.]

The critics in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory differ widely in the date of this ſynod. The profound reſearches and erudition of the two authors, I have quoted, warrant me in following them in what appears to be the earlieſt genuine notice of Britiſh biſhops, as denoting the pre-eminence of Britiſh cities.

dred warlike ſhips; about one quarter of the armada, with which Xerxes invaded Greece. The iſland of Samos, without drawing any from its own fleet, could *ſpare* forty triremes as a gratuitous aſſiſtance to Cambyſes. But now the fleets of both the rival emperors, who had the abſolute command of the wealth of the Roman world, though they had been joined together, were far from being equal to ſome of thoſe, which were equipped by the ſingle city of Athens, when in its free and flouriſhing ſtate: nor have we any reaſon to believe that the inferiority in number was compenſated by any improvement, either in the ſize or force of the veſſels.

324-334 *—The imperial reſidence and ſeat of the Roman government, which for about forty years had fluctuated between Rome, Mediolanum (*Milan*), and Nicomedia (*Comidia*), was finally fixed by Conſtantine at Byzantium, which thenceforth obtained the name of Conſtantinopolis. It is almoſt unneceſſary to add, that the favoured capital, though it had repeatedly been beſieged and ruined, ſoon grew up to be a large and beautiful city.

Before the invention of the compaſs rendered the moſt diſtant parts of the Ocean pervious to the ſkilful navigator, no ſpot in the weſtern world could be more happily choſen for the capital of a great commercial people than that, which was choſen by Conſtantine for the capital of a military government. Situated on a peninſula projecting into the narrow channel, which divides Europe from Aſia, and the Mediterranean from the Euxine ſea, it invited, and could almoſt command, the trade of every country bordering on the Mediterranean. A branch from the main channel, of ſeven miles in length, and only five hundred yards in breadth at the entrance, formed its harbour, and had water ſufficient to enable large ſhips to lay their ſides to the quays: and beſides affording ſuch convenience for ſhipping, it moreover fed and enriched the inhabitants with innumerable annual ſholes of a kind of fiſh called pelamides (or tunnies), the copious captures of which had for many ages enriched the Byzantines.

It is well known to every reader of hiſtory, that the new arrangements, which took place in conſequence of the removal of the imperial reſidence, accelerated the fall of the weſtern diviſion of the declining empire of Rome: but then it may with juſtice be called the principal ſupport of the eaſtern empire.

306-337—Since the reign of Severus the Roman part of Britain had been divided into two provinces, SUPERIOR and INFERIOR. The further

* The building and dedication of Conſtantinople, ſo important in the hiſtory of the empire, cannot be reduced to certain chronology, though they have employed the acute inveſtigations of ſeveral hiſtorical critics. In ſuch an uncertainty I may content myſelf with following the learned and indefatigable Gibbon, who dates the firſt deſign of the new capital in 324, and the completion of it about ten years after.

diviſion into four provinces is believed to have taken place in the reign of Conſtantine; and they were as follows. BRITANNIA PRIMA comprehended the country ſouth of the Thameſis (*Thames*) and the Sabrina (*Severn*); and Rhutupis (*Richburgh* in Kent) was the capital. BRITANNIA SECUNDA was bounded by the Sabrina and the Deva (*Dee*) on the eaſt, and on the other ſides by the Iriſh ſea, Iſca Silurum (*Caerleion*) being the capital. FLAVIA CÆSARIENSIS * was bounded on the ſouth by the Thameſis; on the weſt by the Sabrina, the Deva, and the Iriſh ſea; on the north by the Seteia (*Merſea*), the Danus (*Don*), and the Abus (*Humber*); and on the eaſt by the German ſea. The capital is not certainly known, but may be preſumed to have been the antient colony of Camulodunum (*Colcheſter*), or perhaps rather the now more flouriſhing city of Lundinum (*London*). MAXIMA † comprehended all the remaining part of the conquered country, which, while the Romans were able to preſerve the limits fixed by the treaty between the emperor Antoninus Baſſianus (or Caracalla) and the Caledonians, ſeems to have extended as far north as the Cheviot hills and the range of mountains dividing Galloway (in its largeſt extent) from Tiviotdale, Tweeddale, and Clydeſdale. Eboracum (*York*) was the capital of this province, and, at leaſt occaſionally, of the whole of the Roman dominions in Britain: and all theſe capital cities were Roman colonies. [*Sexti Rufi Breviarium.—Ric. Corin. L.* i, *c.* 6.]

About this time the Romans, perhaps dropping the uſe of their own money of account called *ſeſtertium*, and of the Greek or Oriental talent, ſeem to have reckoned their large ſums by pounds of gold; at leaſt we find the ſalaries of their great officers of ſtate, biſhops, &c. ſo reckoned ‡.

The Roman pound of gold, which may be reckoned equal to forty pounds of our modern ſterling money, was exchanged at this time for fourteen pounds eight ounces of ſilver.

About 345—From the circumſtance of an embaſſy being ſent by the emperor Conſtantius to the king of the Homerites, (formerly called Sabæans) in order to convert him to the Chriſtian religion, and probably alſo to engage him to haraſs the coaſt of Perſia with naval invaſions §, we learn that that king now extended his ſway over all the ſouth coaſt of Arabia, which the Greeks called the *Great Arabia* and the *Happy*

* Apparently ſo called from the prænomen of *Flavius*, aſſumed by Conſtantine, and after him by many of the ſucceeding emperors.

† Perhaps ſo called, as being erroneouſly ſuppoſed the largeſt of the whole (whereas it was not near ſo extenſive as Flavia); or as pretending that the unconquered country was a part of it.

‡ Probably the numeration of money by pounds, which became general among all the nations of Europe, was copied from them; but the other nations, being leſs opulent, counted pounds of *ſilver* inſtead of pounds of gold.

§ That the Roman emperors kept up alliances with the Homerites and the Axumites, a people on the weſt coaſt of the Red ſea, in the year 356, and alſo in the reigns of Juſtin and Juſtinian, appears from an order concerning the expenſes of thoſe who were ſent to them, from Nonnoſus, ambaſſador to Axuma, [*ap. Photii Bibliothec. cod.* iii] and from Procopius, [*Perſic. L.* i, *c.* 19, 20.]

Arabia; and that one of his ſea ports, ſituated in the diſtrict of Adané on the Ocean, was called the *Roman emporium* *, and another, at the mouth of the Perſian gulf, the *Perſian emporium*, from the ſubjects of the Roman and Perſian empires trading to them. Among the preſents ſent by the Roman emperor to the king of the Homerites there were two hundred horſes of the nobleſt breed of Cappadocia, conveyed in veſſels conſtructed for the purpoſe †. [*Philoſtorgii Hiſt. eccles. L.* iii, *c.* 4.]

353—It was cuſtomary now (and how long before we know not) to hold an annual fair about the beginning of September at Batnæ, a town of Macedonian origin, lying eaſt from Antioch, and near the banks of the Euphrates. It was attended by great multitudes, for the purpoſe of dealing with the opulent merchants of the place, and others aſſembled from all quarters, in goods brought from India and other countries by land and by water ‡, as we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus, [*L.* xiv] who mentions an attempt of the Perſians to plunder it.

That diligent and judicious writer, who deſerves to be called a geographer as well as an hiſtorian, gives a deſcription of the countries beyond the eaſtern limits of the Roman empire in his twenty-third book, wherein he informs us, that the long route of the merchants trading to the famous nation of the Seres lay through a village called Lithinos-Pyrgos (the tower of ſtone), and along the ranges of mountains called Aſcanimia and Comedus §. He does not tell us of what country theſe merchants were, but it is probable that they were ſubjects of the Roman empire. Eaſt from the River Iaxartes *(Sihon)*, ſays Ammianus, and ſurrounded by a vaſt circuit of lofty mountains, lies the extenſive and fertile country of the Seres, bounded on the weſt by the Scythians, on the north and eaſt by deſerts covered with ſnow, and on the ſouth by India and the Ganges ‖. He proceeds to deſcribe the Seres as a ſedate

* This is ſuppoſed the emporium called Arabia Felix in the Periplus of the Erythræan ſea, but I know not whether the identity is ſufficiently eſtabliſhed.

† It may be an inquiry worth the inveſtigation of the naturaliſt, whether theſe Cappadocian horſes were the progenitors of the famous Arabian breed. It is pretty evident that Arabia was not diſtinguiſhed for the quality of its horſes in early times. See above, p. 165 note, where I have obſerved that the horſes of Cappadocia were highly eſteemed in Tyre and Perſia. They were no leſs pretious in the eyes of the Roman emperors, who did not permit even conſuls to poſſeſs '*the divine animals*' of the firſt quality, or pureſt breed, of Cappadocia. In ſhort, they were then, what the Arabian horſes of the *monaki ſhadubi* breed, purer than milk, are in the preſent day, the very beſt of their kind. The many quotations in ſupport of the ſuperior excellence of the antient Cappadocian horſes, which it would be improper to introduce here, may be ſeen in *Bochart's Geog. ſacr. col.* 175, and *Hierozoicon, col.* 109, and in *Gothofred's Diſſertation on Philoſtorgius.*

‡ 'Terra marique,' *by land and by ſea.* But the town is far from the Mediterranean, the neareſt ſea: nor is it cloſe upon the Euphrates, which, however, is the only navigable channel by which Indian goods could be conveyed to it. The land conveyance was probably by the caravans of merchants, of whoſe route in the central part of Aſia he gives us a ſlight notice in his geography of that continent.

§ Theſe ſeem the ranges now called Hindookho and Cuttore. See *Rennell's Map of the countries between the Ganges and the Caſpian ſea.*

‖ This deſcription anſwers that part of Tartary containing the country now called Little Bucharia or Moguliſtan. [See *Rennell's Map* as above, and *the third ſection of his Memoir, p.* 198.] The ſituation alſo agrees tolerably well, making due allowance for the imperfection of antient geography, with the great city of Thina in the Periplus of the Erythræan

and gentle people, who never quarrel with their neighbours, are exempted from the alarms of war, and are even without the uſe of arms. Bleſſed with a fertile ſoil, and a delicious and ſalubrious climate, they paſs their happy days in perfect tranquillity amid ſhady groves, which are fanned by gentle breezes, and produce fleeces of wool, which, after being ſprinkled with water, is combed off in the fineſt threads, and woven into *ſericum* *. The Seres, ſatisfied with the happineſs of their own condition, are very ſhy of having any intercourſe with the reſt of mankind; and when foreigners have paſſed a river to buy thread (ſeemingly raw ſilk) or other goods, they conſider the price offered in ſilence, and tranſact their buſineſs without exchanging a word. And as the productions of their own country are ſufficient to ſupply all their wants, and ſatisfy all their wiſhes, they receive nothing in exchange from the ſtrangers but hard money. Such is the beſt account which Ammianus could obtain of the country, from which, through the agency of a great many hands, the Romans obtained the luxurious dreſs called *ſericum*, which, though formerly confined to the nobles, was now indiſcriminately uſed by all claſſes of people, not only in clothing, but alſo in coverlets for their beds †.

357—Paris, firſt mentioned by Julius Cæſar under the name of Lutecia or Lutetia, was now the reſidence of Julian, who, with the rank of Cæſar, governed the weſtern provinces of the empire. It appears to have been ſtill confined within the ſmall iſland in the river, and to have been conſidered rather as a fortified poſt or caſtle than as a town.

359—When Julian was occupied in conſtructing a chain of fortified towns on the banks of the Rhine, he found that the adjacent country, neglected and exhauſted by the calamities of war, was incapable of ſupporting the garriſons and inhabitants of his new ſettlements. He immediately conſtructed ſix hundred ‡ veſſels with the wood growing on

Erythræan ſea, and the Sera metropolis of Ptolemy, which the learned geographer D'Anville makes the ſame with the modern city of Kan-tcheu-foo, ſituated in that diviſion of Tangut, which is included in the province of Shen-ſee, in the north-weſt part of the empire. [*Recherches ſur la Serique des anciens*, in *Mem. de litterature*, *V.* xxxii, *p.* 579.] This poſition of the Seres agrees pretty well with the hiſtory, or tradition, of the origin of the Chineſe, ſuppoſing them the deſcendents of the Seres, that their firſt ſettlements were in the north-weſt parts of the preſent empire of China, as it was pointed out by a well-informed Pandit to Sir William Jones. [See his *Diſcourſe on the origin of the Chineſe*, in the *Aſiatic reſearches*, *V.* ii.]

* Perhaps the Seres were themſelves the inventors of this ſtory, which ſeemed to render it impoſſible for any other nation to obtain a participation in the ſilk harveſt, juſt as ſimilar fables were propagated reſpecting the production of ſpices.

† Some parts of this deſcription may ſeem to be copied from Pliny. [*Hiſt. nat. L.* vi, *cc.* 17, 22.] Three or four centuries had not made the ſmalleſt addition to the knowlege of the nature of *ſericum* among the Romans, beyond what they poſſeſſed in the days of Virgil or Pliny.

‡ Such is the number by Julian's own account in his *Letter to the Athenians*. Zoſimus ſays, there were eight hundred ſhips larger than lembi (' πλοῖα μείζονα λεμβέων'); and he has been often referred to, *not quoted*, to prove that Britain exported *every year* corn ſufficient to load eight hundred *large* ſhips; whereas, without affirming or denying that Britain could ſpare an equal quantity *every year*, he only ſays that ſuch an exportation took place on that occaſion. Of the burthen of the veſſels we can form no accurate judgment, unleſs we knew the ordinary ſize of lembi, which, if we may truſt to ſuch guides as Iſidore, Nonius Marcellus, and Fulgentius, were ſmall veſſels or fiſhing boats; and

the banks of the river, and ſent them to Britain, whence each of them carried ſeveral cargoes of corn, which ſupplied the wants of the ſettlers till their own lands were capable of ſupporting them with corn raiſed from the Britiſh ſeed: and he alſo erected granaries in place of thoſe which had been burnt down, for the reception of the corn *uſually* imported from Britain. [*Juliani Orat. ad Athen.*—*Amm. Marcellin. L.* xviii. —*Zoſimus, L.* iii.] This authentic fact furniſhes an unqueſtionable proof of the fertility of Britain, and alſo of the flouriſhing ſtate of agriculture in it. And the vaſt ſums paid by the Anglo-Saxons in after ages to the northern invaders, afford a ſtrong preſumption, that Britain, while under the Roman government, was enriched by a great and long-continued favourable balance of trade, and thereby poſſeſſed a very great quantity of money at the final abdication of the Romans.

360—The Roman ſubjects in Britain were miſerably haraſſed by the incurſions of the Scots and Pichts *, two fierce nations, 'who, breaking 'the terms of the pacification, ravaged the frontiers, and ſpread terror 'through the Roman provinces, ſtill exhauſted by the calamities of 'their former invaſions.' Julian diſpatched Lupicinus againſt them with an army from Gaul, who landed at Rhutupiæ, and marched to Lundinium *(London)*, whence he was to proceed againſt the invaders. What his ſucceſs was, we are not told; but his ſtay in the iſland was not above three or four months. Rhutupiæ or Rhutupis *(Richburgh* on the eaſt coaſt of Kent) was now the principal landing place from the continent; and Lundinium may be preſumed to be a place of conſiderable importance, where the Roman general was to concert the operations of the campaign with the provincial governor. [*Amm. Marcell. L.* xx.]

364—The Saxons, a nation of Germany, who aſtoniſhed and terrified the Romans and their ſubjects by the daring intrepidity with which they

Procopius tells us, [*Gothic. L.* ii, *c.* 12] that the *lembi* belonging to a Roman fleet were carried upon carts from Genoa to the River Po. Perhaps we ſhall not greatly err, if we eſtimate Julian's river-built veſſels rather under than above fifty tuns, which, inſtead of being called *large ſhips*, would not now be honoured with the name of *ſhips*. But our antiquaries, if they had duely attended to Zoſimus, who ſays, that the veſſels made ſeveral voyages, and to Marcellinus, who has 'annona a Britanis *ſueta* transferri,' might have very fairly credited Britain for at leaſt two thouſand cargoes of corn. Part of the corn carried from Gaul to Rome in the year 398, when Gildo withheld the African ſupplies, may with great probability be preſumed to have been the produce of Britain.

* This is the earlieſt unqueſtionable extant authority for theſe new names of the invaders of the Romanized part of Britain, but they were apparently known by the ſame name before Conſtans undertook an expedition againſt them in the year 343, referred to by Ammianus Marcellinus, as related in the early part of his work, which is unfortunately loſt. If we could truſt to rhetorical flouriſh, both thoſe nations might be ſaid to have frequently fought againſt the Britons of the ſouth in the age of Julius Cæſar; but we cannot with any degree of propriety venture to extract hiſtorical facts from the hyperbolical adulation of panegyric, eſpecially in this age, when the emperors uſed to arrogate to themſelves the actual merit of victories in battles which they never ſaw, and even had the prepoſterous impudence to aſſume the titles of conquerors of nations who had in reality defeated their armies. The name of the Scots occurs in a quotation from Porphyry, who lived about a century before Ammianus; but it is doubted by ſome, whether Jerom, who makes the quotation, be not himſelf the original author of it.

ſkimmed over the rougheſt ſeas in boats made of leather, and by the ſuddenneſs of their plundering incurſions, now invaded the Roman provinces in Britain, (wherein their grandſons were to obtain ſuch ample poſſeſſions) in conjunction with the Pichts, the Scots, and the Attacots, a warlike nation, who now for the firſt time ſtart into hiſtoric notice. [*Amm. Marcell L.* xxvi.]

365-366—The provincials of Britain, accuſtomed to look for protection from their Roman ſovereigns, and not daring, perhaps not being permitted, to take arms in their own defence, were ruined by the continual irruptions of theſe tremendous enemies, and by the gangs of ſoldiers, cheated of their pay by their officers, who infeſted the highways as robbers, and extorted proviſions from the natives. The count of the ſea coaſt, an officer appointed to repell the piracies of the Saxons, was ſlain in battle; and the duke of Britain, to whom the defence of the northern frontier was committed, was outgeneraled by the military policy of the *barbarians*. The ſucceeding Roman commanders appear to have had no better ſucceſs, till Theodoſius was ſent with a powerful reinforcement.

367—That general, when he landed at Rhutupiæ, found that the Pichts, the Attacots, and the Scots, were roving at large through the whole country, and that ſome parties of them, almoſt cloſe upon him, were driving before them the captive people with their cattle and other property. But the undiſciplined valour of the invaders was unable to contend with the military ſcience of the Roman general and the tried courage of his numerous veteran troops. Theodoſius, having recovered all the plunder, made a triumphal entry into Lundonium (now called Auguſta, and a colony, as all towns of that name were *), which was ſaved from ruin or pillage by his ſeaſonable arrival. [*Amm. Marcell. L.* xxvii.—*Liban. Orat. parent. c.* 39.]

369—Theodoſius, having reformed the abuſes in the army, and reſtored the cities and frontier poſts in Britain, reconquered all the country occupied by the northern nations as far as the wall between the Forth and the Clyde, which he erected into a fifth province, bounded by the north and ſouth walls, and gave it the name of VALENTIA in honour of the reigning emperors. [*Amm. Marcell. L.* xxvii.]

383—The moſt of the Roman forces, and a very great part of the Britiſh youth, being carried over to the continent by Maximus to ſupport his pretenſions to the empire, the defenceleſs provinces were every

† Stillingfleet [*Orig. Britan. p.* 196] ſuppoſes that Auguſta was the capital of all Roman Britain, and he quotes the opinion of Velſerus, [*Rer. Vindel. L.* v] that all towns dignified with that appellation 'were *capita gentium*, the chief metropoles of the provinces.' Perhaps a better argument for its ſupremacy may be derived from the treaſure of the province being depoſited in it, as we learn from the *Notitia imperii*.

year overrun by the two cruel tranſmarine nations, the Scots from the north-weſt, and the Pichts from the north *. [*Gildas de excidio Britanniæ, c.* xi.]

388—The weſt coaſts of Britain were alſo inſulted with frequent prædatory incurſions by the Scots of Ireland, probably accompanied by the aboriginal Iriſh. One of the beſt atteſted of the expeditions of theſe corſairs was that in which they ſailed up the Clyde as high as Dunbarton (apparently then called Theodoſia), and carried off a great number of priſoners, whom they ſold for ſlaves. Among their captives was Patric, a youth in his ſixteenth year, the ſon of Calpornius, a deacon of the church, and apparently a Roman, who afterwards became ſo very famous as the patron ſaint of Ireland. This fact we learn from the works of Patric himſelf, the oldeſt native or inhabitant of the Britiſh iſlands, whoſe writings have come down to our times †.

396—An army, ſent into Britain by Stilico the regent of the weſtern empire, repreſſed the invaders; and a legion was quartered on the north frontier of the empire in Britain: but it was recalled very ſoon after. [*Claudian. Laud. Stilic. L.* ii; *Bell. Get.*]

400—About this time the *Notitia*, or Court calendar ‡, of the two Roman empires, ſeems to have been compiled. Among the great officers upon the Britiſh eſtabliſhment the following appear to have been the principal.

The VICARIUS BRITANNIARUM, who was ſo called, as being the immediate deputy of the PRÆFECTUS PRÆTORIO of Gaul, whoſe almoſt-imperial ſway extended over Gaul, Spain, and Britain. The vicarius had under him

the CONSULAR GOVERNORS of *Maxima Cæſarienſis*,
and of *Valentia*;
and the PRESIDENTS of *Britannia prima*,
Britannia ſecunda,
and *Flavia Cæſarienſis*.

Theſe great officers, who in modern language might be called the governor-general and lieutenant-governors, had in their hands the civil

* Bede, after tranſcribing theſe words from Gildas, in order to prevent his readers from being miſled, immediately adds, 'Now, we call theſe nations '*tranſmarine*, not as being ſituated out of Britain, 'but as being divided from the country of the '[Romanized] Britons by the intervention of two 'arms of the ſea, which run far into the land on 'the eaſt and weſt ſides of Britain. In the middle 'of the eaſtern one is the town of Guidi (on *Inſh-Kieth*, or perhaps *Inſh-Garvy*). On the right 'ſide of the weſtern one is the town of Alcluith '(*Dunbarton*), the name of which ſignifies in their 'language *the rock of Cluith* (*Clyde*); for it ſtands 'cloſe upon a river of that name.' [*Hiſt. eccles. L.* i, *c.* 12.]

† Of late the very exiſtence of Patric, and conſequently of the work which goes under his name, has been denied. I cannot at preſent enter into the merits of ſuch a queſtion, nor would, perhaps, any reader of this work thank me for attempting it. I may, however, obſerve, that the narrative of Patric throws light upon, and is itſelf ſupported by, the poetical flouriſhes of Claudian, and alſo illuſtrates the obſcurity of Nennius.

‡ It differs from a court calendar in having only the names of the offices without thoſe of the perſons who held them.

adminiſtration of the five provinces. The military force was under the command of three great officers, viz.

Comes limitum Britanniarum, whoſe diſtrict is not expreſſed;

Comes littoris Saxonici *, who had under his command nine maritime garriſons on the eaſt and ſouth coaſts, his particular duty being the defence of the country againſt the Saxon freebooters;

Dux limitum Britanniarum, who commanded the garriſons of fourteen towns in the province of Maxima, and twenty-three parties of ſoldiers, ſtationed at fortified poſts on, or near, the ſouth wall.

Theſe three military commanders had under them 19,200 foot and 1,700 horſe; a great reduction from the army ſtationed in Britain in former ages. But the Romans, whoſe wars were now not for conqueſt, but for defence, found it neceſſary to draw their forces homeward; and the provincial Britons were fully reconciled to the Roman dominion, and the towns were in a great meaſure peopled by the deſcendents of Roman ſoldiers and coloniſts.

There were alſo the following revenue officers, who in modern language may be called

the receiver-general of the Britiſh revenue;

the receiver of the emperor's private demeſne rents;

the commiſſioner of the treaſury at Auguſta † (London);

and the ſuperintendant of a public manufacture carried on by women at Venta ‡ (*Wincheſter*, or perhaps *Caſter* near Norwich).

About this time an epiſcopal church built of ſtone, a kind of ſtructure unuſal among the Britons, was erected by Ninian, a Britiſh prieſt, in a ſmall iſland on the coaſt of the Novantes (*Galloway*), which, from the white appearance of the building, obtained the name of Whit-hern (or in Latin Candida caſa) §.

Bells are ſaid by ſome to have been invented by Paulinus, biſhop of

* He is called by Ammianus *comes* of the ſea coaſt; and the warden of the Cinque ports is ſuppoſed to have been appointed in imitation of his office.

I have given theſe titles in the original Latin, becauſe we have not ſtrictly any correſponding terms in Engliſh. The reader may conſult *Selden's Titles of honour, part* ii, *c.* 1.

† The office of the treaſury was probably in the ſame ſpot where the Tower ſtands, and it is likely that there was alſo a mint in the ſame place. An ingot of ſilver, inſcribed 'Ex officio Honorii,' was found, with ſome gold coins of Arcadius and Honorius, in the old foundation of the ordinance office in the Tower in the year 1777. [*Archæologia, V.* v, *p.* 291.]

‡ Though Camden has fixed this manufacture at Wincheſter, as being the moſt conſiderable of the three towns in Britain called Venta, we have no certain knowlege of the place, nor can we even be poſitive of the exiſtence of the manufacture; for various readings have Ventenſis (belonging to, or at, Venta), and Bentenſis (meaning unknown, if any); gynæcii (manufactory conducted by women), and cynegii (dog-kennel). Therefor they have gone much too far who have adduced theſe words as a proof of the antient ſuperiority of Britiſh wool.

§ This was by far the moſt antient biſhoprick in the country ſince called Scotland: but York, and the other old Britiſh biſhopricks in the Roman part of the iſland, if the notice concerning them be aſſuredly authentic, were about a century earlier, which I did not advert to, when, truſting too implicitly to Bede and William of Malmſbury, who have totally omitted the Britiſh biſhops of York, &c. I ſaid [in *Geographical illuſtrations of Scottiſh hiſtory*, *vo. Quhit-hern*] that this was the moſt antient biſhoprick on the north ſide of the Humber.

Nola in Campania *: but it could only be an improvement upon the bells adapted to churches; for bells of gold, which ſounded, are mentioned in the book of Exodus [*c.* 28.] Every claſſical reader knows, that inſtruments of braſs, which ſeem to have been bells, were ſounded in Rome, to give notice to the people, when the public baths were ready †.

409—The Britons, abandoned to the ravages of the Saxons, Pichts, Scots, and Attacots, by the degenerate emperor Honorius, who did not dare to venture his perſon on the outſide of the walls of Ravenna, reſumed their independence; and, truſting to their own courage and exertions, they found that theſe were ſufficient, without any foreign aid, to deliver their country from the invaders. If their ſeceſſion could derive any validity from the conſent or approbation of ſuch a ſovereign as Honorius, that was alſo beſtowed in letters which he addreſſed to the cities or ſtates of Britain, wherein he exhorted them to take the management of their affairs into their own hands. The example of the Britons was ſoon followed by their neighbours on the neareſt coaſt of Gaul, who alſo withdrew their allegiance from a maſter incapable of affording them any protection. [*Zoſimi Hiſt. L.* iv.]

410—Alaric, the great king of the Goths, after having humbled Rome by exacting a tribute of 5,000 pounds of gold, 30,000 pounds of ſilver, 4,000 garments of ſilk (or ſericum), 3,000 ſkins, or fleeces, of a purple, ſcarlet, or crimſon, colour, and 3,000 pounds of pepper ‡, by three ſieges, and the creation and degradation of a vaſſal emperor, took poſſeſſion of the no-longer-proud and inſulting capital, gave his ſoldiers permiſſion to ſeize the accumulated plunder of eight hundred years (for ſo long was it ſince the city had been taken by the Gauls), and in ſome degree avenged upon Rome the cauſe of mankind. [*Zoſimi Hiſt. L.* v.]

419—Theodoſius, the emperor of the Eaſt, was ſo ſenſible of the importance of a naval force, that he prohibited his ſubjects, under pain of death, from teaching the art of ſhip-building to the barbarians, i. e. nations not ſubject to the Roman empire. [*Cod. Theod. L.* ii, *tit.* 40.]

422—It might be ſuppoſed, that the Britons, poſſeſſed of independence, and improved in agriculture, arts, ſcience, and manufactures, by

* Theſe bells are called *nolæ* and *campanæ* in the Latin of the ſucceeding ages.

† Bells (tintinabula) are mentioned by Plautus, [*Trinum. act.* iv, *ſc.* 3] and by Varro, as quoted by Pliny, [*L.* xxxvi, *c.* 13] authors who lived about five hundred years before Paulinus. Joſephus [*Antiq. L.* iii, *c.* 11, 12, *or* 13, *as numbered in the various editions*] ſays, that the wide end of the trumpets, made in the camp of Moſes, was *in the form of a bell*, which infers that the form of them was the ſame in his days as at preſent.

‡ Rome, now a ſubordinate city, could not raiſe the money without melting down the ſtatues of ſeveral gold and ſilver deities, among which Zoſimus particularly regrets the goddeſs Virtus or Valour, the deſtruction of which, he ſays, was the extinction of the laſt ſpark of fortitude and virtue among the Romans.—The meaning of the words κοκκοβαφῆ δέρματα is uncertain: the firſt was a very expenſive colour, but whether purple, ſcarlet, or crimſon, is unknown: the ſecond is tranſlated by Mr. Gibbon *pieces of fine cloth*. It appears from Pliny [*L.* viii, *c.* 48] that they had a method of dying the wool upon the living ſheep.

almoſt four centuries of Roman inſtruction, would immediately have ſhone out a great and flouriſhing people; that the abundance of their produce and manufactures would have ſupplied the materials of a very extenſive commerce; and that they would have availed themſelves of their inſular ſituation, and their knowlege of the Latin language, (then generally underſtood in the weſtern parts of Europe) to carry on a great active trade to at leaſt all the neighbouring countries *. The very reverſe was the truth. Weakened by many and great levies of Britiſh ſoldiers repeatedly drawn off, not only by the pretenders to the empire, but alſo for regular garriſons in diſtant provinces †; accuſtomed to look up to Rome for protection as well as government; and probably deprived by death, or envy, of the ſuperior talents which had given life to their ſpirited conduct in the year 410, they ſunk into dejection and inactivity. Finding themſelves incapable of conducting their own affairs, they diſpatched ambaſſadors to the Roman court, begging permiſſion to return to their former allegiance, and imploring aſſiſtance againſt their enemies. A legion was accordingly ſent to their relief, the whole Roman part of the iſland was recovered, and the wall of Lollius Urbicus was rebuilt, though in a very imperfect manner. [*Gild. c.* 12.—*Bed. Hiſt. eccles. L.* i, *c.* 12.—*Paul. Diacon. L.* xiv.]

The Roman legion being again withdrawn, the northern invaders, without taking the trouble of attacking the uſeleſs wall, croſſed the firths in their boats, and repeated their cuſtomary ravages. A Roman legion was again granted to the prayers of the Britons, and the invaders, who were driving off their annual prey, were attacked, and repelled beyond the firths (a°. 426). But the Roman commander, exhorting the Britons to apply to the art of war, and depend on their own valour for their protection, gave them notice that no more aſſiſtance could be afforded them in future. Before leaving them he gave them directions and aſſiſtance in rebuilding the ſouth wall in a ſubſtantial manner, whereby the province of Valentia was abandoned, and it was immediately occupied by the Pichts. The Romans alſo aſſiſted in erecting watch-towers along the ſouth coaſt of the iſland, to give notice of, and afford ſome defence againſt, the incurſions of the Saxon rovers; and having accompliſhed theſe works, they took leave of Britain for ever. [*Gild. c.* 14.—*Sigeberti Chron. ad an.* 426.]

441—The attention of Theodoſius to his marine has been already obſerved. In order to prevent the deſtruction of the weſtern empire, threatened by the formidable fleets of Genſeric, the Vandal ſovereign

* Gildas, in his florid deſcription of Britain, ſays that the luxuries (delitiæ) of foreign countries were imported into the mouths of the Thames and the Severn in times preceding his own. [*Gildæ Hiſt. c.* 1.]

† See the Notitia imperii for the ſtationary troops, or Camden [*Britann. p.* 60, *ed.* 1607] for the whole of them collected in one view.

of Africa, he equipped eleven hundred large ſhips, with a proportional army, to act in conjunction with the weſtern forces. But this prodigious armament only proceeded as far as Sicily, and performed nothing.

446—Though the unfortunate Britons had almoſt a certainty of being refuſed, they were again driven by the cruel oppreſſion of their northern neighbours to implore the protection of Ætius, who then governed the weſtern empire in the name of Valentinian. But the Romans, who at this time dreaded the loſs of Italy itſelf, had given up all pretenſions to the protection of diſtant ſubjects or allies.

449—In a few years (for the preciſe date is uncertain *) the aſſiſtance, which the Romans were incapable of giving, was afforded by a party of Yutes, or Geats, who, arriving on the coaſt of Kent in a fleet conſiſting of only three long ſhips, under the command of two brothers called Hengiſt and Horſa, and immediately joining the Britons, marched againſt the invaders, whom they encountered and defeated (according to the old Engliſh authors, at Stanford in the ſouth corner of Lincoln-ſhire). The ſeaſonable relief was rewarded with a grant of the iſland of Thanet, wherein the Yutes ſettled. They immediately tranſmitted a flattering account of their ſucceſs to their friends on the continent, which procured a reinforcement of five thouſand men in ſeventeen ſhips †.

So great an acceſſion of followers enabled Hengiſt to become the maſter, inſtead of the mercenary ally, of the unhappy Britons. He ſoon found an opportunity of quarreling with them, and, ſtriking up a peace with the Pichts, bent his whole force againſt his late friends. He and his ſucceſſors, and the chiefs of the numerous ſwarms of the Saxons, whom Zoſimus diſtinguiſhes as the braveſt of the Germans, with other bold adventurers from the continent, who, with their wives and children, crowded over to ſhare the fertile lands of Britain, in the courſe of about a century and a half made themſelves maſters of the beſt part of the country from the Channel on the ſouth to the Firth of Forth on the north. Such of the ſurviving natives of the conquered country as did not ſubmit to live under them, were obliged to retire before them to the weſt ſide of the iſland, of which, from the Lands-end to the Firths of Clyde and Forth, they maintained the poſſeſſion for many ages, till they were gradually ſubdued, and annexed to the more powerful monarchies of England and Scotland.

* It is impoſſible to fix the preciſe date of the memorable arrival of Hengiſt and Horſa. Bede aſſumes the year 449, as appears by King Alfred's Saxon tranſlation, as well as the Latin original; and he is followed by the Saxon Chronicle and the ſucceeding writers. But the various dates and facts ſtated by Camden [*Britannia*, *p.* 94, *ed.* 1607] deſerve the attention of the critical reader.

† If theſe numbers are nearly accurate, (for the different accounts vary from ſixteen to eighteen ſhips) the German rovers, beſides their leather boats and large canoes, muſt have had very reſpectable veſſels, properly and ſtrongly conſtructed, to be capable of carrying about three hundred men each, beſides women and children, even for a ſhort paſſage.

450—If we may truſt to Joceline, one of the many biographers of St. Patric, the Iriſh town called Eblana by the geographers of the Roman empire, called at this time Ath-cliath by the Iriſh, and afterwards Difflin, Dufelin, Duvelin, and Dublin, was 'a noble city, famous for 'its commerce, and ſurrounded by woods of oaks and dens of wild 'beaſts.' But the later part of this deſcription does not very well agree with a populous or commercial city.

452—The invaſion of Italy by Attila, king of the Huns, with his tremendous army, conſiſting of a vaſt number of nations aſſembled under his victorious ſtandard, gave birth to a new city, which in time roſe to ſuch commercial eminence, as to rival the antient fame of Tyre and Carthage, and the more recent pre-eminence of Alexandria. The VENETI, a very antient nation, reſembling the Gauls in their manners, but of a different language, poſſeſſed the fertile country watered by the Padus (*Po*), from the confines of the Kenomani (or Cenomani) down to the head of the Adriatic gulf. Their name was famous in the tragic, and in the fabulous, poetry of antiquity: but the firſt hiſtoric notice of them, according to Livy, [*L.* v, *c.* 33] is their maintaining their poſſeſſions, when all the neighbouring country was over-run by the Tyrrhenians, or Tuſcans. Many ages afterwards, in the abſence of their neighbours the Gauls on their expedition againſt the Romans, wherein, after defeating them and their allies, and chaſing them for three days together, they followed them into Rome, which they took poſſeſſion of, (390 years before the Chriſtian æra) the Veneti made an irruption into their country, which was a happy circumſtance to the Romans, as it obliged the Gauls to abandon Rome, in order to march to the defence of their own territories. [*Polyb. Hiſt. L.* ii, *cc.* 17, 18.] The Veneti, being afterwards ſwallowed up in the Roman empire, had a ſubordinate ſhare of its proſperity; and they had now an abundant ſhare of its miſery. Their property was pillaged, their towns were leveled with the ground, and thoſe who eſcaped from the ſword were compelled to fly from their native country. Moſt of them fled to a numerous cluſter of ſmall muddy iſlands, ſeparated from each other only by narrow channels, wherein they found an obſcure and ſafe retreat, protected from the attacks of land forces by a ſea, probably then about ten miles broad *, too ſhallow and intricate to be navigated by veſſels of any force, but too deep to be forded, and ſecured againſt naval attacks by a chain of long narrow iſlands, which line the coaſt for many miles, and render the approach of a hoſtile fleet almoſt impoſſible. There the

* It is not near ſo broad now. Everywhere upon this coaſt the ſea has retired conſiderably from the land. Ravenna is now four miles from the ſea, and its harbour, in which Auguſtus kept two hundred and fifty ſhips of war, has for many centuries been covered with trees, and is called *Chiaſſi*, a corruption of the Latin word *Claſſes*, the name of the ſuburb adjacent to the harbour, ſo called as being the ſtation of the fleets, *claſſes*.

miſerable remains of the Veneti, the noble and the plebeian reduced to the common level of poverty, conſtructed ſome poor huts, and ſupported themſelves by fiſhing, and by making ſalt, the firſt article of their trade, which they carried in their boats to the neighbouring coaſts, and even into the interior regions, by means of the rivers; and they received in exchange corn and other neceſſaries; for their own iſlands afforded them nothing at all but room for their huts. Such was the humble and diſtreſsful origin of the illuſtrious commercial city of VENICE.

455—Carthage, after being rebuilt by the Romans, was conſidered as the firſt city of Africa *. But in every reſpect it was far inferior to its antient condition; and in a commercial view the Roman Carthage ſcarcely deſerved to be called the ſhadow of the Phœnician Carthage. Of its manufactures we know no more than that one of the *gynæcia*, or factories wherein women were employed, had been eſtabliſhed in it [*Notitia imperii*, § 42]; and that its trade conſiſted in collecting the corn from the induſtrious farmers of Africa, and tranſporting it for the ſupport of their idle Roman maſters. Genſeric, the king of the Vandals, was now maſter of Africa and Carthage; and a numerous and powerful fleet was once more conducted out of its harbour to ſtrike terror into Rome. Whatever the citizens of Rome had acquired during a repoſe of forty-five years, whatever the piety, the mercy, or the haſte, of Alaric had ſpared, was deliberately collected in a ſearch of fourteen days by the Vandals, and, together with many thouſands of the wretched Romans, was conveyed onboard the fleet, and landed in Carthage, the ſtreets of which exhibited on this occaſion the ſpoils of the heathen and Chriſtian temples of Rome, and thoſe of the temple of Jeruſalem, which had been carried off by Titus Veſpaſian. Thus did Genſeric in a ſmall meaſure revenge the deſtruction of Carthage upon Rome.

468—Leo, the emperor of the Eaſt, fitted out a fleet of eleven hundred and thirteen ſhips †, carrying above one hundred thouſand men. The expenſe of the expedition, which was no leſs than one hundred and thirty thouſand pounds of gold, (above five millions ſterling) exhauſted the revenue, and ruined many of the cities. It was an effort diſproportioned to the weak ſtate of the empire, not yet recovered from the heavy expenſe of the uſeleſs fleet of Theodoſius; and it ended in ruin and diſgrace. Genſeric became the ſovereign of the Mediterranean ſea, and as the poſſeſſion of the iſlands muſt ever follow the dominion of the ſea, Sicily, Sardinia, &c. were added to the African dominions of Genſeric, and the weſtern Roman empire was almoſt ſhrunk to Italy.

472—Rome was taken and ſacked by the Gothic chief Ricomer, the mighty maker and deſtroyer of many emperors of the Weſt; and in a

* In thoſe days the name of Africa did not extend to Egypt.

† This number, which is ſurely not too ſmall, is enlarged by ſome writers to a hundred thouſand ſhips.

few years it was taken poſſeſſion of by Odoacer, who finally extinguiſhed the weſtern Roman empire, which had for ſo many ages given laws to a great portion of mankind. Odoacer, in contemptuous mercy, permitted Romulus, who was the laſt nominally-Roman emperor of Rome, to retire to a delightful and magnificent villa in Campania, and even allowed him an annual penſion of ſix thouſand pieces of gold. Italy (for the other provinces were all by this time alienated from it) now became ſubject to a ſovereign who ſcorned to aſſume the name of Roman or emperor, or to permit an uſeleſs and expenſive phantom to convey his commands to his ſubjects, as the maſters of the nominal emperors for ſome time had done.

493—By the defeat and death of Odoacer the ſovereignty of Italy was transferred to Theodoric, the chief or king of the Oſtro-Goths. Under the peaceable reign of this benevolent conqueror Italy again began to flouriſh. A fleet of a thouſand armed boats was eſtabliſhed to protect the coaſts from the piratical invaſions of the African Vandals and the eaſtern Romans. Large tracts of marſhy land, which had become uſeleſs by neglect, were reclaimed and cultivated; the exertions of protected induſtry reſtored the country to its natural fertility; and Rome no longer depended for ſubſiſtence upon Carthage or Alexandria. As a proof of the abundance of the harveſts, we are told that wheat was ſold at the rate of five ſhillings and ſixpence of ſterling money a quarter, and wine at leſs than three farthings a gallon. [*Fragm. Valeſian.*] By the munificent attention of Theodoric, an ample fund in money and materials, under the care of a profeſſed architect and proper guardians, was aſſigned for the preſervation of the public buildings and other monuments of antient art *, and new buildings for uſe or embelliſhment were erected. The Italians (or Romans, as they choſe to call themſelves) recovered from the deſolation of the preceding ages. They acquired wealth, and they were not afraid to enjoy it. Italy, which in its moſt ſavage ſtate before the age of Homer had furniſhed ſome commodities which attracted the viſits of the induſtrious Phœnicians, was again reſorted to by foreign merchants; and ſeveral fairs were appointed for exchanging its redundant produce with the merchandize of other countries. About this time (a°. 500) many rich Jews, attracted by the flattering proſpect of commerce in a country apparently riſing into proſperity, and where religious perſecution was prohibited by the wiſdom and the power of the ſovereign, eſtabliſhed themſelves in the principal cities of Italy; and it is very probable that the moſt of the trade of it paſſed through their hands. But it was a trade more reſembling the firſt efforts of an infant colony, or of a nation juſt emerging from barbariſm, than what might have been expected from a great country, which by

* And yet the deſtruction of the monuments of antient art is generally, but moſt ignorantly, imputed to the Goths.

its advantages of climate, ſoil, and ſituation, to ſay nothing of its antient military ſuperiority, might have commanded at leaſt the commerce of every coaſt of the Mediterranean ſea, if it had been in the hands of an induſtrious and mercantile people.

At the concluſion of the fifth century of the Chriſtian æra the weſtern Roman empire, which had included the moſt temperate and fertile, the moſt populous, and the beſt cultivated, regions of Europe, and at leaſt an equal ſhare of the moſt fertile part of Africa, was divided as follows. Theodoric, king of the Goths and of Italy, poſſeſſed, along with it and Sicily, that part of Gaul which lies eaſt of the Rhone, the provinces of Rhætia, Noricum, Pannonia, and Dalmatia, the Danube forming the northern boundary of his ample dominions, which comprehended the moſt valuable part of the late Weſtern empire. The African provinces were ſubject to the Vandals. Spain was divided between the Goths and Swevians. Gaul, except what lay eaſt from the Rhone, was occupied by the Franks, the Burgundians, and a colony of Britons.

The Eaſtern empire was ſtill entire, if it could properly be called ſo, when not only the frontier provinces on the lower Danube, but even the whole country to the very gates of Conſtantinople, and to the ſouthern extremity of Greece, were frequently pillaged with impunity, and ſometimes taken poſſeſſion of, by roving nations, who, whether they profeſſed hoſtility or ſubjection to the empire, were almoſt equally dreadful to the unhappy ſubjects, whom they ſweeped before them in war, or exhauſted by heavy tributes in peace. Such was generally the condition of the Eaſtern, Roman, Conſtantinopolitan, or Greek, empire, which dragged out a feeble exiſtence of many centuries, till it was finally ſubdued by the Turks, in whoſe hands it continues to this day.

It muſt be evident to every attentive reader of the preceding pages, that, if we except the Oriental regions, the tranſactions of which are unfortunately almoſt unknown to us, there was very little of real commerce in the world after the deſtruction of the illuſtrious commercial city of Carthage. The conveyance to Rome, and afterwards to Conſtantinople, of the corn and other proviſions, the manufactures of all parts of the empire, and the luxuries of the Eaſt by the agency of the merchants of Alexandria and thoſe concerned in the over-land trade, was all that remained to the ſubjects of the Roman empire in place of the active commerce by which INDUSTRY had been created, animated, and ſupported, in every country which had the happineſs of being connected with the MERCHANTS of SIDON, of TYRE, and of CARTHAGE.

The Britons, who had long ago been left to themſelves by the Romans, were ſtruggling for their lives and liberties againſt fierce invaders on every ſide. The Yutes, who ſhowed the way to the other German nations, had eſtabliſhed themſelves in their ſmall kingdom of Kent, un-

der the ſovereignty of Hengiſt and his family. The kingdom of the South-Saxons, comprehending the modern ſhires of Surrey and Suſſex, was alſo eſtabliſhed. And Cerdic, whoſe poſterity were deſtined to ſway the ſceptre of all the Britiſh iſlands, had juſt laid the foundation of his more extenſive kingdom of the Weſt-Saxons. As yet no Angles (or Engliſh) had arrived, at leaſt not in ſuch numbers as to form eſtabliſhments in their own name. All theſe nations, together with the leſſer bands of Friſians, Rugians, Danes, &c. have in ſucceeding ages been known under the general names of Saxons *, Anglo-Saxon, Angles, and Engliſh.

The northern part of the late Roman provinces in Britain, except a ſmall kingdom of the Britons in the ſouth-weſt part of Scotland, was occupied by the Pichts, who extended their dominion at leaſt as far ſouth as the wall between the Tine and the Solway firth.

A colony of Scots (or Dalreudini, as Bede calls them from their leader Reuda, or Riada) had paſſed over from Ireland, probably in the third century, and occupied Argyle-ſhire, with ſome of the adjacent lands, and, apparently, the neighbouring iſlands. About the end of the fifth century, they were reinforced by another colony of the ſame race, under the command of three brothers, called Lorn, Ængus, and Fergus, the later of whom appears to have ſucceeded to the dominions of one or both of his brothers (a°. 503); and he is generally reckoned the firſt of the Scottiſh kings, and the anceſtor of the kings of Scotland, and of thoſe of Great Britain.

Ireland at this time contained, beſides the tribes enumerated by Ptolemy, a colony of the Pichts, and a nation called Scots, who appear from the works of St. Patric to have been the ruling people. It is is probable, and we can have nothing better than probability, that all the tribes, or nations of Ireland, migrated at different times from the weſtern ſhores of Britain †.

Such were about this time the nations, whoſe poſterity, with a mixture of Norwegians, Danes, and Norman-French, conſtitute the population of the Britiſh iſlands. And, though migrations and conqueſts do not in ſtrict propriety belong to commercial hiſtory, I have thought it incumbent upon me to give at leaſt a very brief account of events, which gave almoſt an entire new population to theſe iſlands, which were deſtined by Providence to ſurpaſs the commercial fame of all the nations of antiquity, to extend their commercial enterpriſes to every port upon the ſurface of the globe, and to cover the ocean with their innumerable ſails.

* The Welſh and the Highlanders of Scotland to this day ſcarcely know the Engliſh by any other name than *Saſſanach*.

† Ireland is viſible in clear weather from St. Davids in Wales; and it is but ſixteen miles from the Mull of Galloway, and only ten from the Mull of Kentire, in Scotland.

The Romanized Britons were much ſuperior to all their invaders in the arts and ſciences, except the art of war. But the faint light of learning and knowlege remaining in the iſland, was almoſt extinguiſhed by the long continued and bloody wars, which during ſeveral dark centuries depopulated the country, and deſolated the cities of Britain.

The following particulars of the manners, manufactures, &c. of the inhabitants of the Britiſh iſlands beyond the limits of the Roman conqueſts (to whom I have ſcarcely had an opportunity of paying any attention hitherto), are chiefly collected from the antient biographers of the ſaints, almoſt the only writers of the weſtern world in the dark ages, and brought together as throwing ſome glimmering of light upon the ſmall portion of arts, manufactures, trade, and navigation, exiſting in theſe remote regions about this time *.

The Iriſh ſtill retained the cuſtom, noted by Solinus, of adorning their ſwords and daggers with the poliſhed teeth of animals. [*Adamnani Vita Columbæ, MS. Bib. Reg.* 8, D, ix. *L.* iii, *c.* 39.] The manufacture of ſwords and other weapons was in very early times practiſed in every part of the Britiſh iſlands.

The luxury of riding in chariots was common in Britain and Ireland. [*Patricii Synod. can.* 9.—*Cogitoſi Vita Brigitæ, ap. Meſſingham, cc.* 6, 7, 11. —*Adamn. L.* i, *c.* qq; *L.* ii, *c.* 43.]

A common article of dreſs was a cloak or plaid (peplum, pallium, ſagum) adorned with a variety of colours, which was probably of home manufacture. [*Adamn. L.* iii, *c.* 1.] They had fine linen, which, with other articles of ſumptuous dreſs, may be preſumed to have been imported. The bodies of the dead, at leaſt thoſe of eminent rank, were wrapped in fine linen. [*Patricii Synod. can.* 9.—*Cogitos. c.* 11.—*Adamn. L.* iii, *c.* 26.] Decency of dreſs was recommended to all, but particularly to clergymen and their *wives*. [*Patricii Synod. can.* 6.]

In the churches and abbays there were bells, which the pious and induſtrious abbats ſometimes made with their own hands. [*Vita Gildæ* quoted in *Uſſerii Brit. eccles. antiq. p.* 905, *ed.* 1639.—*Adamn. L.* i, *c.* H; *L.* iii, *c.* 23.]

Water mills were introduced in Britain by the Romans, as appears by the remains of a Roman mill lately diſcovered at Mancheſter: [*Whitaker's Hiſt. of Mancheſter, p.* 315] and as they are frequently mentioned during the Saxon period, we may be aſſured, that an engine ſo very uſeful, and alſo of ſuch ſimple conſtruction, was never allowed to go out of uſe. About this time they were alſo uſed in Ireland. [*Cogitos. c.* 13.]

Veſſels made of glaſs for drinking out of were uſed even in the ex-

* Patric flouriſhed from A. D. 432, the year of his miſſion, to 493: Brigit, about 500: and Columba, from 522 to 597. The lives here quoted were written very ſoon after their own time, and may be truſted to in every thing but the miracles.

tremity of Britain by the northern Pichts *; but whether they were manufactured by themſelves, or imported, we are not told. [*Adamn. L.* ii, *c.* 32.] We have reaſon to believe that the art of manufacturing glaſs was known to the ſouthern Britons before the invaſion of the Romans.

Ale was a common drink, and made at home. Wine was alſo uſed upon ſome occaſions, and moſt probably imported. [*Cogitos. c.* 4.—*Adamn. L.* ii, *c.* 1.]

The natives of Ireland, and the north-weſt coaſt of Britain, and the adjacent iſlands, caught ſalmon, and other fiſh with nets. [*Adamn. L.* ii, *cc.* 17, 18; *L.* iii, *c.* 25.] So it appears that they had no averſion to fiſh, whatever their anceſtors may have had. (See above, p. 200.) But they knew nothing of the vaſt advantage to be derived from an extenſive fiſhery, and only caught fiſh for their own uſe.

Though the leather boats of the Britons chiefly attracted the attention of foreigners, as being unuſual with them, we muſt not ſuppoſe they had no others. They certainly learned to build veſſels of wood while under the Roman dominion, if they had them not before. About this time, even in the remote Weſtern iſlands, they had long veſſels built of oak planks; and they all carried at leaſt one ſail. Some of the veſſels covered with leather, were ſufficient to go long voyages; at leaſt as far as from Ireland to Orkney, and even to advance as far into the Northern ocean as a run of fourteen days with full ſail before a ſouth wind †. [*Adamn. L.* i, *c.* F; *L.* ii, *cc.* 42, 45.]

I may here alſo obſerve, that inſtruments and trinkets made of gold, ſome of them of conſiderable weight, were by no means uncommon in Ireland, as appears from the great numbers of them found in various parts of the country, though they probably belong to ages prior to any authentic hiſtory ‡. As civilized nations do not carry the pretious metals to countries in an inferior ſtate of civilization, it ſeems more probable that the gold was found in mines, of which there are ſtill ſome veſtiges in Ireland, than that it was imported, though we ſhould even ſuppoſe with Tacitus (ſee above, p. 189), that Ireland had a greater foreign trade than Britain.

* It is proper to obſerve, that Cumin, who died in the year 669, and was the original writer of the Life of Columba, has not a word of the ſtory containing the notice of the drinking glaſs. It is not known in what year Adamnan wrote his greatly-enlarged copy of Cumin's Life of Columba. The manufacture of glaſs was introduced among the Engliſh of Northumberland in the year 674.

† It appears, that ſome wrong-headed monks, either by ſtreſs of weather, or by deſign, (for the perfection of religion was ſuppoſed to conſiſt in rendering themſelves uſeleſs by withdrawing from ſociety) had actually ſailed to Iceland, where they ſettled, it being moſt probably impoſſible for them to find their way back again; and their books in the Iriſh language, bells, &c. were found there by the firſt coloniſts from Norway. [*Arii Schedæ de Iſlandia, c.* 2.]

‡ See *Archæologia Britann. V.* ii, *n°.* 3; *V.* iii, *p.* 555.—*Vallancey's Collectanea de rebus Hibernicis, n°.* xiii. One gold fibula of ten ounces (repreſented in plate vi, n°. 2) was ſold to a goldſmith, who informed Colonel Vallancey, that he had melted down ſeveral of that form, one of which weighed ſixteen ounces.

517—The Danes made their firſt appearance under that name in hiſtory, when an army of them landed in Gaul, and ravaged the country between the Maeſe and the Rhine. In their retreat they were attacked by the Franks, who recovered all the plunder from them. [*Gregor. Turon. L.* iii, *c.* 3.]

522—The Oriental commerce of the Red ſea appears to have made a regular progreſs down the weſt coaſt of it. The earlieſt port I find mentioned is Heroopolis, at the very head of the weſt branch, or on a canal drawn from the Nile to it *. Myos-hormos and Berenicè, afterwards became the ſeats of the trade. And we find, from the works of Coſmas Indicopleuſtes †, that it had now quite deſerted the Roman dominions, probably in conſequence of the calamities brought upon Egypt by Caracalla and Diocletian, and ſettled at Aduli, a port of Ethiopia, (or Abyſſinia) near the mouth of the Red ſea, and far beyond the utmoſt limits of the empire. That port was now frequented by the merchants of Alexandria, by Coſmas, and his neighbours (who reſided in ſome other part of Egypt), and by the merchants of Aela, an Arabian port belonging to the Roman at the head of the eaſtern branch, where, in an earlier age, Solomon had his harbour of Eziongeber; and from it ſuch of the Egyptian Greeks, as deſired to adventure upon the Ocean, embarked, apparently as charterers or freighters, onboard the veſſels of the port. The aromatics, incence, and ſpiceries, the ivory, and the emeralds, of Ethiopia, were collected in the port of Aduli, and ſhipped by the merchants of the place onboard their own veſſels, which they ſent to India, Perſia, South Arabia, and the Roman empire, the only parts of which, acceſſible by their veſſels, were Egypt and the north part of Arabia.

The great iſland of Siele-div (or Ceylon), again called Taprobanè by the Greeks ‡, was now the chief ſeat of the commerce of the Indian ocean. Its ports were frequented by veſſels from India, Perſia, Ethiopia, South Arabia, Tzinitza § (or China), and other eaſtern countries; and the merchants of Siele-div carried on a great active trade in their

* The poſition of it cannot be preciſely aſcertained.

† Indicopleuſtes ſignifies *navigator of India.* He was a merchant; and he founds his narrative, he tells us, upon his own knowlege, aſſiſted by inquiries made in every place to which he traded. In his old age he became a monk, as did alſo another Greek merchant of his acquaintance. 'Egypt, 'the fruitful parent of ſuperſtition, afforded the 'firſt example of the monaſtic life,' in the early part of the fourth century.

A paſſage of Coſmas may through ſome light on the queſtion reſpecting the dolphin of the antients. He ſays, 'the fleſh of the turtle is like 'mutton: that of the dophin is like pork, tender, 'and nearly as agreeable to the taſte as the turtle.' —This deſcription makes it clear, that the dolphin of the antients is very different from the modern dolphin: and it anſwers very well to the porpus, the form of which alſo comes near to the antient repreſentations of the dolphin. But his compariſon of turtle to mutton muſt be allowed to be inaccurate; and the connoiſeurs in eating will think meanly of his taſte, in putting the dolphin (or porpus) on a level with the turtle.

‡ See above, p. 132, note for the revolutions of names of this iſland.

§ Whether the Sinæ, mentioned at the end of the Periplus of the Erythræan ſea, (ſee above, p. 133), were the Chineſe or not, there can be little doubt that the Tzinitza of Coſmas is the empire of China.

own veſſels to all thoſe countries. They received from Tzinitza ſilk, now called by the new name of *metaxa*, aloes, cloves, the wood of cloves, ſandal wood, and other articles; from Malè (*Malabar*) they imported pepper; from Calliena *, now a place of great trade, copper, wood of ſeſame like ebony, and a variety of ſtuffs; and from Sindu, muſk, caſtoreum, and ſpikenard. All theſe articles, together with ſome ſpiceries †, and the hyacinths, for which the iſland was famous, were exported to every ſhore of the Indian ocean.

The Perſian traders to Siele-div appear to have been very numerous, ſince there was a church erected for them, the clergy of which received ordination in Perſia. A principal part of their cargoes conſiſted of Perſian horſes for the uſe of the king.

The chief ports of the mainland of India at this time were Sindu ‡ on the River Sind or Indus, Orotha, Calliena, Sibor, Malè famous for pepper, as were alſo the five ports of Parti, Mangaruth, Salopatana, Nalopatana, and Pudapatana §.

Tzinitza, which is expreſsly noted as the country producing the ſilk, is, according to Coſmas, as far beyond Siele-div, as Siele-div is from the head of the Perſian gulf; and it is bounded by the Ocean, there being no inhabited country beyond it. The ſhort land carriage between Tzinitza and Perſia, (which, however, he elſewhere calls a journey of a hundred and fifty days) is aſſigned as the reaſon of the great abundance of ſilk in the later.

Coſmas alſo deſcribes a trade conducted by caravans, ſent by Eleſbaan ‖, the king of the Axumites on the eaſt coaſt of Africa, who exchanged iron, ſalt, and cattle, for pieces of gold, with an inland nation in the ſame ſilent manner that the Carthaginians carried on a trade on the weſt coaſt of Africa, deſcribed by Herodotus many centuries before Coſmas, and by Cadamoſto and Doctor Shaw, many centuries after him ¶.

From the view of the Oriental trade given by Coſmas, we ſee that the Roman province of Egypt had now the ſmalleſt concern in it, and that only by the medium of a foreign port; and the Perſians and Ethiopians of this age appear to have been more largely engaged in it than

* Calliena was one of the ports formerly ſhut againſt the Egyptian Greeks, in order to force all the trade to go to Barygaza. See above, p. 169.

† Coſmas has not a word of cinnamon as the produce of Siele-div, or indeed of any of the Oriental countries. He ſeems to confine the growth of it to Ethiopia, in a country near the ocean of Zingion, which is probably the name now called Zangue-bar.

‡ Perhaps Patala, or the Barbaric emporium of the Periplus.

§ The names of places found ſomewhat more Indian-like in Coſmas than in the Periplus. The Greeks were very tardy in adopting the genuine names of the foreign places they had occaſion to mention.

‖ When Coſmas was at Aduli, Eleſbaan, called alſo Helliſthæus and Caled, was preparing to make an expedition againſt the Homerites of Arabia Felix, which is mentioned by ſeveral other authors.

¶ See above, p. 55.

the Arabians, unleſs the later, in conſequence of his having no tranſactions with them, have been neglected in his narrative.

From the writings of Coſmas we may alſo learn the deplorable decay of ſcience ſince the age of Pliny. The chief intent of his work, which he calls *Chriſtian topography*, was to confute the heretical opinion of the earth being a globe, together with the pagan aſſertion that there was a temperate zone on the ſouth ſide of the torrid zone; and to inform his readers, that, according to the true orthodox ſyſtem of coſmography, it was a quandrangular plane, extending four hundred courſes, or days journeys, from eaſt to weſt, and exactly half as much from north to ſouth *, incloſed by lofty walls, upon which the canopy or vault of the firmament reſted; that a huge mountain on the north ſide of the earth, by intercepting the light of the ſun, produced the viciſſitudes of day and night; and that the plane of the earth had a declivity from north to ſouth, by reaſon of which the Euphrates, Tigris, and other rivers running ſouth, are rapid, whereas the Nile, having to run *up hill*, has neceſſarily a very ſlow current. [*Coſmas, Topog. Chriſt.—Procop. Perſic. L.* i, *c.* 20.]

523—The Venetians, who eſcaped the deſtroying ſword of Attila in the year 452, appear to have now eſtabliſhed a regular internal government or police. Their boats were enlarged to veſſels capable of viſiting every part of the Adriatic gulf, and worthy of the attention of the ſupreme government, now in the hands of the Gothic king of Italy, whoſe miniſter, Caſſiodorus, addreſſed a letter to the maritime tribunes of Venice, requiring them to tranſport the public ſtores of wine and oil from Iſtria to Ravenna †.

After diſpatching his official buſineſs, Caſſiodorus, very fortunately for the cauſe of genuine hiſtory, runs out in a kind of poetical, but apparently a true, deſcription of the *celebrated city of Venice*, (' Venetiæ ' prædicabiles') which he compares to the Cyclades, as he does their houſes to the neſts of aquatic fowls, ſet upon ground not provided by nature, but made by human induſtry, and conſolidated by means of ſlender fences made of twiſted oſiers (ſuch as the Dutch call *ſtaeck* and *rijs*). The diſtinction of rich and poor was ſtill unknown in Venice: all the houſes were alike: all the citizens lived on the ſame fiſh diet. Their only emulation was in the manufacture of ſalt, an article, which, as he obſerves to the comfort of the Venetians, is more indiſpenſibly

* The antient Chineſe believed the earth to be a perfect ſquare. [*Staunton's Embaſſy, V.* ii, *p.* 324. *ſecond ed.*]

† When individuals or communities become proſperous, their vanity requires to be flattered with the imaginary dignity of their anceſtors. The Venetians have accordingly pretended, that their ſtate is the only true and legitimate offſpring of the Roman republic, the freedom and independance of which has remained entire in Venice. The requiſition of Theodoric, by the letter of his miniſter, ſhows that he at leaſt thought otherways, and reckoned them in the number of his ſubjects: and it is not likely, that they ventured to diſpute his claim to their allegiance. It is alſo certain, that they afterwards acknowleged themſelves vaſſals of both the Eaſtern and Weſtern empires for ſome ages.

neceſſary than gold. Caſſiodorus remarks their cuſtom of tying their boats to their walls, as people tye their horſes and cows in other places; their navigation through their country, or city; their ſafe and pleaſant voyages upon the rivers of the adjacent continent, wherein their veſſels appear to a ſpectator, who does not ſea the water, to be gliding through the meadows, and the mariner, exempted from all danger of ſhipwreck, inſtead of being carried by his veſſel, drags it along with a rope, while he walks upon the dry land. [*Caſſiodori Var. L.* xii, *epiſt.* 24.]

533—The proſperity of Europe and Africa was interrupted by the weak ambition, or avarice, of Juſtinian, who, being deſirous to recover the Weſtern empire from the *barbarians*, ſent againſt Africa a fleet conſiſting of five hundred tranſports, from thirty to five hundred tuns, which carried thirty-five thouſand men, five thouſand horſes, warlike ſtores, proviſions, &c. and theſe were protected by ninety-two *dromones*, or warlike ſhips. This fleet, not half ſo numerous as thoſe which had been fitted out by the preceding emperors for the ſame purpoſe, completely broke the power of the Vandals, and added the African provinces, Sardinia, and Corſica, to the eaſtern Roman empire. But it was conducted by Beliſarius: and ſuch was the effect of the ſuperior talents of one man.

535—The ſame victorious general was employed to wreſt Sicily from the Goths: and their government being at this time in ſome confuſion, that fertile iſland ſubmitted to Beliſarius, almoſt without oppoſition. He next attacked Italy, and he even got poſſeſſion of Rome, (a°. 536), the inhabitants of which rejoiced in being again ſubject to a ſovereign, who had the name of a *Roman* emperor. The great talents of Beliſarius, who, though a native of Thrace, and living in a degenerate age, may juſtly be called one of the beſt, and the laſt, of the Roman generals, were eminently diſplayed in ſuſtaining a ſiege of above a year by a very great, but ill-conducted, army of the Goths.

537—Rome being in want of flour during the ſiege, and the ſmall ſtreams, by which the mills were turned, being in the poſſeſſion of the Goths, the provident genius of Beliſarius contrived to moor barges in the ſtream of the Tiber, and on them he conſtructed mills, which ground corn for the ſupport of the people, as long as the ſiege continued. [*Procop. Gothic. L.* i, *c.* 19.]

538—Beliſarius, having repelled the enemy from Rome, purſued his advantages, till he brought the kingdom of the Goths in Italy to the brink of ruin, and ſent their king Vitiges a priſoner to Conſtantinople.

At the commencement of this war the Goths ceded the cities of Arelatè (Arles), and Maſſilia (Marſeille) the antient colony of the Phocæans, with the adjacent territories, to the Franks, who were already maſters of almoſt all the reſt of Gaul and a conſiderable part of Germany, and now by the poſſeſſion of the ſouth coaſt of Gaul acquired the command of

the adjacent ſea. Upon this occaſion the ſovereign of the Franks accepted from Juſtinian a reſignation of the right, which he, as emperor of Rome, might claim to thoſe territories, and to the allegiance of the ſubjects. The Roman, or rather Grecian, hiſtorian adds, that the kings of the Franks were *permitted* to coin money made of Gallic gold, and to mark it with their own portrait inſtead of the emperor's; a privilege denied even to the kings of Perſia, who could put their own heads only upon ſilver coins, as gold coins with any other head than the emperor's would not be accepted even among the barbarous nations, that is to ſay, nations not ſubject to the Roman, or Conſtantinopolitan, empire *. [*Procop. Gothic. L.* iii, *c.* 33.]

539—The folly of Juſtinian, who now flattered himſelf, that he was maſter of the Roman empire in its antient greateſt extent, while he was in fact, in ſpite of his long wall and other vain fortifications, a tributary to all the nations bordering on the Danube, to the Perſians, and to the Turks (who in his reign firſt appear in European hiſtory) accelerated the ruin of his own empire by calling off the Goths from the Danube to the defence of Italy, and plunged that country again into the miſery and oppreſſion from which it had been reſcued by the prudent and beneficent government of Theodoric.

546—From the oppreſſion and miſconduct of Juſtinian's officers and tax-gatherers Italy was delivered by the valour and virtue of Totila the king of the Goths, who puniſhed the defection of Rome by baniſhing the ſenators, and giving the city to be plundered by his army; after which he abandoned the antient capital of the world, as unworthy of his attention. It was immediately taken poſſeſſion of by Beliſarius. But that great general was drawn off by the imprudence, or the envy, of Juſtinian (a°. 548); and the fluctuating dominion of Italy and the adjacent iſlands was reſtored to the Goths, and ſoon torn from them again (a°. 553) by the military conduct of Narſes, who, though an eunuch, was more worthy than any other ſubject of Juſtinian to be the ſucceſſor of Beliſarius. The Gothic empire in Italy was now finally extinguiſhed: and Narſes was appointed, with the title of exarch, to govern the miſerable country, depopulated and ravaged by a war of twenty years. The ſeat of government was hereupon fixed at Ravenna; and Rome became the *ſecond* city of Italy (a°. 554).

* How the powerful ſovereigns of Perſia, to whom the emperors of Conſtantinople were frequently tributary, ſhould be prohibited from coining whatever kind of money they might think proper, it is not very eaſy to conceive. Yet there is a ſtory told by Coſmas Indicopleuſtes, of a conteſt for the dignity of the Perſian and Roman empires, in the preſence of the king of Siele-div, being decided by the ſuperiority of the Roman coin, which was of gold, with the emperor's head handſomely engraved; whereas the Perſian was only of ſilver, and of inferior execution.—Was there really a general conſent of nations to prefer the gold coins bearing the heads of the Roman emperors, and has it eſcaped the attention of the learned?—Or are we to underſtand the emperor's permiſſion to ſignify a ſtipulation, that the Frankiſh gold coins ſhould be received as current money in the dominions of the emperor?

529—The incomprehenſible maſs of the innumerable Roman laws was in ſome degree methodized, and abridged in twelve books, called the *Code of Juſtinian.* The opinions and comments of the moſt celebrated lawyers, contained in two thouſand treatiſes, were compreſſed into fifty, which were called the *Pandects* (a°. 533). Another collection was made of the *Inſtitutes* of the Roman law. And theſe compilations, ſanctioned by the authority and the ſignature of the emperor, were ordained to be the ſtandard for all legal proceedings in ſucceeding ages. Though a *corrected* edition of the *Code* was publiſhed ſoon after by Juſtinian, and many new and contradictory laws were added during his long reign, the collection of which was called the *Novels* (a°. 565), his ſyſtem of law has been in a great meaſure adopted in the juriſprudence of ſeveral nations of Europe, and has conſequently had great influence in the regulation of commercial contracts, and the deciſion of commercial diſputes, long after the total extinction of the empire for which they were enacted.

527-565—Juſtinian delighted much in building; and during his long reign innumerable forts were erected to protect, or confeſs the weakneſs of, the frontiers. The moſt capital of all his edifices was the cathedral of Saint Sophia, which remains to this day, a ſuperb monument of the beſt taſte of an age, in which all the fine arts were rapidly declining.

But the intereſts of commerce were ſacrificed to his rage for conqueſts and exhauſting wars. He ſtationed an officer at the port of Conſtantinople, who compelled the commanders of veſſels to pay enormous duties, or to commute them by the carriage of cargoes for the emperor to Africa or Italy, which exactions were found ſo intolerable, that many veſſels were actually burnt, or abandoned, by their owners: and thoſe merchants, who did pay the duties, were obliged to advance the prices of their goods in a proportion, that was ruinous to themſelves and to the conſumers. His money-changers, inſtead of giving 210 foles for the golden ſtater, gave only 180. And every branch of commerce, except the clothing trades, was fettered and oppreſſed by monopolies. [*Procop. Anecd. c.* 25.]

The legal rate of intereſt was eſtabliſhed at *ſix* per cent; but perſons of rank were not *permitted* to take more than *four*; while *eight* was allowed for the convenience of merchants and manufacturers, and *twelve* upon the riſk of bottomry. [*Pandect. L.* xxii, *tit.* 1, 2; *Cod. L.* iv, *tit.* 32, 33.]

The merchants of Egypt were no longer capable of conducting the Oriental trade, as their predeceſſors had done. Their voyages did not often extend beyond Aduli or the port of Aden in Arabia Felix. Many of them removed their reſidence to Aduli, and conſequently transferred their allegiance to the ſovereign of Axuma (or Abyſſinia), and if ſome

of them traded to Siele-div or any other part of India, they ſailed in veſſels belonging to the port of Aduli; and thus the commerce, which for ſeveral centuries rendered Egypt the repoſitory of the wealth of the weſtern world, was loſt to that country and to the Roman empire. [*Philoſtorgii Hiſt. eccl. L.* iii, *c.* 4.—*Coſm. Indicopl.*—*Procop. Perſic. L.* i, *cc.* 19, 20.]

Silk, which had never been worn by any Roman man before the reign of the worthleſs and effeminate Elagabalus, had now come into general uſe among the rich; and, notwithſtanding the very high price of it, it was ſought after with aſtoniſhing eagerneſs by the opulent and luxurious inhabitants of Conſtantinople. Conſequently it formed at all times a very conſiderable part, at leaſt in value, of the imports from the Eaſt.

The manufacture of ſilk goods from raw ſilk imported from the Eaſt had long been carried on in the antient Phœnician cities of Tyre and Berytus, whence the weſtern world uſed to be ſupplied. But the enhanced prices the manufacturers were obliged to pay to the Perſians (the cauſe of which will preſently be explained) made it impoſſible for them to furniſh their goods at the former prices, eſpecially in the Roman territories, where they were ſubject to a duty of ten per cent. The emperor, however, ordered that ſilk ſhould be ſold at the rate of eight pieces of gold * for the pound (twelve ounces of our avoirdupois weight) on penalty of the forfeiture of the whole property of the offender. The dealers immediately gave up their buſineſs, and clandeſtinely diſpoſed of their ſtock on hand in the beſt way they could; whereupon Theodora, whom, from a common proſtitute, Juſtinian had made his concubine, his wife, and at laſt his aſſociated partner in the imperial power, ſeized all the ſilks, and fined the proprietors a hundred pieces of gold. By theſe tyrannical proceedings the ſcarcity was immediately converted to abſolute want.

Juſtinian, deſpairing, or careleſs, of the re-eſtabliſhment of the commerce of Egypt, ſent Julian as his ambaſſador to Elaſbaan (or Helliſthæus) king of Axuma, requeſting that, for the ſake of their communion in religion, he would aſſiſt him in his war againſt Perſia, and direct his ſubjects to purchaſe ſilks † in India, in order to ſell them to the Romans, whereby the Axumites would acquire great wealth, and the Romans would have the ſatisfaction of paying their gold into the hands of their friends inſtead of enriching their Perſian enemies. Julian alſo proceeded on the ſame errand to Eſimiphæus, who was king of the Ho-

* Alemanus, in his notes on this paſſage of Procopius, makes a pound of gold contain a hundred aurei; and at that rate eight aurei amounted to about £3 : 4 : 0 of our modern money.

† Procopius, or the emperor, remarks, that the ſtuff now called *Seric* (ſilk) had formerly been called *Median* among the Greeks; and the ſame remark is made by Suidas, (vo. Σηρικη) who adds, that the emperor wiſhed the Axumites to import the ſilk in a raw ſtate, (ματαξα), whence it appears, that he was ſenſible of the benefit of having the manufacture in his own dominions.

merites in Arabia Felix, now under vaſſalage to the ſovereign of Axuma *. Both kings promiſed to comply with Juſtinian's requeſt; but neither of them was able to perform what he promiſed.

I have obſerved, that about the commencement of the Chriſtian æra, if not earlier, the merchants of India had taken a ſhare of the carrying trade to the weſtward into their own hands †; and they appear to have now made themſelves maſters of the greateſt part of it. In their outward voyages they generally called in at the ports of Perſia for the chance of a nearer market, and they ſcarcely ever failed of having their whole cargoes bought up by the Perſian merchants. By this preemption, and by having the command of the land carriage from the country of the Seres, which could not eaſily be conducted by any other route than through their territories, there was almoſt a monopoly, with reſpect to the weſtern nations, of India commodities and manufactures, but more eſpecially of ſilk, thrown into the hands of the Perſian merchants, who ſupplied the remoter nations at their own prices. Such being the ſtate of the trade, the Axumites, who found themſelves generally diſappointed in obtaining ſilks, ſoon deſiſted from a fruitleſs competition; and the luxurious Romans of Conſtantinople were obliged to live without ſilk, or to comply with the exorbitant demands of their Perſian enemies.

From this diſtreſs, which, though it would have provoked the laughter and the contempt of their anceſtors, was felt and lamented as a real misfortune by the ſenators of the Roman empire, they were relieved in a very extraordinary and unexpected manner. Two Perſian monks, inſpired by religious zeal or curioſity, had traveled to Serinda ‡, the country of the Seres, and lived in it long enough to make themſelves maſters of the whole proceſs of the ſilk manufacture. On their return to the weſtward, inſtead of communicating the knowlege to their own countrymen, they proceeded to Conſtantinople, induced perhaps by the ſameneſs of their religion, and imparted to the emperor the ſecret, hitherto ſo well preſerved by the Seres, that *ſilk was produced by a ſpecies of worms*, the eggs of which might be tranſported with ſafety, and propagated in his dominions. By the promiſe of a great reward they were engaged to return to Serinda, whence they actually brought off a quantity of the ſilk-worms' eggs concealed in a hollow cane, and conveyed them ſafely to Conſtantinople (a°. 552). The pretious eggs were hatched in the proper ſeaſon by the warmth of a dunghill, and the worms produced from them were fed with the leaves of the mulberry tree, ſpun

* Nonnoſus was alſo ſent on a ſimilar errand to the Axumites, Homerites, and Saracens. His own account of his embaſſy is abridged by Photius in his *Bibliotheca*, *p.* 6, *ed.* 1612.

† See above, p. 194.

‡ A name apparently compounded of *Seres* and *Indi*, the later of which was given by the Greeks and Romans to remote nations with as little preciſion as *Indian* is given by modern Europeans.

their ſilk, and propagated their race under the direction of the monks, who alſo taught the Romans the whole myſtery of the manufacture. [*Procop. Gothic. L.* iv, *c.* 17.—*Theophan. Byzant. ap. Photium.*—*Theophylact. L.* viii, *et ap. Photium.*—*Zonaras, V.* iii, *p.* 50, *ed.* 1557.] The important inſects, ſo happily produced, were the progenitors of all the ſilk-worms in Europe * and the weſtern parts of Aſia; and a caneful of the eggs of an Oriental inſect became the means of eſtabliſhing a manufacture, which luxury and faſhion rendered important, and of ſaving many millions of money to Europe †.

The infant manufacture was conducted under the auſpices of the emperor and the management of his treaſurer. The ſilk-weavers, apparently thoſe of Tyre and Berytus as well as thoſe inſtructed by the monks, were compelled to work for the imperial manufacture, which, for at leaſt ſome years, muſt have depended on ſupplies of raw ſilk from the Eaſt. When Procopius wrote his Anecdotes, the imperial treaſurer ſold ſilks at prices prodigiouſly beyond thoſe which had formerly been prohibited as exorbitant, thoſe of common colours being charged at ſix pieces of gold for the *ounce*, and thoſe which were tinged with the royal colour, at twenty-four and upwards.

The imperial monopoly of the ſilk trade was ſeverely felt by the inhabitants of the antient cities of Tyre and Berytus, who had long depended almoſt entirely upon their manufactures; and many of them emigrated to the Perſian dominions, where the acceſſion of ſuch valuable ſubjects probably compenſated the diminution in the ſales of ſilk to the Roman empire. [*Procop. Anecd. c.* 25.]

The weſtern parts of Europe were now very little known in the eaſtern Roman empire, as appears from ſeveral paſſages in the works of Procopius, who was a man of buſineſs as well as literature, being ſecretary to Beliſarius the commander in chief of the imperial army. He de-

* De Witt ſays, that the Italians got ſome ſeed of ſilk-worms from China and Perſia, by means of their trade to the Levant. [*Intereſt of Holland, part* i, *c.* 11.] But as we can trace the migrations of the ſilk-worm from Conſtantinople to Greece, Sicily, and Italy, I apprehend that great author has made a miſtake in a matter which the nature of his work did not require a ſtrict inveſtigation of.

† Suppoſing it true, as is alleged, that the Chineſe poſſeſſed in very remote ages the knowlege of the compaſs and the art of printing, the monks would have conferred a more important favour upon the weſtern world, if they had brought thoſe moſt valuable improvements with them. The improvement and extenſion of navigation by the compaſs might have opened new fields for commercial enterpriſe, and have furniſhed ſafe retreats from the exterminating ſwords of Scythian and Arabian invaders. And the univerſal diffuſion of knowlege by printing, (whether by ſingle moveable types, or by whole pages cut upon blocks, as practiſed in China) might have ſooner ſoftened the ferocity of the invaders, and have averted the dark cloud of barbariſm which was now gathering over Europe, and which debaſed the human faculties during many dark centuries of papal dominion over the reaſon and property of mankind. Antient hiſtory would have come down to us more full and correct than we now have it. We might have poſſeſſed the entire works of Polybius, Tacitus, and Ammianus Marcellinus; and, to come nearer home, we might have had deſcriptions of antient Britain, with accounts of Britiſh commerce, by Pytheas and Himilco. I ſay nothing of the loſt decads of Livy, though it is cuſtomary to deplore the want of them as the only valuable *deperdita* of antiquity.

livers a kind of a fairy tale of an iſland called Brittia, lying beyond Gaul and between Britain and Thulè *, inhabited by the Angles (or Angili), Friſons, and Britons; divided in two parts by a wall built in antient times, which was the boundary between a fertile and populous country on the eaſt ſide and the receptacle of ſerpents and other poiſonous animals on the weſt ſide. He had alſo heard, that Brittia was the land of departed ſpirits; and he gives a ſtrange account of the manner of ferrying them over to their iſland †.

The reign of Juſtinian may be cloſed by obſerving, that during the period of it the number of mankind was greatly diminiſhed, and their miſeries greatly increaſed, by earthquakes, plagues, religious perſecutions, and the accumulated calamities of perpetual wars with their concomitant evils, neglect of agriculture and famine ‡.

547—The north part of the antient Roman dominions in Britain, after lying almoſt uncultivated for ſome time as an untenable frontier, had ever ſince the abdication of the Romans been thinly ſettled by the Pichts along with the remains of the moſt antient inhabitants. It was now invaded and occupied by the Angles, or Engliſh, a branch of that great diviſion of the Germans called the Suevians, whoſe military valour, as the Uſipetes and Tenchtheri told Julius Cæſar, not even the immortal gods could reſiſt. Ida, their chief, fixed his reſidence in the caſtle of Bebbanburgh §, and laid the foundation of the great and flouriſhing kingdom of Northumberland, [*Cæſ. Bell. Gall. L.* iv, *c.* 7.—*Tac. Germ. c.* 40.—*Gildas, cc.* 15, 19.—*Bedæ Hiſt. eccl. L.* i, *c.* 15.—*Chron. Sax.*] which his ſucceſſors extended ſouthward to the Humber, the Don, and the Merſee, and northward to the Forth and the Dune, thus comprehending the two Roman provinces of Maxima, and Valentia, except the ſmall Britiſh kingdom of Strathcluyd, which, though Northumberland was generally the moſt powerful kingdom in Britain, reſiſted all its attacks, and even ſurvived it as a kingdom. Succeeding colonies of the Angles extended themſelves ſouthward, till they interfered with the conqueſts of the Saxons, and occupied almoſt all the country from the Thames to the Forth, except the ſmall kingdom of the Eaſt Saxons.

* The Thulè of Procopius is unqueſtionably Scandinavia, which, he ſays, is an iſland ten times as large as Britain, and lying northward from the country of the Danes, having the ſun above the horizon forty days in ſummer, and poſſeſſed by the Scrit-finni, Gauti, and other nations. [*Gothic. L.* ii, *c.* 15.]

† Notwithſtanding the name of Brittia, the account of this ſtrange country ſeems more applicable to Denmark, or the adjacent iſlands, than to Britain. The Eaſt Angles and Merkian Angles, had not arrived in Britain in the age of Procopius, and the arrival of the firſt Angles in ſo remote a country as Northumberland, and ſo late as 547, was moſt probably unknown to him. Camden has inſerted the beginning of the ſtory as hiſtory, and the ghoſts and their ferry-boats, with ſome other ſtrange ſtories, as fables, in his *Britannia, pp.* 94, 849, *ed.* 1607.]

‡ The events of the long reign of Juſtinian, which I have thought it neceſſary to notice as mediately or immediately affecting the little commerce now exiſting in the weſtern world, which have no particular references, are chiefly taken from the works of Procopius, a contemporary writer.

§ Now called Bamburgh, and well known to the coaſting mariner, and for the hoſpitable reception afforded to the ſhipwrecked by epiſcopal munificence.

564—When Gildas who is, next to Patric, the moſt antient Britiſh writer extant, wrote his lamentable hiſtory of the ruin, or exciſion (' excidium') of Britain, Conſtantine, Aurelius, Vortipor, Cuneglas, and Maglocun, were kings of ſome tribes or communities of the Britons. It ſeems probable from their names, that the two firſt were of Roman origin, and perhaps Conſtantine was of the family of that Conſtantine, who was elected emperor by the army in Britain in the beginning of the fifth century. [*Gildæ Epiſtola.*]

Gildas ſays, [*Hiſt. c.* i] that there were twenty-eight cities in Britain, beſides ſome caſtles ſtrongly fortified. An authentic liſt of the principal cities or towns of Britain in the ſixth century would be curious, and would throw much important light on the ſtate of the country. But Gildas, who delights in declamation, is very ſparing of facts, and totally neglectful of geography. Nennius, the next oldeſt Britiſh author, or more probably his continuator, in a work which uſed to paſs under the name of Gildas, has given a bare liſt of cities, which, being much corrupted by tranſcribers, affords very little information. However, as there is no other, after the Romans, equally antient, I ſhall here give it, as extracted from two very old manuſcripts by Archbiſhop Uſher, with the modern names agreeable to the ſame learned writer: and I ſhall ſet oppoſite to it the Britiſh names handed down to us by Henry of Huntingdon, together with his modern names, as being the oldeſt and fulleſt liſt after that of Nennius.

Cities from Nennius, by Uſher.		Cities from Henry of Huntingdon.	
Cair-Guntuig,	*Winwik* in Lancaſhire.		
Cair-Municip,	*Verulam* at St. Albans.	Kair-Mercipit.	
Cair-Lualid, or Ligualid,	*Carlile.*	Kair-Lion,	*Carlile.*
Cair-Meguaid, or Meiguod,	*Meivod* in Montgomery.	Kair-Meguaid.	
Cair-Colon,	*Colcheſter.*	Kair-Collon,	*Colcheſter.*
Cair-Ebrauc,	*York.*	Kair-Ebranc,	*York.*
Cair-Cuſteint,	*Cair-Seiont* near Carnarvon *.		
Cair-Caratauc.		Kair-Cucerat.	

* The Britiſh monks in the dark ages having *diſcovered*, that Conſtantine, the firſt Chriſtian emperor, was of Britiſh birth and parentage, and preſuming that others were as ignorant as themſelves, they reſolved alſo to provide a burying place for him, or his father Conſtantius, near Carnarvon, where in the year 1283 they even found his body. [*Uſſerii Brit. eccleſ. antiq. p.* 60.] But, as theſe are very groſs fictions, it is at leaſt as probable, that Conſtanton in Cornwall near Falmouth, which in the time of Gildas was ſubject to Conſtantine, a Britiſh petty king (not a Roman emperor) is the place here called Cair-Cuſteint.

Cities from Nennius, by Uſher.		Cities from Henry of Huntingdon.	
Cair-Grant,	*Grantcheſter* near Cambridge.	Kair-Grant,	*Cambridge.*
Cair-Mauchguid.		Kair-Meguaid.	
Cair-Lundein,	*London.*	Kair-Lundene,	*Lundon.*
Cair-Guorthigirn.		Kair-Guortigern.	
Cair-Ceint,	*Canterbury.*	Kair-Chent,	*Canterbury.*
Cair-Guorangon,	*Worceſter.*	Kair-Gorangon,	*Worceſter.*
Cair-Peris,	*Portcheſter.*	Kair-Peris,	*Portcheſter.*
Cair-Daun,	*Doncaſter.*		
Cair-Legion,	*Cheſter.*		
Cair-Guorichon,	*Warwick.*	Kair-Guorcon.	
Cair-Segeint,	*Cair-Seiont.*	Kair-Segent,	*Silcheſter.*
Cair-Legion-guar-Uiſc,	*Cairleion on Uſk.*	Kair-Legion,	*Cairleion on Uſk.*
Cair-Guent,	*Wintcheſter;* or *Cair-Went* in Monmouthſhire.		
Cair-Brithon,	[*Dunbarton.*]		
Cair-Lirion,	*Leiceſter.*	Kair-Lirion,	*Leiceſter.*
Cair-Draiton *,	*Draiton* in Shropſhire.	Kair-Draiton.	
Cair-Penſavelcoit,	*Pevenſey.*		
Cair-Urnach,	*Wroxeter.*	Kair-Urnac.	
Cair-Celemion,	*Camalet* in Somerſet.		
Cair-Luit-coyt,	*Lincoln.*	Kair-Loitchoit,	*Lincoln.*

Some places mentioned by Nennius are omitted by Henry, who has the following, not found in the earlier liſt.

Kair-Glou,	*Glouceſter.*	Kair-Dauri,	*Dorcheſter.*
Kair-Cei,	*Ciceſter.*	Kair-Dorm,	ruins on the Nen.
Kair-Briſtou,	*Briſtol.*	Kair-Merdin,	*Carmarthen.*
Kair-Ceri,	*Cirenceſter.*	Kair-Licelid.	

And Alfred of Beverly, whoſe liſt contains only twenty names, has Caer-Badun, *Bath;* and Caer-Palodour, *Shaftſbury* †.

Theſe liſts being evidently corrupt and imperfect, and moreover of an uncertain age, it would be idle to draw any concluſions from them reſpecting the antient ſtate of the towns *ſuppoſed* to be mentioned in them. Indeed, I fear, ſome readers will think the page occupied by them ill beſtowed: but I did not think myſelf at liberty to ſuppreſs

* This has much the appearance of an Engliſh name.

† Some of the modern names given by Alfred and Henry are evidently erroneous, e. g. Silcheſter.

what has been repeatedly adduced as a complete view of the ſtate of the country in the ſixth century.

The eſtabliſhment of the Turkiſh power in Aſia about the middle of the ſixth century, together with the ſubſequent wars, had interrupted the communication by caravans between China (or Serica) and Perſia. On the return of peace the Sogdians, who had the greateſt intereſt in the revival of the trade, perſuaded the Turkiſh ſovereign, to whom they were now ſubject, to ſend an embaſſy to Choſroes, or Nuſhirvan, king of Perſia: and Maniak, a Sogdian prince who was appointed ambaſſador, was inſtructed to requeſt permiſſion for the Sogdians to ſupply the Perſian empire with ſilk. But Choſroes, who found the conveyance by ſea to the Perſian gulf more advantageous to his ſubjects, bought up the whole of a parcel of ſilk the ambaſſador had carried with him, and then, to ſhow how little he valued it, immediately ſet fire to it. After this the Perſian and Chineſe empires confederated againſt the Turks, who thereupon made an alliance with Juſtin the emperor of Conſtantinople (a°. 569). Maniak, who was alſo employed as ambaſſador to negotiate the alliance, and his aſſociates, were aſtoniſhed and diſappointed upon ſeeing ſilk-worms and manufactures of ſilk at Conſtantinople: and they acknowleged, perhaps with overſtrained compliment, that the Romans were fully equal to the Chineſe in the management of the worms, and the manufacture of their ſilk. This firſt intercourſe of the Turks with Europe, however, produced a revival of the inland trade, which, by a route to the northward of the Caſpian ſea, extended from China to Conſtantinople, and furniſhed the later with great quantities of Chineſe merchandize, being, I preſume, chiefly conducted by the Sogdians. [*Menander, Excerp. legat. p.* 107.—*Theophanes, p.* 204.]

584—The laſt kingdom eſtabliſhed by the Angles in Britain was called Myrcna-ric (latinized Mercia*); and it comprehended all the middle part of modern England, extending from the Humber as far ſouth in ſome parts as the Thames.

590—The ancient city of Maſſilia (or Marſeille) ſtill preſerved a portion of its original induſtry and commercial ſpirit, as appears from Sulpicius Severus, [*Dial.* i] from Agathias, [*Hiſt. L.* xiii] and from ſeveral paſſages of Gregory of Tours, writers of this, and the preceding, age, who ſhow, that there was a conſiderable commercial intercourſe between the eaſtern countries and this city, which probably ſupplied the nations of the north-weſt parts of Europe with the few Oriental luxuries, which they were able to purchaſe.

604—The church of St. Paul in London was built by Ethelbert,

* We are generally told, that *Mercia* ſignifies the *march* or *frontier*, a ſignification peculiarly improper for a central country. *Myrcna-ric* in the Anglo-Saxon ſignifies the *woodland kingdom*, which agrees very cloſely with *Coitani*, the latinized name of the old Britiſh inhabitants, ſignifying *woodland men* or *foreſters*.

king of Kent and monarch of all the country on the ſouth ſide of the Humber. [*Bed. Hiſt. eccleſ. L.* ii, *c.* 3.] Sabereth, nephew of Ethelbert, and the immediate king of the Eaſt-Saxons, whoſe capital London was, is ſaid to have alſo founded a church at Thorney on the weſt ſide of London in honour of St. Peter, which, from its ſituation, afterwards obtained the name of Weſtminſter, a name ſince extended to a large city, which has ariſen between the church of St. Peter and London. [*Ailred, col.* 385.—*Gervaſ. Cant. col.* 1633.]

628—Hitherto all the churches, and moſt probably all the houſes alſo, in England were built of wood, or of wattles. A church of ſtone, apparently the ſecond in Britain, (ſee above, *p.* 214) was founded at York by Edwin, king of Northumberland, and the moſt powerful of all the Engliſh kings at this time, who did not live to finiſh it. About the ſame time a church of ſtone was alſo built at Lincoln: and in the following age Biſhop Wilfrid reſtored or completed that which Edwin had begun at York, covering the roof with lead, and filling the windows with glaſs *, ' which, while it excluded the birds and the rain, ' admitted light into the church.' Wilfrid built another church of poliſhed ſtone at Rippon, which was furniſhed with columns and porticoes, and adorned with gold, ſilver, and purple. Among the donations to the church of Rippon by this magnificent prelate, there was one, which was thought a wonderful work; the four goſpels written in letters of gold upon purple vellum, with a caſe of pure gold ſet with gems for preſerving the pretious volume. Unfortunately we are not told, whether this ſuperb book and caſe were executed in England, or imported; though the words ' he gave orders to write' and the like, may ſeem rather to infer, that the work was performed at home. The ſame great biſhop built a third church at Hexham in the ſame manner, which was ſo long and ſo lofty, that his biographer thought, that no building on this ſide of the Alps could be compared to it. [*Eddi Vita Wilfridi, cc.* 16, 17, 22.—*Bedæ Hiſt. eccleſ. L.* ii, *cc.* 14, 16.]

674—The taſte for eccleſiaſtical magnificence being now introduced in the Northumbrian kingdom, Benedict Biſcop built an abbay at the mouth of the River Were with ſtone in the Roman manner. For this work he brought maſons from the continent, and alſo glaſs-makers, who taught the Engliſh the art of making window-glaſs, and lamps, veſſels for drinking, &c. of glaſs: and thus was the elegant and uſeful art of making glaſs, an art ſo eſſential to our comfortable lodging in theſe cold northern climates, introduced in England †. Benedict made

* The glaſs for the church of York muſt have been imported, as appears from the ſubſequent paragraph. N. B. Eddius, the biographer of Wilfrid, lived before Bede.

† Strabo ſeems to ſay, that the antient Britons underſtood the manufacture of glaſs. But, ſuppoſing it to remain among their poſterity, it does not follow, that they would impart the knowlege of it to their Engliſh enemies. According to Adamnan the uſe of glaſs was known to the remote Northern Pichts before this time. (See above *pp.* 133, 223.)

many journies to Rome, whence he imported a prodigious number of ſtatues, reliques, books, and pictures of ſcripture hiſtory, wherewith he adorned, and almoſt filled, his church. [*Bedæ Hiſt. abbat Weremuth.*]

710—From Northumberland the taſte for fine churches ſpread into the neighbouring kingdom of the Pichts, where a church of ſtone in the Roman ſtile was built by workmen ſent from Weremouth at the requeſt of King Nechton the ſon of Dereli. [*Bedæ Hiſt. eccleſ. L.* v, *c.* 22.]

About 630—King Edwin, who began the building of the church at York, ſeems to have been alſo the founder of the caſtle of Edwyneſburg * (*Edinburgh*), ſituated on a precipitous rock in the north part of his dominions. We have not the ſmalleſt information of the nature of the architecture of this caſtle, which communicated its name to the town, built upon the ſloping ridge of the hill adjacent to the eaſt ſide of it, which in after ages became the capital city of Scotland.

A ſilver penny, coined at Eoferwic (*York*), and marked with the name of Edwin, is believed to be the earlieſt extant ſpecimen of coinage in this iſland after the abdication of the Romans, unleſs that of Ethelbert king of Kent belong to the firſt king of that name, who died in the year preceding the acceſſion of Edwin †.

I have here thrown together ſome notices of the progreſs of eccleſiaſtical and military architecture, and of ſome of the other arts in Britain, which as yet furniſhes but ſcanty materials for commercial hiſtory. Our attention is now recalled to the Eaſt.

616—Alexandria, though greatly reduced in the general decay of the Eaſtern empire, and by the removal of moſt of the Oriental trade to Perſia, was ſtill the commercial capital of the Mediterranean. That city, with the fertile country of Egypt, was now wreſted from the ſucceſſors of Auguſtus and Conſtantine by Choſroes, the victorious king of Perſia. Conſtantinople, deprived of the uſual ſupply of eight millions of modii of corn ‡, the annual importation from Egypt, was ready to periſh for want of food; and the miſerable emperor was reduced to the neceſſity of ſigning a treaty (a°. 621), binding himſelf to pay annually to the Perſian monarch a tribute of 1000 talents of gold, 1000 talents of ſilver, 1000 robes of ſilk, 1000 horſes, and, moſt ignominious of all, 1000 virgins. Perhaps (for the writers of the age have left us to conjecture) it was impoſſible for an exhauſted empire to pay the tribute. Whatever

* So the name is ſpelled in a charter of King David I, the moſt antient writing in which it is mentioned; and the name of Edwin is alſo preſerved, as it is ſpelled by Simeon of Durham and in the Chronicle of Lanercoſt, which expreſsly calls him the builder of the caſtle, and alſo gives the ſtory of his ſeven daughters being preſerved in it; which ſtory, together with its other name of Maydyn caſtle, has furniſhed Hector Boyſe the foundation of a fooliſh fable. [See *Geographical illuſtrations of Scottiſh hiſtory, vo. Edinburgh, Puellarum.*]

† Ethelbert's coin, being, I apprehend, of uncertain age, will be mentioned in a note under the year 1066.

‡ The Roman modius being a ſmall matter more than the Engliſh peck, the ſupply from Egypt was above two millions of buſhels.

was the cauſe, a moſt marvelous change took place, and the unſteady and puſillanimous emperor Heraclius became all at once a vigorous and intrepid hero. As the lands were deſolated, and commerce ruined, it was as impoſſible to raiſe funds for carrying on a war as for purchaſing a peace. But Heraclius ſtill poſſeſſed a fleet of gallies, to which the unemployed merchant ſhips were added; and in his abſolute want he preſumed to ſeize the hoarded wealth of the churches, promiſing, however, to return it with large intereſt (a°. 622). By a wonderful ſeries of victories the circumſtances of the two empires were completely reverſed: the Roman arms were carried into Perſia; the haughty Choſroes actually betook himſelf to flight and concealment, and was ſoon after depoſed. Heraclius recovered Egypt and the other provinces wreſted from his empire by the Perſians (a°. 628); and he had the wiſdom not to demand any acceſſion of territory from them, which would at once have weakened himſelf and ſown the ſeeds of future wars. But the arts, ſcience, and commerce, never recovered. The ſplendid victories of Heraclius were the laſt bright gleam of the military glory of the Roman, or Grecian, empire, againſt which there was now ſpringing up in the deſerts of Arabia a new, and ſtill more formidable, enemy, deſtined with rapid ſtrides to ſpread over the eaſtern, and a great part of the weſtern, world, and to eſtabliſh a new empire, and a new religion, upon the ruins of thoſe of Conſtantinople.

It has already been obſerved, that a great portion of the Oriental commerce, which formerly enriched the Roman ſubjects in Egypt, had paſſed into the hands of the Perſians, who appear to have eclipſed the Arabians in the extent and activity of their commerce: But when the later in the rapid career of their conqueſts reached the Euphrates, they immediately perceived the advantages to be derived from an emporium ſituated upon a river, which opened on the one hand a ſhorter route to India than they had hitherto had, and on the other an extenſive inland navigation through a wealthy country; and Baſſora which they built on the weſt bank of the river (a°. 636), ſoon became a great commercial city, and entirely cut off the independent part of Perſia from the Oriental trade. The Arabian merchants of Baſſora, extended their diſcoveries to the eaſtward far beyond the tracts of all preceding navigators, and imported directly from the places of their growth many Indian articles, hitherto procured at ſecond hand in Ceylon, which they furniſhed on their own terms to the nations of the Weſt.

640—The victorious Arabs had now deprived Heraclius, who after his Perſian triumph had relapſed into his former lethargy, of the wealthy, and in ſome degree commercial, province of Syria. The little commerce, now remaining to the Roman empire, alſo fell into their hands with the city of Alexandria and the province of Egypt: and the road

from Egypt to Medina was covered by a long train of camels loaded with the corn, which uſed to feed Conſtantinople *.

645—The antient canal between the Nile and the Red ſea is ſaid to have been cleared out, and again rendered navigable, by Amrou, the Arabian conqueror and governor of Egypt, in order to furniſh a ſhorter and cheaper conveyance for the corn and other bulky produce of that country †.

The Arabian, or Saracen, armies, enflamed by fanaticiſm, ambition, and avarice, proceeded with a rapid and irreſiſtible torrent of victories, unexampled in the hiſtory of mankind, till they became maſters of the fineſt provinces of the world, extending eaſtward to the confines of China, and weſtward to the Atlantic ocean. Their victories enlarged their commerce, as well as their empire; and almoſt the whole trade of the world fell into their hands.

660—The loſs of Jeruſalem having rendered its holy places more pretious than ever in the eyes of the Chriſtians, pilgrimages to it were now become very frequent: and in theſe commerce was united with devotion, which was probably the reaſon that they were tolerated, and even encouraged, by the Saracens, who allowed a fair to be annually held on the 15th of September, as Adamnan, abbat of Hyona, on the authority of St. Arculf, relates in his book on the holy places, honourably mentioned by Bede. It is probable, that the trade, thus carried on at Jeruſalem, was in a great meaſure for goods brought from the Eaſt by the conveyance of Baſſora, the River Euphrates, and the caravans. [*Bedæ Hiſt. eccleſ. L.* v, *cc.* 16 *et ſeqq.—De Guignes, Mem. de litterature, V.* xxxvii, *p.* 475.]

668—The Saracens, whoſe fleets now rode triumphant in the Mediterranean, had already taken poſſeſſion of Cyprus, Rhodes, and many others of the Grecian iſlands. The imperial city of Conſtantinople was now for the firſt time beſieged by the followers of Mohamed, who came againſt it with a great fleet and army. During ſeven years they annually renewed their attacks, which were finally baffled (a°. 674). After loſing thirty thouſand men, and moſt of their ſhips, the Saracens gave up all hopes of taking the city; and the calif even ſubmitted to the humiliating terms of paying an annual tribute of 3,000 pieces of gold, 50 horſes, and 50 ſlaves, to the Roman emperor during a truce of thirty years.

The repulſe at Conſtantinople threw a temporary cloud over the military glory of the Saracens, and ſhed a faint ray of light upon the expiring reputation of the Greeks, or Romans. But the whole praiſe was

* Literally *covered*, if the foremoſt of the train reached Medina before the laſt of them got out of Egypt, as Ockley ſays.

† This celebrated canal was again ſtopped up at the end next the Red ſea in the year 775. In 1707 the end next the Nile was diſcovered by Mr. Butier. [See *Ockley's Hiſtory of the Saracens, p.* 362.—*Phillips's Hiſtory of inland navigation, p.* 5.—*Browne's Travels in Africa, p.* 94, who copies from *Cardonne's Hiſt. de l'Afrique, &c.* compiled from Arabic manuſcripts in the royal library of France.

due to the ingenuity of an individual. Conſtantinople and the remainder of the empire owed their preſervation to a new and wonderful invention of Callinicus, a Syrian or Egyptian Greek, whoſe ſcience on this occaſion, like that of Archimedes in the ſiege of Syracuſe, was infinitely more valuable than the ſtrength and courage of the greateſt armies. This invention was the famous Greek fire, a ſubſtance or preparation, which communicated unextinguiſhable fire to every thing it came in contact with, and which could be launched from the military engines, ſhot through a tube, and conveyed in every direction, even water itſelf being no impediment, but rather giving additional vigour to its operation. The ſecret of preparing this aſtoniſhing engine of deſtruction, or defence, was preſerved with the ſtricteſt vigilance by the Roman (or Grecian) government above four hundred years, after which the Saracens got poſſeſſion of the art. It continued to be uſed in war, till it was ſuperſeded by the invention of gun-powder, and then even the knowlege of it was loſt.

690—Benedict Biſcop, who made ſo many journies to Rome, and imported ſo much church furniture to Northumberland, as already related, ſold a book upon coſmography to Aldfrid, his ſovereign, for eight hides of land. At that rate ſcarcely any but a king could afford to have a book; and even in the very higheſt ranks there were then but few in Britain, who could read. Indeed, as books were almoſt inacceſſible, reading could be of little uſe.

694—The kingdom of Kent is ſaid to have paid a fine of *thirty thouſand pounds of ſilver* to Inè, king of the Weſt-Saxons, for the ſlaughter of his brother. [*Chr. Sax. ad an.*] Notwithſtanding the reſpectable authority of the Saxon chronicle, it is difficult to conceive how ſo ſmall a country (for the kingdom of Kent contained only the preſent ſhire of that name) could in thoſe days raiſe a ſum, equal, as appears by the laws of the ſame King Inè, to the value of 1,440,000 ſheep with as many young lambs, reckoning 48 ſhillings in the money pound, and one ſhilling as the price of a ſheep with her lamb, as rated in King Inè's laws *.

The ſeventieth law of Inè fixes the quantity of the various articles to be paid annually by the poſſeſſor of a farm of ten hides of land, or as much as required ten ploughs: but we are not informed, whether it was a regulation for the farms of the king's own property, like the farming laws of Charlemagne, or was generally binding upon the land-holders

* William Thorne, [*col.* 1770 *ap. Twyſden*] though comparatively a late writer, ſeems to come nearer the truth, when he rates the fine at *three thouſand pounds*, which he, being a monk of Canterbury, may have taken from an authentic record. William of Malmſbury raiſes it to 30,000 marks of gold. The conjecture of Doctor Henry [*Hiſt. of Britain, V.* iv, *p.* 280 *ed.* 1788] that *pounds* have crept into the text inſtead of *pennies*, 30,000 pennies being the full weregeld of a king, is extremely probable.

and farmers throughout the kingdom of the Weſt-Saxons. The articles were

10 fats of honey,	20 hens,
300 loaves,	10 cheeſes,
12 ambers * of Welſh ale,	1 amber of butter,
30 hluttres †,	6 ſalmon,
2 full-grown oxen or 10 wethers,	20 pound weight of fodder ‡,
10 geeſe,	100 eels.

Though we find the payment of ſalmon and eels, both indeed river fiſh, ordered by law among the Weſt-Saxons, we are told that the Saxons at Boſenham on the very confines of the Weſt-Saxon and South-Saxon kingdoms, did not know, that fiſh could be caught in the ſea, till Wilfrid, a Northumbrian biſhop, taught them to make a ſeine by joining their eel nets together (a°. 678), whereby they caught 300 fiſh in the ſea at the firſt haul §. [*Bedæ Hiſt. eccleſ. L.* iv, *c.* 13.]

698—The remains of the epiſcopal, rather than commercial, city of Carthage were utterly deſtroyed by the Saracens. Its antient commercial ſplendour may entitle its aſhes to this brief notice in commercial hiſtory.

710—All the provinces formerly belonging to the Roman empire in Africa being now ſubject to the Saracens, except only the fort of Ceuta on the ſouth ſhore of the Strait, they were invited into Europe by Julian, the commander of that fort and of the oppoſite coaſt of Spain, who took that method of revenging an injury done to him by his ſovereign ‖. They were alſo encouraged by promiſes of aſſiſtance from the Jews of Spain, who were unable to live under the bigotted perſecution of the Gothic clergy. The ſucceſsful inroad of a ſmall party, who returned loaded with ſpoil, enflamed the ambition and the avarice of the Saracens to make a total conqueſt of that rich country. A more numerous army landed on the rock, ſince called from their leader Gebel al Tarik, now corrupted to Gibraltar, marched to Xerxes, and fought the Gothic army, which was totally defeated (a°. 711). In a few months

* Spelman ſubſtitutes for *amber* the Roman meaſure *amphora*, and gives the Roman explanation of the quantity contained in it. [*Gloſſ. vo. Firma.*] Arbuthnot [*Table of coins*] makes the *amphora* above ſeven gallons of Engliſh wine meaſure. Lambard, makes the amber nearly the ſame with the modern firkin, and ſays, the word is not quite obſolete: and his explanation is tranſcribed by Wheloc. But it is very doubtful whether the Saxon meaſure had any connection with the Roman.

† Lambard, Spelman, and Wheloc make *hluttres* weaker ale; but Bromton, who lived much nearer the Saxon times than any of them, has left it untranſlated. The word is an adjective ſignifying *lucid, pure, ſimple.*

‡ Doctor Henry ſuſpects a miſtake in this very trifling quantity of fodder.

§ That the deſcendents of thoſe Saxons who for ſeveral ages were the moſt experienced and intrepid ſeamen in the Northern ocean, and muſt be preſumed to have alſo been good fiſhermen, ſhould have already loſt the knowlege of catching fiſh in the ſea, which was juſt beſide them at Boſenham, is rather too wonderful: and, with all our veneration for the hiſtorical integrity of Bede, we muſt remember, that the ſtory is connected with a miracle.

‖ The common ſtory of the violation of Julian's daughter by King Roderic ſeems to have little or no foundation.

the whole of that great peninſula, which for two centuries withſtood the attacks of Rome when in the zenith of her military glory, fell under the power of the Saracens, excepting the mountains of Aſturia, where a few unconquerable ſpirits ſtill preſerved their independence; and whence in after ages they deſcended to recover the ſovereignty of their country from the poſterity of the Saracen conquerors, then called Moors.

716—A ſecond and more formidable attack upon Conſtantinople was made by the Saracens under the command of Moſlemah, the brother of Soliman the calif. Beſides a great army, who marched by land to the Helleſpont, they had a fleet, ſaid to conſiſt of eighteen hundred veſſels, twenty of which, capable of carrying a hundred ſoldiers each, were eſteemed large ſhips; whence it appears, that the reſt were very ſmall. The Greek fire, conveyed among them by means of fire-ſhips, totally deſtroyed this very numerous fleet, which, being crowded together in ſo narrow a channel, had no poſſibility of eſcaping from the flames. A reinforcement of ſhips and proviſions from Egypt and Africa in the following year ſcarcely eſcaped the ſame deſtruction. The Saracens at laſt gave up the undertaking as hopeleſs: and Conſtantinople was a ſecond time ſaved by the invention of Callinicus.

It is worthy of remark, that the mountains of Libanus, which furniſhed timber for building the ſhips of Sidon in the infancy of navigation, were ſtill the great nurſery for ſhip timbers, vaſt ſtores of which were collected on the coaſt of Phœnicia by the Saracens for building their fleets.

718, September 4th—The earlieſt naval battle recorded in Britiſh hiſtory was fought at a place called Ardaneſs (apparently on the weſt coaſt of Scotland) between Duncha-beg, king of Kentire, and Celvac (or Selvac), king of Lorn, the ſovereigns of two diviſions or tribes of the Scots. [*Ann. Ult. MS. in Muſ. Britan. Cat. Ayſc.* N°. 4,795.]

About 730—Now, and probably long before (for the notice is connected by Bede with events of the year 604) London, though the capital of one of the ſmalleſt kingdoms in England, by its happy ſituation on the bank of the noble navigable River Thames, was an emporium for many nations repairing to it by land and by ſea *. This undoubted teſtimony of the trade of London ſhows us, that the commerce of England, which now animates the induſtry of all the world, was then chiefly, or entirely, of the paſſive kind, and carried on by ſtrangers.

Bede, to whom we are indebted for this earlieſt commercial notice of

* 'Londonia civitas eſt, ſuper ripam præfati 'fluminis [*Thameſis*] poſita, et ipſa multorum em- 'porium populorum terra marique *venientium*.' [*Bedæ Hiſt. eccleſ. L.* ii, *c.* 3.] King Alfred, in his tranſlation of this paſſage, calls the city 'Lunden- 'ceaſter'—'and ſeo is monigra folce ceap ſtow.' Ceap ſtow (merchandize place) will explain the modern name of one of the principal trading ſtreets of the city.

London after the abdication of Britain by the Romans, flouriſhed at this time. He is allowed, by the impartial voice of all ſucceeding ages and of every nation, to have been the greateſt ornament, not only of Northumberland and of England, but of all the weſtern world, and the moſt illuſtrious mathematician and aſtronomer, as well as the greateſt ſcholar, of the middle ages. Almoſt the whole circle of the ſciences of antient Greece and Rome was known to him; and it particularly deſerves our notice, that he aſſerted the rotundity of the earth, [*Bedæ Opera, V.* i, *p.* 376; *V.* ii, *p.* 125, *ed. Colon.* 1612] and that he was not condemned as a heretic for his knowlege *.

732—The Saracens from Spain had now penetrated into the center of France. It was but another ſtep to Britain. But the valour of Charles Martel, the founder of a dynaſty of kings of France, repelled the torrent. The Saracen army was defeated with prodigious ſlaughter in a battle, which laſted a whole week; and France and the countries beyond it were for ever preſerved from Arabian conqueſt.

Notwithſtanding this check, the Saracens continued the moſt powerful people in the world. They were the undoubted, and the unrivaled, ſovereigns of the ſea, and almoſt the only traders, upon the Mediterranean, and on the Indian ocean. But the Chriſtians of Europe were excluded from almoſt every channel, by which the pretious goods of the Eaſt had formerly been conveyed to them †. An inveterate antipathy, excited by mutual ſlaughters, and inflamed by religious bigotry, which made the Chriſtians conſider the Mohamedans as diſciples of an

* The wonderful proficiency of Bede in ſtudy could only be equaled by his induſtry in communicating to others the treaſures of his knowlege, which he did in a prodigious number of compoſitions, *one hundred and thirty-nine* of which, ſtill extant, and collected in eight folio volumes, may be conſidered as a complete body of the learning and ſcience, as well as the theology, of the middle ages. Beſides his knowlege of the rotundity of the earth, the following may be noted as ſpecimens of his inſtructions in the ſciences connected with commerce.

V. i, *p.* 103 Multiplication tables, which he calls Pythagoric tables. (They are in figures, but that is a liberty, and a very improper one, taken by the editor.)

p. 135 Arithmetical caſes for the exerciſe of learners, many of which are ſtill retained in our modern books of arithmetic. One of them ſhows that 20 ſhillings made a pound, at leaſt in weight, in the Northumbrian kingdom; 'Eſt diſcus qui 'penſat libras 30 five ſolidos 600;' and the ſolution of this queſtion proves that the pound conſiſted of 12 ounces. Another ſuppoſes a man leaving 30 glaſs bottles ('ampullas vitreas') to his ſons: this, unleſs it was copied from a work compoſed in a more civilized country, may ſeem to infer that glaſs bottles were common in Northumberland.

p. 163 The circumference of the earth 252,000 ſtadia; copied from Eratoſthenes. See above, p. 94.

p. 387 The revolution of Saturn in 30 years, Jupiter in 12, Mars in 2, the ſun in 365¼ days; wherein he follows the antients.

p. 463 Rules for conſtructing dials, and aſtrolabes.

† It has been ſuppoſed, that, after the Saracens got poſſeſſion of Egypt, the communication between India and Europe through Alexandria ſtill continued as before; and I thought ſo myſelf, till upon examination I found no authority whatever for any intercourſe of the Chriſtians with Alexandria before the beginning of the ninth century. In the almoſt-total darkneſs of hiſtory in theſe benighted ages probable preſumptions muſt be received for want of better evidence: and we find, that before Egypt fell into the hands of the Saracens, writings of importance in Europe were executed upon the Egyptian papyrus; but after that period they are upon parchment. This amounts almoſt to a proof, that the trade with Egypt, the only country producing the papyrus, was interrupted. [See *Muratori Antiq. Ital. V.* iii, *col.* 832 *et paſſim.*]

impoſtor (or of the devil), pagans, and enemies of God *, while they on the other hand abhorred the Chriſtians as idolaters and enemies of God, was an almoſt inſuperable bar to commercial intercourſe. But the mutual alienation produced little or no inconvenience to the Saracens, who found an ample ſcope for commercial enterpriſe within the vaſt extent of their own dominions. The ſcanty ſupply of Oriental goods from the fairs of Jeruſalem, and perhaps a few other privileged places, being very inadequate to the demand, ſome merchants were tempted by the increaſed price to traverſe the vaſt extent of Aſia in a latitude beyond the northern boundary of the Saracen power, and to import by caravans the ſilks of China, and the valuable ſpices of India, which, with the expenſe and riſk of ſuch a land carriage, muſt have coſt a moſt enormous price, when they reached Conſtantinople, where they were, notwithſtanding, eagerly purchaſed by the luxurious and wealthy courtiers, whoſe demands for ſilks the manufactures of Greece were not capable of ſupplying to their full extent.

Next to thoſe of Conſtantinople, the citizens of Venice appear to have been in this age the moſt diſtinguiſhed among the Chriſtians of Europe for commercial efforts. The origin and dawning proſperity of this city have been already noticed. The total want of territory directed their attention and their hopes to the ſea, which was at once their frontier, their fortification, and the only field to be ploughed by their induſtry. The perpetual wars, and the rapid ſucceſſion of conquerors, which had for ſeveral ages convulſed Italy, drove into the riſing city a gradual and conſtant acceſſion of free-ſpirited, induſtrious, and wealthy, inhabitants, the trueſt ſource of the proſperity of any ſtate. Their veſſels now ventured beyond the limits of the Adriatic gulf; they doubled the ſouthern extremity of Greece, and made voyages to Conſtantinople and other places. They carried home valuable cargoes of ſilks, and all the rich produce of the Eaſt, the magnificent purple drapery of Tyre, and the furs of ermines and other northern animals; all which they ſold with prodigious profit to the nations of the north and weſt parts of Europe. It is a melancholy conſideration, that human creatures, the produce of the wars, formed alſo a principal article of their trade: and it is much to the credit of Pope Zacharia, that he purchaſed, and gave liberty to, a number of ſlaves of both ſexes, whom the Venetian traders were going to carry over to the coaſt of Africa to be ſold to the Saracens. [*Monach. Sangall. de reb. Car. Mag. ap. Muratori Antiq. V.* ii, *col.* 409; *Vita Zachariæ, ib. col.* 883.]

* This narrow-minded and ignorant miſrepreſentation continued for many ages to diſgrace the pages of the Chriſtian writers, with the exception of a very few; among whom William of Malmſbury deſerves to be noticed, who, with his uſual ſuperiority of judgment, obſerves, that 'the Saracens and Turks worſhip God the Creator, eſteeming Mahomet not a god, but the prophet of God.' [*Geſt. reg. Angl. f.* 43 b] Mathew Paris [*p.* 426] alſo ſays, that the Saracens believe in one God, the creator of all things, and deteſt idols.

After ſeeing the deplorable decay of ſcience among the Greeks and Romans, as it appears in the work of Coſmas, &c. it is not a little ſurpriſing, that ſuch remote countries as Britain and Ireland ſhould produce ſome geniuſes, who ſoared above the darkneſs of their age, and ventured to aſſert, that the earth, which we inhabit, is a globe, and that there are people on the oppoſite ſide of it. Virgil, biſhop of Saltzburg in Germany, for maintaining theſe truths was condemned as a heretic by the philanthropic Pope Zacharia, who was greatly alarmed at ſuch dangerous doctrine. In the ſtrange revolutions, which often took place in the affairs of the clergy, the heretical philoſopher was afterwards canonized as a ſaint, I know not for what merit, but ſurely not for his ſcience. Ireland has the honour of having produced this enlightened ſaint *.

753—The Saxons and their aſſociates, who make their firſt appearance in hiſtory as the tremendous maſters of the Ocean, and the dread of all the maritime provinces of the weſtern Roman empire, ſeem, after their complete ſettlement in Britain, and their converſion to the Chriſtian religion, to have entirely changed their national character. The uſe of arms was generally abandoned; all thoughts of naval affairs were given up; and their ſhips, the chief inſtrument of their conqueſts, as no longer of any uſe, were allowed to rot upon the beach. Vaſt numbers of people of all ranks, kings and queens not excepted, perſuaded that a life of retirement from ſecular cares and buſineſs was the moſt pleaſing to the Deity, renounced the world, and ſhut themſelves up in monaſteries †. The event was ſuch as ſeems to have been almoſt predicted by Bede. [*Hiſt. eccles. L.* v, *c.* 23; *Epiſt. ad Egberct.*] The miſeries which the nations had ſuffered from their anceſtors were now as fully inflicted upon them by the ferocious roving warriors deſcended of their own remote anceſtors, who, under the names of Danes, Norwegians, or Normans, ſucceeded to the naval dominion of the Northern ocean. The firſt outrage of thoſe plunderers, which is recorded, was upon the coaſt of Thanet. [*Chronol. Auguſtin. ap. Twyſden, col.* 2,236.] Succeeding incurſions haraſſed and ruined England, till the invaders effected ſettlements for themſelves in the eaſt part of the country; and at laſt a dynaſty of Daniſh kings were for a ſhort time ſeated upon the throne of England.

* We have ſeen the rotundity of the earth condemned as hereſy two hundred years before this time by Coſmas, an Egyptian Greek, and now by the infallible head of the Roman church. But Photius, the patriarch of Conſtantinople in the ninth century, was more enlightened, for he reprehends a nameleſs author, apparently Coſmas, for denying that the earth is a globe. [*Bibliotheca, cod.* 36.]

† 'It is ſaid, that in the ninth century there 'were in this kingdom more monks than military 'men; and to this bad policy ſome have not 'ſcrupled to attribute the ſucceſs of the Danes in 'their ſeveral viſitations.' [*Hawkins's Hiſt. of muſic, V.* ii, *p.* 261.] That Scotland was not alſo conquered by the northern invaders, may with great probability be aſcribed to the ſmaller influence of monaſtic ſuperſtition in that leſs opulent country.

795—We now find the firſt certain accounts of the northern piratical rovers, called Normans, Norwegians, Danes, or Oſtmen, landing in Ireland and the iſlands on the north ſide of it, many of which were ſettled by monks, moſt of whom they drove from their monaſteries. [*Ann. Ult. ad an.* 794, with *Uſſerii Brit. eccleſ. antiq. p.* 958.] There is no reaſon to ſuppoſe that the north part of Britain could eſcape their ravages, though there is no certain account of any invaſion of it by them till about forty years after this time.

796—The commerce of Britain, which ſince the time of the Roman dominion in the iſland had been almoſt totally extinguiſhed, appears to have begun to revive about this time. Some Engliſh traders reſorted to the continent; and they even went as far as Rome, and perhaps Venice. Some of them, in order to evade payment of the cuſtoms exacted from them in their tranſit through France, pretended to be pilgrims on their journey to Rome, the baggage of all ſuch being exempted from duties. The Engliſh goods, which were of ſuch value in reſpect to their bulk as to admit of being ſmuggled in a traveler's baggage, were probably nice works in gold and ſilver, in making which the Anglo-Saxon artiſts appear to have been eminently ſkilful*. Reliques, images of ſaints, pretious ſtones, books, pictures for churches, and dreſſes for prieſts, were probably the chief articles of the homeward cargoes. The French collectors of the cuſtoms, diſcovering the deception of the pretended pilgrims, obliged them to pay the duties upon their goods; whereupon they complained to Offa, the moſt powerful of the Engliſh kings, in conſequence of which an embargo was laid upon the ſhipping on both ſides for ſome time. But when Offa had compelled all the other Engliſh and Saxon kings to acknowlege his ſuperiority, Charles the Great became willing to enter into friendſhip with him, without, however, giving up his claim to the cuſtomary duties on merchandize. I have already (p. 60) given a tranſlation of the oldeſt commercial treaty in the world; and the reader, I dare ſay, will be pleaſed to ſee a tranſlation of Charles's letter to Offa, then in effect the monarch of England, as far as it relates to commercial objects, as it is, properly ſpeaking, the very firſt of the many commercial treaties between England and the other countries of Europe. It begins thus:

'Charles, by the grace of God king of the Franks and Lombards, 'and patrician of the Romans, to our venerable and moſt dear brother, 'Offa, king of the Merkians, greeting. Firſt, we give thanks to all-'mighty God for the ſincere catholic faith which we ſee ſo laudably 'expreſſed in your letters. Concerning the ſtrangers, who, for the love 'of God and the ſalvation of their ſouls, wiſh to repair to the threſholds 'of the bleſſed apoſtles, let them travel in peace without any trouble.

* The Engliſh works in gold and ſilver in theſe ages were famous even in Italy. [*Muratori Antiq. I.* v, *col.* 12.]

'Nevertheleſs, if any are found among them not in the ſervice of religion, but in the purſuit of gain, let them pay the eſtabliſhed duties at the proper places. We alſo will, that merchants ſhall have lawful protection in our kingdom according to our command; and if they are in any place unjuſtly aggrieved, let them apply to us or our judges, and we ſhall take care that ample juſtice be done to them.'—After ſome eccleſiaſtical particulars, he concludes, by informing Offa, that he had ſent him a preſent of a belt, a Hunniſh ſword, and two robes of ſilk * †. [*M. Paris Vit. Offæ, p.* 20.—or *Will. Malmſb. f.* 17.]

The kingdom of Northumberland appears to have ſurpaſſed the other diviſions of Britain in wealth, as well as in learning and ſcience. There is even reaſon to believe that the Jews, a race of people, who, ever ſince the deſtruction of their capital city by the Romans, have ſpread themſelves into every wealthy country, had before this time penetrated into this remote kingdom, as we may infer from a foreign canon being tranſcribed by Egbert archbiſhop of York into his Excerpts ‡, which prohibits Chriſtians from imitating the manners of the Jews, or partaking of their feaſts. [*Spelman. Concil. p.* 275.] The ſame prelate eſtabliſhed a noble library at York, the capital city of Northumberland, to which Alcuin propoſed, with the approbation of the emperor Charles, to ſend the youth of France for improvement. [*Will. Malmſb. f.* 153 a.]

800—Charles the Great (or Charlemagne), in conſequence of his extenſive conqueſts and great power, and the policy of the pope, was crowned at Rome by the title of emperor of the Romans; a title ſtill kept up by the emperors of Germany as his ſucceſſors. Some time af-

* This treaty was brought about chiefly by the conduct of Alcuin, one of the ambaſſadors ſent by Offa to Charles. That great monarch was ſo delighted with the talents and learning of Alcuin, that he entreated him to remain with him in order to inſtruct his ſubjects. And to this learned native of the Northumbrian kingdom, who ſhone, after Bede, the brighteſt luminary of the benighted weſtern world, the French are in a great meaſure indebted for the origin of learning and ſcience in their country.

The hiſtorians of England have taken but little notice of Charles's letter, which is an authentic treaty of friendſhip and commerce. But Fordun and the later Scottiſh hiſtorians, thinking it highly honourable for their country that it ſhould have attracted the notice of ſo great a prince as Charles, have wreſted a paſſage, wherein Eginhart mentions the kings ('*reges*') of the Scots (unqueſtionably the Scots of Ireland) as the humble ſervants of Charles, into a proof of an alliance between him and Achaius, king of the Scots in Argyle. Wyntown, a writer contemporary with Fordun, knew nothing of the alliance, nor of any one event of the reign of Achaius or Eokal; [See his *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland, B.* vi, *c.* 4] but Hector Boyſe, the great embelliſher of Scottiſh hiſtory, having given *the ſanction of his authority* to the ſtory, it was almoſt univerſally believed till lately. Mr. Anderſon, carried away by the tide of eſtabliſhed prejudice, which had carried away Sir George Mackenzie, Sir James Dalrymple, Sir Robert Sibbald, Thomas Ruddiman, and other writers, whoſe profeſſed line of ſtudy led them to a more critical inveſtigation of Scottiſh hiſtory, has noticed this *league* in his work. It would be eaſy to ſhew that there is no authority to ſay that any ſuch league ever exiſted, but it would lead me into a diſſertation very foreign to the nature of this work.

† Mathew Paris remarks, probably from traditional report, that Vulſig, abbat of St. Albans, a favourite, and perhaps a relation, of King Offa, affected great magnificence, and was clothed in ſilk. [*Vitæ abbatum, p.* 37.] Perhaps the pompous abbat had ſilks imported on purpoſe for his own uſe; for we cannot ſuppoſe, that what was a proper preſent from the greateſt ſovereign on the continent to the greateſt ſovereign in Britain, was common in the weſtern parts of the world.

‡ Spelman thinks that the Excerpts of Egbert may have been written about the year 750. He poſſeſſed the ſee of York from 735 to 766.

ter two dukes of Venice *, and a duke of Iadera in Dalmatia, are ſaid to have received at his hands a confirmation of their dignities.

Amidſt the devaſtations and ſlaughters of a reign of forty-ſeven years, paſſed in perpetual warfare, Charles paid ſome attention to learning and ſcience, and apparently alſo to commerce, though he ſhowed great ignorance of the principles of it, when he allowed the prieſts to make a canon, declaring all intereſt for the uſe of money to be ſinful. The fairs of Aquiſgranum (Aix la Chapelle) and Troye were frequented during his reign by traders from moſt parts of Europe: and the weight uſed at the later has been generally adopted, and is now uſed by us for weighing gold and ſilver. He collected what was then eſteemed a great library, and he founded the univerſities of Paris and Pavia, which ſet the example to ſimilar inſtitutions, wherein the lamp of ſcience, though it burnt but very dimly during ſeveral dark ages, was at leaſt preſerved from utter extinction. He ſtudied aſtronomy under the Engliſh philoſopher and poet Alcuin; and his taſte for geography may be preſumed from his three ſilver plates, on one of which was engraved a map of Conſtantinople, on another Rome, and on the third and largeſt the three parts of the world, viz. Europe, Aſia, and Africa, each incloſed in a circle. To curb the maritime depredations of the Normans and Saracens he kept ſome ſhips on the Ocean and the Mediterranean; and he reſtored the light-houſe at Bononia (*Boulogne*), that it might direct his ſhips in the night. His attempts to join the Meuſe with the Saone, and the Rhine with the Danube, though intended only for the purpoſes of war, if they could have been rendered effectual and permanent, would have been uſeful to inland navigation. [*Eginharti Vita Caroli magni.—Aimon. Geſt. Franc. L.* iv, *cc.* 68-102.]

808—Charlemagne, having ſubdued the remains of the old Saxons on the north ſide of the Elbe, erected two caſtles on the banks of that river to curb the Slavi and other hoſtile tribes. In two years after, one of them, called Hochbuchi, Hocburi, or Hamburgh, was taken and deſtroyed, and next year it was rebuilt. [*Eginharti Annales ad an.—Alberti Stadenſis Chron. ad an.*] After many unimportant revolutions of deſtruction and renovation, the caſtle gave birth to a town, which has grown up to be the celebrated and important commercial city of Hamburgh †.

813—In the later end of the reign of Charlemagne the merchants of Lyons, Marſeille, and Avignon, confiding in the power and fame of their ſovereign, and the friendſhip ſubſiſting between him and Harun al Raſhid, the powerful and famous ſovereign of the Eaſt, joined in fit-

* They are called Willerus and Beatus by Aimonius. [*L.* iv, *c.* 94.] But I ſee no ſuch names, nor any conjunct dukes, in the catalogue of the dukes or doges of Venice.

† Hamburgh, like other cities which have acquired fame and opulence, has ſome fables of an earlier origin than what can be warranted by hiſtory.

ting out veſſels twice a year for Alexandria, to which no Chriſtians, that we know of, had ſailed, ſince it belonged to the Saracens. The ſpiceries of India and the perfumes of Arabia were conveyed by thoſe merchants up the Rhone and the Saone, and re-embarked on the Moſelle, which carried them to the Rhine; and by means of that river they were diſperſed through Germany and the northern countries. And thus the French, while in the zenith of their military glory, appear to have alſo taken the lead as the general merchants for the Chriſtian nations in the weſtern part of Europe *. A Jewiſh merchant, who was a favourite with Charlemagne, alſo made frequent voyages to Paleſtine, and returned with pretious merchandize, hitherto unknown in the Weſt. [*Monach. Sangall. L.* i, *c.* 18, *ap. Muratori Antiq. V.* i, *col.* 895.]

823—The Saracens, now the only maritime power in the Mediterranean, after plundering moſt of the Grecian iſlands, took poſſeſſion of Crete, which, from the town wherein they fixed their chief reſidence, thenceforth got the name of Candax, afterwards corrupted to Candia. This iſland, ſo happily ſituated for commerce, is equally well ſituated for prædatory naval war; and it was in that way that its new maſters chiefly employed their talents, to the unſpeakable diſtreſs of the wretched ſubjects of the Greek empire and the other Chriſtian ſtates bordering on the Mediterranean.

813-833—During the reign of the calif Almamon, who went beyond all his predeceſſors in the encouragement of learning and the ſciences, two menſurations of a degree were made, one on the plain of Sinaar, and the other on that of Cufa.

It is worthy of remark, that the light of literature and ſcience ſhone out with the brighteſt luſtre among the Saracens, and particularly among thoſe of Spain, when all-over the Chriſtian part of Europe the human faculties were debaſed by the moſt wretched ſuperſtition, the belief of the moſt prepoſterous miracles, and the idolatrous worſhip of images. Chymiſtry, a ſcience ſo important in our modern manufactures, which had been practiſed in Egypt from the earlieſt ages with ſtationary imperfection, is indebted to the ingenuity of the Saracens for many of its moſt valuable improvements. The alembic for diſtillation is believed to be of their invention. The nature of acids and alkalis was aſcertained by them. To them we are obliged for the introduction, or, as moſt people think, the invention, of the ſimple and comprehenſive ſet of figures now univerſally uſed in arithmetic, which is one of the moſt important improvements that ever was made in any of the ſciences connected with commerce. In ſhort, the very names of alembic, alkali, almanack, algebra, alchymy, elixir, zenith, nadir, azimuth, cipher, &c. remain perpetual monuments of the Arabic derivation, or conveyance

* This curious and important notice reſts on the authority of Poullin de Lumina, [*Hiſt. de Lyons, p.* 31] who has neglected to produce his vouchers. [See *Mem. de litterature, V.* xxxvii, *p.* 483.]

to us, of ſeveral branches of our ſcience. It muſt be acknowleged that their ſtudies were often perverted to the abſurd purſuits of aſtrology, the philoſopher's ſtone, or tranſmutation of the baſer metals into gold, and the elixir of health, which was ſuppoſed to confer a perpetual renovation of youth and vigour. But ſcientific reſearches, notwithſtanding the partial abuſe or wrong direction of them, muſt ultimately tend to the increaſe of human knowlege, and thereby add to the felicity of mankind. During the five darkeſt centuries of European barbariſm the Saracens were the only enlightened people in the weſtern world. There are indeed a few individual inſtances of heaven-born geniuſes among the Chriſtians, who, ſurmounting the difficulty of an unknown language, and defying the terrors of excommunication, ventured to learn ſcience among the Saracens, and to diſſeminate ſome ſparks of it among their rude and benighted countrymen, who in return treated them as conjurers and articled ſervants of the devil. To their intrepid thirſt of knowlege Europe is in a great meaſure indebted for the revival of ſcience, which, as it increaſed among the Chriſtians, fell off and languiſhed among the Saracens, who are not now diſtinguiſhed by any ſtrong attachment to ſtudy.

825—About this time there was preſented to the emperor Louis a preſbyter called George, who undertook to conſtruct organs, hitherto ſcarcely known in France *, as they were made in Greece. [*Aimon. de geſtis Franc. L.* iv, *c.* 114.]

827—Egbert, king of the Weſt Saxons, who had paſſed his youth in exile, and learned the arts of war and government under Charles, the greateſt prince in Europe, was recalled to his paternal dominions in the year 800. In twenty-ſeven years he ſubdued, or reduced to a ſtate of dependence, all the other Engliſh and Saxon kings on the ſouth ſide of the Humber; and he is thenceforth uſually accounted (though not with ſtrict propriety) the firſt monarch of England.

This ſame year, according to the annals of Ulſter, there was 'a dreadful invaſion of Ireland by the Engliſh,' which, if I miſtake not, is omitted by all the Engliſh hiſtorians.

828—Ten Venetian ſhips went to Alexandria in violation of a law of the ſtate; and they were, for ought that appears, the firſt that ever went from Venice to that port. The moſt noted part of their homeward cargo was the (ſuppoſed) body of St. Mark, which they ſurreptitiouſly carried off with them. [*Chron. And. Danduli ducis Venet. ap. Muratori, Script. V.* xii, *col.* 170.] This notice, though in other reſpects

* An organ had been ſent from Conſtantinople to Pepin king of France by the emperor Conſtantine Copronymus. [*Marian. Scot. ad an.* 757.—*Hepidanni Chron. ad an.* 754, *ap. Goldaſt.*—*Aimon. L.* iv, *c.* 64.] In the reign of King Edgar an organ, then a wonderful thing in England, was preſented to the church of Malmſbury by Dunſtan. [*Will. Malmſb. ap. Gale, p.* 366.] Organs, if there is no miſtake in the name, were in Ireland before the year 814. [*Ann. Ult. ad an.* 814.]

of little conſequence, may be conſidered as a pretty good proof that the commerce between Venice and Alexandria had not, as has been aſſerted, been carried on to a great extent for ſome ages before this time.

Amalfi, Genoa, and Piſa, maritime cities on the weſt ſide of Italy, followed the example of Venice in trading to Alexandria; but their trade never became very conſiderable, till the frenzy of the holy wars placed in their hands the treaſures of the Weſt, and gave a vaſt additional ſpring to their carrying trade, their manufactures, commerce, and general proſperity. [*Muratori Antiq. V.* ii, *col.* 905.]

836—'Some writers ſpeak of the Netherlanders reſorting to Scotland as early as about the year 836, for the buying of ſalted fiſh of the Scotiſh fiſhermen, which they then carried home merely for the ſuſtenance of their people, whereby the Scots were greatly enriched. But it is alledged, that the Scots afterward putting ſome hardſhips on thoſe Dutch purchaſers, the latter learning the manner of catching and ſalting the fiſh themſelves, not only left dealing with the former (to their impoveriſhing), but ſtruck into the ſupplying of other nations with fiſh caught on the Britiſh coaſts *.'

838—The firſt invaſion upon record of the country of the Pichts in the north part of Britain by the Norwegian or Daniſh rovers is dated in the year 838. [*Ann. Ult.*]

843—Keneth, after reigning two years in the Scottiſh kingdom of Dalrieta in the weſt, acquired the moſt valuable part of the country of the Pichts; and henceforth the kings of the Scots (ſometimes called alſo kings of the Pichts), were, next to thoſe of the Engliſh, the moſt powerful ſovereigns in Britain.

848—Turges, or Thorgils, the leader or king of the northern adventurers, who had oppreſſed Ireland about thirty years by prædatory incurſions, by ſeizing on large tracts of the country, and by exacting grievous tributes, was taken priſoner by Maolſechlin, the ſupreme king of Ireland, and drowned in Loch-Vair †. His countrymen, however,

* Theſe are the words of Mr. Anderſon, and they have been repeated, in more poſitive language than he uſed, by ſeverals who have had occaſion to write upon the ſubject of the fiſheries, though without quoting him, as he has alſo neglected to adduce his authority, which ought by no means to be omitted in a matter of ſuch importance as the firſt notice of a Britiſh fiſhery as a commercial object. If the people of the Netherlands actually bought fiſh upon our north coaſt in that age (which, after a great deal of reſearch, I have not been able to verify), the name of the Pichts, the people on the eaſt ſide of the country, to which they had the eaſieſt acceſs, ought ſurely to be ſubſtituted for that of the Scots, whoſe dominion was at this time reſtricted to Dalrieta, nearly the ſame with the preſent ſhire of Argyle. But I much ſuſpect that the ſtory has originally proceeded from no other fountain than the 'beautiful genius and 'fine fancy' of Hector Boyſe, that copious mine of falſifications in Scottiſh hiſtory, [*Scotorum Hiſt. f.* 29 b] and has got a few improvements from ſome later embelliſher.

† Snorro Sturleſon ſays, that Thorgils and Froda, the ſons of Harold Harfagur, king of Norway, plundered the coaſts of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and were the firſt Norwegians who poſſeſſed Dyfflin (or Dublin); that Froda was poiſoned, and Thorgils, after reigning long in Dyfflin, was circumvented and ſlain by the Iriſh. With all my reſpect for the venerable Herodotus of the North, I apprehend he is here confounding two perſons of the ſame or ſimilar names, as there is reaſon to believe that this event was recorded in the Iriſh Annals

though they were driven out of the reſt of the iſland, were ſo well eſtabliſhed in Dublin, that they fortified it, and held it out againſt the Iriſh; and new colonies of them afterwards took poſſeſſion of almoſt all the maritime parts of the iſland. They improved the fortifications of Dublin; they built or fortified Waterford, Limerik, and other cities: and Olaf, the moſt powerful chief among them, aſſuming the title of king of Ireland and the Iſles, compelled the Iriſh to pay him tribute. Henceforth the native Iriſh were almoſt ſhut up in the central part of the country, while the Norwegians and Danes, under the names of Oſtmen (i. e. Eaſtern men), Gaols, Gentiles, Pagans, &c. were the chief, or rather the only, commercial people in Ireland, and continued for ſeveral centuries to carry on trade with their mother countries and other places on the weſt coaſts of Europe from their Iriſh ſettlements. [*Ann. Ult. ad an.* 844, 852.—*Girald. Cambr. Top. Hib. L.* iii, *cc.* 40 *et ſeqq.*—*and ſee Uſſerii Brit. eccles. antiq. pp.* 860, 717, for other authorities.]

849—Amalfi, Naples, and Gaeta, maritime cities of Italy, were now in fact independent, though profeſſing a ſlight acknowlegement of allegiance to the Greek empire. Their poſſeſſion of ſhipping preſumes that they had ſome commerce; for in theſe times the Italians do not appear to have had any veſſels calculated ſolely for the purpoſes of war. Their ſhips were now employed in defending Rome from the attack of a formidable army of Saracens, whoſe numerous fleet, by the ſeaſonable intervention of a ſudden ſquall of wind, was completely deſtroyed: and the pontifical, and once imperial, city of Rome, was ſaved from the dominion and the religion of the Saracens by the merchants of thoſe cities.

But the beneficial effects of the induſtry and proſperity of thoſe cities, and of Venice, extended as yet but a very little way beyond their own boundaries. The greateſt part of Italy had lain waſte during ſeveral centuries; the cities were ruined and depopulated, and the wild beaſts had reſumed the poſſeſſion of the uncultivated country, which was covered with woods, and deluged with ſtagnant waters. Such was now the condition of Italy, once the moſt highly cultivated country in Europe; and ſuch it continued throughout the ninth century. [*Muratori Script. V.* ii, *part* ii, *col.* 691—and ſee other authorities collected in his *Antiq. V.* ii, *coll.* 149, 153, 163.] The deſolation of the other parts of Europe, though not ſo amply atteſted, appears from the few writers of thoſe dark ages to have been ſtill more extenſive.

While ſuch was the general ſtate of Europe, the commerce of thoſe which were eſteemed commercial communities could only be conſider-

Annals many years before any ſon of Harold Harfagur was born.

Later Iriſh writers have embelliſhed the death of Turges with a ſtratagem, perhaps borrowed from that of Alexander, the ſon of Amyntas king of Macedonia, who cut off the Perſian ambaſſadors by means of young men in women's dreſs.

able by compariſon with the total want of it among their neighbours: and that the commercial intercourſe, or intercourſe of any kind, in Italy, was not very conſiderable, is evident from the want of inns for the reception of travelers upon the roads, and even in ſome of the principal cities of that country *.

The decline of the Grecian empire, and the conqueſt of Perſia, reſtored to the victorious Arabians the antient maritime commerce of India with a very great augmentation. But the principal ſeat of the trade had long been removed from the ſouth coaſt of Arabia to the Perſian gulf, as we learn from the Chineſe annals of the ſeventh and eighth centuries †, and more particularly from an account written by Soliman, an Arabian merchant, which, as a valuable monument of Oriental commercial hiſtory, deſerves, even in the mutilated ſtate wherein we receive it, to be ranked next to the Periplus of the Erythræan ſea.

851—From Soliman's relation we learn that the Arabian merchants had now extended their commerce and their diſcoveries in the Eaſt far beyond the utmoſt knowlege of their own anceſtors, the Greek merchants of Egypt, or the Ethiopian merchants of Aduli, which in the time of Coſmas Indicopleuſtes (and we have no particular account of any later date) had never gone beyond Siele-div (or Ceylon) ‡. Their veſſels now traded to every part of the continent as far as the ſouth coaſt of China, and to many of the iſlands, of all which he gives deſcriptions, whereof very few can be reconciled to our ideas or appellations of Oriental geography. The very exiſtence of China being hitherto almoſt unknown in the weſtern parts of the world, he gives a pretty ample account of it, from which I extract the following particulars, illuſtrative of the commercial hiſtory of that ſingular empire.

When foreign veſſels arrive at Can-fu (ſuppoſed to be Canton §) the Chineſe take poſſeſſion of their cargoes, and ſtore them in warehouſes till the arrival of all the other ſhips which are expected, whereby they are ſometimes detained ſix months. They then levy a duty of thirty

* In the year 840, ſome merchants of Amalfi, being at Tarentum, were invited by the keepers of the priſon to lodge in it, there being *no inn in the city*. The merchants were glad to accept their offer, and gave them money to purchaſe victuals and wine for them. [*Anonymus Salernitanus, ap. Muratori Script. V.* ii, *part* ii, *p.* 221—and ſee *Muratori's* 37th *diſſertation in Antiq. V.* iii, *de hoſpitalibus peregrinorum.*]

† For the information derived from thoſe annals we are indebted to the erudition and induſtry of Mr. De Guignes. [*Reflexions ſur les liaiſons des Romains avec les Tartares et Chinois*, in *Mem. de litterature, V.* xxxii, *p.* 367.]

‡ Some ſubjects of the Roman empire are ſuppoſed to have traded to China by ſea as early as the ſecond century. (See above, p. 194, or Mr. De Guignes, as quoted in the preceding note). But we know no particulars of their route or their trade: and, with ſubmiſſion, I may obſerve, that as their navigation extended no farther than Ceylon in the ſixth century, and even that under a foreign flag (to borrow a modern phraſe), any account of earlier navigations to more diſtant ports would need to be ſupported by very ſtrong authority.

§ Can-fu does not appear among the old names of Quangcheu or Canton, given by Martin Martinius in Thevenot's *Voyages curieux, V.* ii, *p.* 167. In Sir George Staunton's *Embaſſy to China* the name is Quang-Tchoo-Foo.

per cent on the goods in kind, and reſtore the remainder to the merchants. The emperor has a right of pre-emption; but his officers fairly, and immediately, pay for what he takes at the higheſt price of the articles.

Can-fu is a place of great trade, to which all foreign merchants reſort. The Mohamedans are ſo numerous in it, that a cadi, or judge, of their own religion, is allowed to preſide over them, under the authority of the emperor.

Chineſe ſhips trade to Siraf in the Perſian gulf, and there take in goods brought from Baſſora, Oman, and other places, to which they do not venture to proceed on account of the frequent ſtorms and other dangers in that ſea *. From the account of their route, which is conſtantly along the ſhore, the Chineſe of this age appear to be rather more timid navigators than the Arabs and Egyptian Greeks were many centuries before †.

China is more populous than India, and the cities are numerous and well fortified. The only coined money among the Chineſe is of copper. They conſider gold and ſilver, which they have in great abundance, merely as merchandize, in the ſame manner as pearls, ſilks, or other goods. The Chineſe of all ranks dreſs in ſilk, in ſummer and in winter. They have no wine, but inſtead of it a ſpiritous liquor made from rice (which we now call arrak). Their general drink is an infuſion of the leaves of ſah (tea), the duty upon which brings in a vaſt revenue to the ſovereign. They have an excellent kind of earth, wherewith they make all ſorts of veſſels for the table, of equal fineneſs with glaſs, and equally tranſparent. For meaſuring time they have dials and clocks with weights. There is no land tax in China. Every male child is regiſtered when born; at the age of eighteen he begins to pay a capitation tax, and at eighty he becomes entitled to a penſion ‡.

* Father Michel Boym, who reſided ſo long in China as almoſt to forget the Italian language, in a narrative drawn up in the year 1652, agrees remarkably with Soliman. He ſays, that *in former times* the Chineſe took in cinnamon at Ceylon, and carried it to Ormus in the Perſian gulf, whence other merchants conveyed it to Aleppo and Greece. Sometimes there were four hundred Chineſe veſſels together in the Perſian gulf, loaded with gold, ſilks, pretious ſtones, muſk, porcelain, copper, alum, nutmegs, cloves, and cinnamon, an article of which they carried large quantities. [*Relations de la Chine*, in Thevenot's *Voyages curieux*, *V.* ii, *p.* 25 *of laſt ſeries of pages.*]

† We may thence conclude that the ſuppoſition of the mariner's compaſs being known to them long before this time is deſtitute of foundation.

‡ It has been doubted whether the Chineſe ever ſailed as far as the Perſian gulf. They do not indeed ſail ſo far now; but that might probably be at leaſt as much owing to the jealous policy of their government as to want of knowlege or ability, till their knowlege fell off from want of practice. The authenticity of Soliman's relation was ſuſpected, when it was firſt publiſhed in a French tranſlation by Euſebius Renaudot in the year 1718; but Mr. De Guignes has ſince removed every ſhadow of doubt, by atteſting (in the *Journal des Savans*, *Nov.* 1764, and in the *Memoires de litterature*, *V.* xxxvii, *p.* 477) that he had found the original Arabic manuſcript in the king's library at Paris. Independent of that ſupport, its credit ſeems to be abundantly clear from the artleſs and genuine appearance of the narrative; and it is highly valuable, were it only for conveying to us the earlieſt notice of clocks, tea, and china-ware, articles now ſo common in every houſe. The magnificent piece of mechaniſm preſented to Charlemagne by Harun al Raſhild was evidently not a clock,

852—Some ſuppoſe coals to have been uſed as fuel in England at this time, twelve cart-loads of them, with ſixty loads of wood, and ſix loads of turf (or peat) being enumerated among the articles conſtituting the rent of Sempringham, an eſtate belonging to the abbay of Medeſhamſtede (Peterburgh), in the Saxon Chronicle, as tranſlated by Doctor Gibſon *.

877—Baichu, a rebel, made himſelf maſter of moſt of the empire of China. When Can-fu *(Canton)*, the port for all the Arabian merchants, fell into his hands, he maſſacred all the inhabitants, among whom there are ſaid to have been one hundred and twenty thouſand foreign merchants, conſiſting of Mohamedans, Jews, Chriſtians, and Perſees. This ſavage cut down all the mulberry trees, which fed the ſilk-worms, and conſequently aboliſhed the ſilk trade during his reign. To complete the ruin of the country, he practiſed ſuch extortions upon foreign merchants, that they gave up trading to China †.

The weſt ſide of the Red ſea appears to have been now deprived of all foreign trade: the veſſels from Siraf in the Perſian gulf (and we hear of none from India) delivered their cargoes at Judda, or Jidda, an Arabian port, ſeemingly not uſed when the Periplus of the Erythræan ſea was written; and thence the goods deſtined for Egypt, Europe, and Africa, were forwarded in veſſels conducted by people acquainted with the navigation of the Red ſea, the many dangers of which deterred the foreign navigators from proceeding any farther in it. We are told that the Red-ſea coaſters carried the goods to Cairo, which had now ſuperſeded Coptos as the general depoſit of merchandize upon the Nile; and if that is ſtrictly true, the veſſels muſt have proceeded through the canal, which was reſtored by Amrou the Arabian conqueror of Egypt ‡. And thus we find the trade of the Red ſea nearly fallen back to the ſtate in which it was under the firſt Ptolemies, and alſo, if we except

clock, but a clepſydra, or water time-meaſurer: [*Aimon. Geſt. Franc. L.* iv, *c.* 95] and that, which his father Pepin received from Pope Paul I, was probably on the ſame principle, though I have not met with any particular account of it. For the antient murrhine veſſels, ſuppoſed by ſome to have been the porcelain of China, ſee above, p.

* The words in the original Anglo-Saxon are 'ſixtiga fothra wuda, and twælf fothur græfan, 'and ſex fothur gearda.'—As it is not uſual with me to depend on the infallibility of any perſon, I cannot help having ſome doubt as to the propriety of Doctor Gibſon's tranſlation; and I ſubmit it to thoſe, who underſtand the Anglo-Saxon better than myſelf, whether græfan can, without any better warrant, be tranſlated coal ('carbonum foſſilium') ſeeing that graban, graf-a, graf-an, ſignify in Mœſo Gothic, Icelandic, and Anglo-Saxon, *to dig, carve, grave* or *engrave*, and conſequently may apply to any other ſubſtance dug out of the ground as well as coal; and indeed it may as well be turf, which is alſo dug out of the ground, though not ſo deep, unleſs it appeared that Sempringham produced coal, which, I believe, it does not. It may be objected, that gearda muſt be turf; and if the foſſile ſubſtance (græfan) were coal, that interpretation would be apparently right. Its various meanings are *earth, the world, a yard* or *incloſure*. The tranſaction is entirely omitted in Wheloc's edition of the Saxon chronicle.

† Baichu ſeems the ſame, who is called the robber Hiam-ciao in the *Hiſtoria Sinica* in *Thevenot, V.* ii, *p.* 52.

‡ Theſe two articles of Oriental information are conveyed to us by Abu Zeid al Haſſan, a merchant of Siraf, whoſe work, in a great meaſure, a comment upon that of Soliman, was publiſhed along with it by Mr. Renaudot.

the conveyance by the canal, nearly in the ſame ſtate that it is in the preſent age *.

878—Syracuſe, formerly great in commerce and naval power, had ſuffered a gradual, but continual, decline from the time when it fell under the Roman dominion till now, that it was contracted to its original limits in the ſmall iſland of Ortygia, and dwindled into a village. Nevertheleſs, its inſular ſituation enabled it to reſiſt the power of the Saracens, who had begun the conqueſt of Sicily in the year 827, for above half a century, when at laſt the reduction of that obſtinate little city completed their conqueſt of the largeſt and moſt fertile of the Mediterranean iſlands (21ſt May 878). [*Chron. Sic. ap. Muratori Script. V.* i, *part.* ii, *pp.* 244, 245.]

Sugar-canes appear to have been cultivated, and their juice made into ſugar, in the ſouthern countries of Aſia, and ſome parts of Africa, in the earlieſt ages. But they were probably unknown in Europe, till the Saracens introduced them in Sicily, the fertile ſoil, and warm climate, of which were favourable to their production. In proceſs of time the canes were tranſplanted from Sicily to the ſouthern provinces of Spain, whence the cultivation of them is ſaid to have extended to Madeira and the Canaries, and finally to Braſil and the Weſt-India iſlands, if they were not indigenous in the later †.

Notwithſtanding the pious endeavours of Pope Zacharia, and an expreſs law of the ſtate of Venice paſſed in the year 864 againſt the ſlave

* Though the modern Arabs do not permit foreign veſſels to go higher than Jidda, ſome Britiſh navigators, in ſpite of the prohibition and the increaſing ſhallowneſs of the Red ſea, have failed quite to the head of it in veſſels drawing more water than any that the antient Arabians, Greeks, or Ethiopians, had upon it.

† The champions of the croſs found ſugar-canes in Paleſtine, Egypt, Cyprus, Rhodes, &c. But, though the deſcription of ſugar-canes (or honey-canes, 'cannæ mellis') growing near Panormus in Sicily, given by the Sicilian author Falcandus [*ap. Muratori Script. vol.* vii, *col.* 258], who wrote in 1189 or 1190, is perfectly juſt and accurate, the accounts of the proceſs of making ſugar ('zucare, or zuchara') given by Jacobus de Vitriaco [*Hiſt. Orient. cc.* 53, 86], who wrote about 1200, and thoſe by the other hiſtorians of the holy war, are very defective and confuſed, as deſcribing a thing little known. Indeed, we muſt ſuppoſe, that the ſugar in Paleſtine was of very bad quality, or very trifling in quantity, as we find ſugar one of the articles brought to that country along with cinnamon, pepper, &c. from Babylon by a caravan, which was plundered by Richard I king of England. [*G. de Viniſauf, ap. Gale, V.* ii, *p.* 407.]

I have not been able to aſcertain the date of the introduction of the ſugar-cane in Sicily by the Saracens. According to Raynal [*Hiſt. phil. et pol. V.* vi, *p.* 157, *ed.* 1782] it was not till about the middle of the twelfth century. But he never quotes authorities: and the Saracens had loſt the dominion of the iſland long before that time. That ſugar-canes were firſt planted by the Saracens in Sicily, is generally allowed; and they probably introduced them, ſoon after they got poſſeſſion of the iſland. See Gibbon [*V.* x, *p.* iii, *ed.* 1192] who, very contrary to his general practice, has neglected quoting his authority: but his profound reſearch and approved accuracy entitle him, beyond moſt writers, to be credited for the fidelity of his aſſertion.—Along with the authors here quoted, ſee *Albertus Aquenſis*, *Fulcherius Carnotenſis*, and *Willielmus Tyrius*, all in the *Geſta Dei per Francos*.—*De Guignes* in *Mem. de l'academie*, *V.* xxxvii, *p.* 509.—*Edwards's Hiſt. of the Weſt-Indies*, *V.* ii, *p.* 19.—*Moſeley's Hiſt. of ſugar.*

It is not improper to obſerve here, that the cultivation of the ſugar-cane is now neglected in Sicily, owing (as Brydone in his *Tour in Sicily* informs us) to the enormous duties impoſed upon it: and certain it is, that that moſt fertile iſland, perhaps the mother of all the ſugar-canes in the weſtern world, now receives ſugar from Britain and other countries.

trade, it was found neceſſary to enforce the prohibition by a new and ſtricter law, which made it criminal for any Venetian to permit any ſlaves to be received onboard his veſſel. [*Danduli Chron. ap. Muratori Script. V.* xii, *col.* 883.]

Alfred, at his acceſſion to the crown had found England almoſt entirely over-run by the Danes, and had been even obliged to abandon his kingdom to their rage, and to conceal himſelf, with the few faithful ſubjects who had not deſerted him, from their purſuit. Emerging ſuddenly from his concealment, he now gained a great and deciſive victory over the Danes, ſecure in the belief that the Engliſh could no longer preſume to make head againſt them. The conſequence was, that Alfred recovered poſſeſſion of nearly a half of England, the Daniſh king Godrun being by treaty reſtricted to the eaſtern part of the country, and profeſſing himſelf a Chriſtian. By this treaty there was a new nation ſettled as inhabitants of Britain *.

886—Paris, though the capital ſeat of the French kings, was ſtill a ſmall town, contained in the little iſland of the river Seine, juſt as it was when Julius Cæſar gave the firſt hiſtoric notice of it. [*Aſſerii Vita Ælfredi, p.* 51, *ed.* 1722.]

London, which appears to have been almoſt totally deſtroyed and depopulated by the Danes, was reſtored by king Alfred in the nobleſt manner, and ſoon after filled with inhabitants, who had been driven into exile, or kept in captivity by the Danes. [*Aſſer. p.* 51.]

890—About this time the iſlands adjacent to the north part of Britain were occupied by a colony of Norwegians, who, unwilling to ſubmit to Harold Harfagur, the firſt ſole king of all Norway, had put to ſea in queſt of independent ſettlements. Theſe fugitives frequently haraſſed the coaſt of Norway with prædatory invaſions, which provoked Harold to follow them to their iſlands with a powerful fleet. Having ſubdued the Orkneys and Hialtland *(Shetland)*, he beſtowed them on one of his nobles, as an earldom to be held of the crown of Norwary †.

The iſlands on the weſt ſide of Scotland, which had been often viſited by the Normans in their voyages to Ireland, were now in a great meaſure peopled by them; and, as being more ſoutherly than Shetland and Orkney, they were called in their language by the general name of Sudureyar (i. e. the ſouthern iſlands). Harold ſent Ketil, a nobleman whoſe ample eſtates in Norway he wiſhed for an opportunity to ſeize upon, to reduce thoſe iſlands, and to govern them as his lieutenant.

* This treaty of partition may be ſeen among the laws of Alfred.

† We know from Adamnan's Life of Columba, that in the ſixth century the Orkneys conſtituted a petty kingdom, which acknowleged the ſupremacy of the neighbouring kingdom of the Pichts. But, if they had now any connection with, or dependence upon, the ſovereigns of the adjacent main land, it was probably very ſlender. The ſucceeding earls of Orkney ſeized upon Catneſs, (then including the ſhire of Sutherland) and for it their ſucceſſors acknowleged themſelves vaſſals of the crown of Scotland.

But Ketil, when he got himſelf eſtabliſhed in his government, and had conciliated the affections of the chiefs by intermarriages with his family, ſet up for an independent ſovereign; and from him the kings and lords of the Iſles are deſcended. Thus were the Norwegians added to the nations inhabiting the Britiſh iſlands.

The arts and manufactures flouriſhed in ſome degree in thoſe remote iſlands; and the drapery of the Sudureyans was even famous in the northern parts of Europe *. They very ſoon became ſo populous, that they ſent out colonies to the Fœroes, to Iceland, and even to France. This laſt colony joined a band led by the famous Hrolf or Rollo, the firſt duke of Normandy, a ſon of the firſt earl of Orkney, and the anceſtor of the Norman kings of England.

The uſurpation or conqueſts of Harold alſo gave birth to other ſettlements in the northern extremity of the world, which was hitherto in a great meaſure unoccupied †. Of theſe the moſt diſtinguiſhed was Iceland, which had been accidentally diſcovered in the year 861, reviſited in 864, 865, and 874, and began to be ſettled in 878. It now received a conſiderable colony, which ſpread over all the extent of the iſland: and this, unleſs we may perhaps except ſome of thoſe of the antient Greeks, is the only colony in the world, prior to the recent European ſettlements in America, of which we have an accurate and regular hiſtory from its commencement. About the beginning of the tenth century the Icelanders eſtabliſhed a colony in Greenland, which increaſed and proſpered for near four hundred years, after which the intercourſe between Greenland and the reſt of the world was interrupted by the increaſing rigour of the winter in that inhoſpitable climate, by which in all probability the colony periſhed. We ſhall alſo have occaſion to notice the Icelanders as the firſt European diſcoverers of America about the year 1000.

Navigators accuſtomed to depend on the almoſt-infallible aſſiſtance of the compaſs and quadrant, and of arithmetical and aſtronomical tables ready conſtructed by men of eminence in the various depart-

* A northern poet deſcribing the magnificent dreſs of a hero of the ſeventh century ſays, it was ſpun by the Sudureyans. See Johnſtone's Note on St. xv of his *Lodbrokar-quida*. The fact may be true, though it is certainly antedated.

† We learn from Procopius, [*Bell. Gothic. L.* ii, *c.* 15] that about the middle of the ſixth century a conſiderable body of the Heruli migrated northward, paſſed the country of the Danes, and ſettled in Scandinavia, called by him Thulè, the inhabitants allowing them to occupy a part of their lands. See above p. 234, note * .— Ohther, in his narrative preſerved by King Alfred, aſſures us, that the northern part of Norway was uninhabited in his time. And Snorro Sturleſon particularizes the names of ſeveral provinces of Scandinavia, which were now for the firſt time cleared and inhabited by people retiring from the country conquered by Harold.—Theſe unqueſtionable teſtimonies ſhow, that the notion of the antient redundant population of the great northern peninſula, called by the general name of Scandinavia, has no foundation in truth, but, like many other generally-received opinions, has paſſed without examination upon the credit of being frequently repeated. Its foundation is a fooliſh expreſſion of Jornandes, who calls Scandia (or Scandinavia) *officina gentium*, the warehouſe, or workſhop, of nations.

ments of ſcience, will be aſtoniſhed, when they reflect on the intrepid ſpirit of thoſe adventurous ſons of the Northern ocean, who, aſſuredly deſtitute of the compaſs, for which they ſubſtituted the flight of birds *, and with very poor ſubſtitutes for the other guides, dared to commit their barks for ſeveral days, perhaps often weeks, to a boundleſs expanſe of ocean, and truſt their lives to the chance of ſeeing the ſun and the ſtars.

During ſeveral centuries the free and independent inhabitants of Iceland drove a conſiderable carrying trade in the Northern ſeas, their ſhips viſiting Britain, Ireland, and the adjacent iſlands, France, Germany, and all the northern parts of Europe. In that ſequeſtered corner of the world liberty, induſtry, commerce, and learning, flouriſhed in the dark ages; and they continued to embelliſh and to dignify that poor iſland, till it fell under the dominion of Norway in the year 1262. Even in the preſent day its literary eminence remains to conſole it in ſome degree for the loſs of its other advantages.

897—Alfred was the firſt of the Engliſh kings, who had the judgement to perceive, that an iſland without a maritime force muſt ever be at the mercy of every piratical plunderer, and that a maritime invader could only be repulſed by a well-appointed navy, the braveſt and beſt diſciplined army being of but little avail againſt an enemy, who by his naval ſuperiority could chuſe and vary his points of attack at pleaſure. He therefor determined to meet the invaders upon their own element; and the very earlieſt of his naval efforts were crowned with ſucceſs. His ſuperior genius did not merely imitate the veſſels of the Danes or Friſons, but conceived a new model of conſtruction with improvements upon theirs. His gallies were almoſt twice as long as thoſe of the enemy, and carried ſixty oars †, ſome of them even more; they made better way, and were leſs crank or leſs apt to roll ‡. By an unre-

* Arngrim Jonas tells us, that when Flok, a famous Norwegian navigator, was going to ſet out from Shetland for Iceland, then called Gardarſholm, he took on board ſome crows, *becauſe the mariner's compaſs was not yet in uſe.* When he thought he had made a conſiderable part of his way, he threw up one of his crows, which ſeeing land aſtern, flew to it; whence Flok, concluding that he was nearer to Shetland (perhaps rather Fœroe) than any other land, kept on his courſe for ſome time, and then ſent out another crow, which, ſeeing no land at all, returned to the veſſel. At laſt having run the greateſt part of his way, another crow was ſent out by him, which, ſeeing land ahead, immediately flew for it; and Flok, following his guide, fell in with the eaſt end of the iſland. Such was the ſimple mode of keeping their reckoning and ſteering their courſe, practiſed by thoſe bold navigators of the ſtormy Northern ocean. The antient natives of Taprobanè *(Ceylon)* uſed the ſame expedient when ſkimming along the tranquil ſurface of the Indian ocean. [*Plinii Hiſt. nat. L.* vi, *c.* 22.]

† Henry of Huntingdon and Bromton ſay forty or more oars. The tranſpoſition of L and X makes the difference.

‡ The Saxon Chronicle, Florence of Worceſter, Simeon of Durham, and the Chronicle of Melros, add, that the veſſels were loftier than thoſe of the old conſtruction, in which there ſeems a miſtake; for greater height muſt have made them cranker, unleſs the additional length was accompanied with ſufficient additional breath, which in row-gallies they probably did not attend to.

'The form of the Saxon ſhips at the end of the 'eight century, or the beginning of the ninth, is 'happily preſerved in ſome of the ancient manu-'ſcripts of that date: they were ſcarcely more 'than a very large boat, and ſeem to be built of 'ſtout planks, laid one over the other, in the man-

'ner

mitting attention to his fleet this illuſtrious prince, who may with great propriety be called *the father of the Britiſh navy*, protected his ſhores from freſh invaſions; and he alſo kept his Daniſh allies of the eaſtern parts of England more quiet, than their own inclinations led them to be.

871-900—At the acceſſion of Alfred, England, owing to the long-continued ravages of the Danes, had fallen into a ſtate of degeneracy, rather below barbariſm. Scarcely a nobleman could read, and there was not, by Alfred's own account, one perſon on the ſouth ſide of the Thames capable of tranſlating a common prayer from Latin into Engliſh. Alfred himſelf, though he was ſent to Rome (which was, next to Conſtantinople, the ſeat of what little learning remained in the Chriſtian world) when he was five years of age, returned to England without learning to read, and continued ignorant till his twelfth year. His great proficiency in learning and ſcience, though he had the advantage of not being heir apparent to the crown till his eighteenth year, is truely wonderful, conſidering the groſs darkneſs of the age, and the turbulent ſtate of the country His literary works alone, which are ſtill extant, are ſufficient, independent of all his other excellencies, to immortalize the name of their author.

When the treaty of partition with Godrun gave the miſerable country ſome reſpite from the horrors and devaſtations of war, Alfred, ever intent upon augmenting the knowlege and the happineſs of his people, applied to thoſe very countries, which had formerly been enlightened by the learning of England, for teachers to reclaim his ſubjects from ignorance; ſo that by his paternal care the youth were at leaſt taught to read. It has been a matter of fierce conteſt, whether the univerſity of Oxford is of higher antiquity, or owes its foundation to Alfred. He kept up a frequent correſpondence with the pope, and alſo with Abel the patriarch of Jeruſalem, who ſent him ſeveral valuable preſents of Oriental commodities.

Alfred was the firſt native of Britain, that we know of, who made any attempt to extend the ſcience of geography beyond the bounds of

'ner as is done in the preſent time; their heads 'and ſterns are very erect, and riſe high out of the 'water, ornamented at top with ſome uncouth 'head of an animal, rudely cut; they have but one 'maſt, the top of which is alſo decorated with a 'bird, the head of a bird, or ſome ſuch device; 'to this maſt is made faſt a large ſail, which from 'its nature and conſtruction could only be uſeful, 'when the veſſel went before the wind: the ſhip 'was ſteered by a large oar with a flat end very 'broad, paſſing by the ſide of the ſtern; and this 'was managed by the pilot, who ſat in the ſtern, 'and thence iſſued his orders to the mariners.'

The above are the words of Mr. Strutt. [*Chronicle of England, V.* i, *p.* 337.] From his engraved copy of the drawings, I ſee nothing to hinder the ſail to be trimmed by its clues (or lower corners) ſo as to go with the wind on the beam, if not even nearer, though the yard has no braces. The maſt has two ſhrouds leading to the gunnels, one fore ſtay to the head, and two back ſtays to the ſtern. If I were not aware, that the figures of men are generally made much too large, in proportion to other objects, by the artiſts of the dark ages, theſe boats might be ſaid to be not above ten or twelve feet long. The bird on the maſt-head turned on a ſpindle to ſhow the wind, as appears from the deſcription of Cnut's fleet in the Encomium of Emma, [*ap. Du Cheſne, p.* 166] which exhibits the appearance of warlike ſhips, but in language rather too pompous.

Ptolemy's knowlege; and he obtained from Ohther and Wulfſtan ſuch information of the Baltic ſea with the adjacent countries, and of the extreme northern regions of Europe, as far exceeded that of profeſſed geographers, either before or after his time*, till the route of Ohther was retraced in the year 1553 by the Engliſh navigator Chancellor, who was ſuppoſed the original diſcoverer of the northern paſſage to Ruſſia. The royal author has himſelf preſerved the account of the voyages performed by thoſe navigators. Ohther, a Norwegian, coaſted along the country of the Fins, now called Lapland, paſſed the North cape, and penetrated into the great bay (Quen ſe, or White ſea) where Archangel now ſtands. From his relation we learn, that in that age the northern people were accuſtomed to catch whales and ſeals, of the ſkins of which they made ropes of all ſizes, and alſo horſe-whales, the teeth of which were valuable as well as their ſkins, which were likeways uſed for making ropes. Whales of forty-eight and fifty elns (72 and 75 feet) were ſo numerous on the coaſt of Norway, that Ohther with the help of five men could kill ſixty of them in two days. Ohther alſo made a voyage up the Baltic. And Wulfſtan likeways navigated the Baltic as far as the country now called Pruſſia. He remarked, that the people of that country brewed no ale, becauſe they had ſuch plenty of honey (noted many centuries before by Pytheas) that mead was the common drink of the meaneſt of the people, while the rich drank mare's milk, or perhaps rather a ſpiritous liquor prepared from it.

Perhaps the letters † of the patriarch of Jeruſalem and his preſents may have ſuggeſted to Alfred the deſign of ſending relief to the Chriſtians of St. Thomas in India, and attempting to eſtabliſh a commercial intercourſe with that country. We are told by William of Malmſbury, that Sighelm biſhop of Shireburn was ſent by the king with many gifts to St. Thomas, that he accompliſhed his expedition proſperouſly, and, which was thought very wonderful, penetrated even to India, from which he brought aromatic liquors, or oils, and ſplendid jewels, ſome of which were ſtill remaining in the treaſury of the church, when he wrote‡. [*Geſt. reg. Angl. f.* 24 a; *Geſt. pontif. f.* 141 a.] This import-

* Sebaſtian Munſter [*Geographia vetus et nova, Baſiliæ* 1540] makes Norway, Greenland, and Newfoundland (or the land of cods), all one continent. Such was the retrograde progreſs of geographical knowlege in Europe, even in the ſixteenth century.

† It is a pity that Aſſer, who ſaw thoſe letters, has not favoured us with any extracts from them. They were probably much more intereſting than the bulk of the unmeaning or incomprehenſible rubbiſh of letters of thoſe ages, which have been tranſmitted to us.

‡ Such is the meagre account we have of ſo important an event as an Engliſh expedition to India: and the Saxon chronicle, and Radulf de Diceto, the only other relaters of it, are ſtill more barren of circumſtances. It is much to be regretted, that the king himſelf has not left us any account of Sighelm's travels by land and water, which, if he really reached India, were much more worthy of being recorded than the voyages of Ohther and Wulfſtan, which he has related with a degree of minuteneſs. The ſilence of Alfred, of Aſſer his contemporary biographer, and of moſt of the other hiſtorians, has induced a ſuſpicion, that the whole is fabulous. But the early writers, who have recorded it, had neither motive nor capacity for inventing ſuch a ſtory, though it may perhaps not be ſtrictly true in its fulleſt extent. Sighelm went from England to Rome in the year 883, and probably

ation probably furniſhed the preſent made by Alfred to Aſſer his biographer, which conſiſted of a very pretious robe of ſilk, and as much incenſe as a ſtrong man was able to carry. [*Aſſerii Vita Ælfredi, p.* 50, *ed.* 1722.]

All foreigners, who excelled in any uſeful branch of knowlege or in manual trades, were ſure of a welcome reception and liberal encouragement from Alfred. By their help he rebuilt the towns, which were generally in a ruinous condition; and he took that opportunity to introduce a ſafer and more elegant ſtile of building by ſubſtituting ſtone or brick for timber, which hitherto had been almoſt the only material uſed in building.

Although glaſs for windows was introduced in Northumberland ſo long ago as the year 628, and a manufactory of glaſs was even eſtabliſhed in that kingdom by the care of Benedict Biſcop in 674, as already obſerved, the uſe of that noble convenience had either not extended into the ſouth parts of England, or was now loſt in the convulſions of the Daniſh invaſions. So it was, that the churches in King Alfred's dominions were deſtitute of glaſs windows; and the wax candles, which he burnt day and night for meaſuring the time, were expoſed to the wind, which made them burn irregularly. He therefor invented lanterns, which he furniſhed with plates of horn ſcraped ſo thin as to be pellucid, glaſs being apparently inacceſſible, though it could not be unknown to him *.

For the more ſpeedy and equal diſtribution of juſtice, Alfred divided the whole of his kingdom into diſtricts called hundreds, and each of theſe into ten tithings. He is alſo ſuppoſed the author of the diviſion into ſhires or counties; but theſe appear to have been as antient in his hereditary kingdom of Weſſex as King Inè, if we may depend on the genuineneſs of the laws of that monarch †. Alfred may perhaps have extended that kind of diviſion to the other parts of England ſubject to him. He ordered a general ſurvey of his kingdom, the particulars of which were recorded with the greateſt accuracy in the book of Wincheſter, which appears to have furniſhed the model of the celebrated Domeſday book of William the Conqueror. He reviſed the laws of the Anglo-Saxons, and ſelecting the beſt of them, and thoſe of other

probably got a paſſage from ſome of the Italian ports to Alexandria or Phœnicia. It is not impoſſible (though very difficult for a Chriſtian) that he may have made his way to the ſouth coaſt of Arabia, or to Baſſora, and have proceeded even to India. But if he purchaſed Oriental commodities in Alexandria, Arabia, or Baſſora, any of theſe places would be confounded with India by his countrymen, who were ignorant of the geography of countries much nearer to them.

* His biographer Aſſer was acquainted with the nature of glaſs, for he compares horn to it for tranſparency.

Lanterns are ſuppoſed to be alluded to by Plautus, who mentions carrying fire in a horn. But their being known in antient Rome does not hinder them from being alſo a new invention of Alfred's.

† In the 39th law of King Inè we find 'ſcire' as a diviſion of the kingdom, and in the 36th it is mentioned as the diſtrict or province of an 'ealdorman,' apparently the ſame kind of officer, who is called ſcirman (or ſhirref) in the 8th.

nations, he compoſed a code for the regulation of his ſubjects. He is believed by ſome to be the firſt, who eſtabliſhed in England the trial by a jury of twelve men of fair character, and of rank as nearly as poſſible equal with that of the party, whoſe life or property was the ſubject of the trial; while others, apparently with good reaſon, carry the uſe of that mode of trial in England to the earlieſt ages of the government of the Angles, Saxons, &c. and ſuppoſe, it was brought over with them from Germany *.

If England had but little commerce in the reign of Alfred, and the poſſeſſion of jewels, ſilken robes, and incenſe, proves that there was at leaſt ſome, his improvements of ſhipping, reſtoration of decayed towns, encouragement of arts and ſcience, and unremitting attention to the diſtribution of juſtice, at leaſt paved the way to the extenſion of commerce ‡.

It may be preſumed, that Alfred was the richeſt man in England; yet ſo high was the value of money, that he left only five hundred pounds of ſilver, together with lands, to each of his two ſons, and one hundred pounds, with ſome lands, to each of his three daughters: and, from his will, which is fortunately extant, his whole ſtock of ready money cannot be ſuppoſed to have exceeded three thouſand pounds, equal in weight to about nine thouſand pounds of modern money. But Alfred was a good ſhepherd, more intent upon feeding, than upon fleecing, his flock. He is almoſt the only character in hiſtory, whom no writer has charged with any crime or weakneſs: and the whole bright aſſemblage of his virtues and talents preſents a pleaſing and ſplendid picture of a heaven-born genius riſing out of the darkneſs of one of the darkeſt ages, and diſtinguiſhes this truely great prince from the crowd

* The trial by jury, and even by a jury of twelve, ſeems to be as antient as the days of Grecian fable, which reports, that Mars, the god of war, was tried for murder by a jury of twelve gods. For examples of the general uſe of trial by jury in the middle ages ſee *Spelman's Gloſſary, vo. Jurata.*

‡ Late writers have gone ſo far as to ſay, that England had a moſt wonderfully-extenſive trade in the reign of Alfred. They aſſert that he ſent ſhips, or even fleets, to India.—Were they aware, that thoſe ſhips or fleets muſt have doubled the Cape of Good Hope? They add, that he built other ſhips for trade as well as for war, and lent them, together with competent ſums of money, to merchants, who, thus royally ſupported, traded to Alexandria, and even to India! following, no doubt, the tract of the king's fleet. They alſo tell us, that the voyages of Ohther and Wulfſtan, were undertaken at Alfred's deſire, with a view to the extenſion of commerce. But Alfred himſelf, a far better authority, tells us they were performed before thoſe navigators came to his court: and his inquiries evidently proceeded from the thirſt of knowlege natural to a man of learning and ſcience.—The thirtieth of Alfred's laws ſhows, that merchant ſhips ſometimes arrived in England; but the regulation reſpects the paſſengers and not the cargo.—The only notice I can find of any exportation in the time of Alfred, if it may be called exportation, is a preſent of the famous Britiſh dogs to Folk, archbiſhop of Rheims in France. Upon the whole it muſt be acknowleged, that a ſenſe of the importance of commerce, of which no Chriſtian nation out of Italy had then any idea, does not appear to have formed any part of the great and ſelf-acquired knowlege of Alfred, whoſe illuſtrious character ſtands in no need of any fictitious embelliſhments.

What I have ſaid of Alfred is extracted from his own works, and that of his contemporary biographer Aſſer, with ſome aſſiſtance from the earlieſt of the ſucceeding writers.

of kings, whoſe names are of no uſe in hiſtory, but to mark the revolution of dark or ſanguinary years.

912—Hrolf, or Rollo, after long infeſting the coaſts of France and the adjacent countries with piratical invaſions, now by a treaty with Charles the Simple, king of France, eſtabliſhed himſelf and his followers in the province of Neuſtria, which from them has obtained the name of Normandy; and he became the father of a race of dukes of Normandy, whoſe ducal title in the fifth generation was adorned with the ſuperior ſplendour of that of king of England.

900-925—King Edward gradually recovered the dominion of the country, which had been ceded to Godrun. He cloſely followed the example of his father Alfred in his attention to his fleet, and in reſtoring and fortifying the ruined towns, particularly in Cheſhire, the Peakland of Derby, and Nottingham-ſhire, which bordered on the Northumbrian kingdom, then poſſeſſed by the Danes; and he even ſeized and fortified Manigeceaſter (ſuppoſed Mancheſter) within the limits of that kingdom.

About 930—King Athelſtan enacted, that the money ſhould be the ſame through all his dominions, and that no money ſhould be coined but in towns, of which the following liſt ſhows which were then the places of chief importance in the kingdom, and alſo lets us know, that the clergy of the ſuperior ranks ſhared with the king in the prerogative of coining.

Cantwarabyrig (*Canterbury*), to have ſeven coiners, viz. four for the king, two for the archbiſhop, and one for the abbat.
Hrofeceaſtre (*Rocheſter*), three; two for the king, and one for the biſhop.
Lundenbyrig (*London*), eight coiners.
Winteceaſtre (*Wincheſter*), ſix.
Lewes, two.
Hæſtingaceaſtre (*Haſtings*), one.
Cyſſeceaſtre (*Chicheſter*), one.
Hamtun (*Southampton*), two.
Werham (*Wareham*), two.
Eaxanceaſtre (*Exeter*), two.
Sceaftſbyrig (*Shaftſbury*), two.
Other burghs, not named, one each.

It follows of courſe, that there were artificers at every one of the above towns capable of working in ſilver, and engraving the dies uſed in coining.

Even in the more remote kingdom of Scotland, we find at this time a caſe for containing the goſpel at St. Andrews, which was covered with ſilver, moſt probably by a native artificer, and had two Latin verſes in-

ſcribed upon it by a Scottiſh engraver. [*Wyntown's Cronykil. V.* i, *p.* 179.]

About this time many ſhips from the adjacent parts of Norway, and alſo from Denmark and Saxony, frequented Tunſberg, a port of Norway, at the head of the bay oppoſite to Yutland. Biorn, viceroy of this part of Norway under his father Harold, declining his uſual occupation of piracy, employed his ſhips in trading voyages. [*Snorro, Hiſt. Har. Harf. c.* 38.]

938—Athelſtan having taken advantage of the death of his brother-in-law Sitrik, the Daniſh king of Northumberland, to ſeize upon his dominions, Aulaf *, the ſon of Sitrik by his firſt marriage, in order to recover his heritage, procured a very general confederacy of the neighbouring kings, among whom was Conſtantine king of Scotland, the Britiſh king of Cumberland, and the Daniſh and Norwegian kings of Ireland and the Iſles. The allies entered the Humber with a fleet, ſaid to conſiſt of no leſs than ſix hundred and fifteen ſhips †, and proceeded to Brunanburh, (probably Burn in Lincoln-ſhire) where they were met by Athelſtan; and there enſued one of the moſt obſtinate, and moſt celebrated, battles recorded in antient Engliſh hiſtory, which began in the morning, and continued till the evening, when Athelſtan remained maſter of the field. Five kings, and ſeven great officers, were ſlain on the ſide of the allies; and Aulaf and Conſtantine eſcaped to their ſhips. Athelſtan does not ſeem to have had any fleet to oppoſe to that of his enemies, which appears to have retired unbroken; and we afterwards find Aulaf and his nephew Regnald joint kings of Northumberland.

The fame of this great battle is ſaid to have ſpread all-over Europe, the ſeveral kings of which courted the alliance and friendſhip of Athelſtan, by embaſſies and preſents. The king of Norway ſent on this occaſion a magnificent ſhip, with gilded beaks, or roſtra, and a purple ſail, her ſides being guarded all round with gilded ſhields ‡. The German emperor ſent aromatics, ſuch as had never been ſeen in England, gems, running horſes, a veſſel of oynx with figures carved upon it with wonderful art, the ſword of Conſtantine, the lance of Charlemagne, a crown made of gold and pretious ſtones, ſome ſuperſtitious reliques, &c.

Athelſtan, who appears to have had a higher idea of the importance of commerce, than could be expected in an age wherein only the cleri-

* So he appears to have been called on his own coins. I believe his name ought rather to be Olaf, as the northern writers ſpell it. In thoſe ages uniformity of ſpelling was not at all attended to.

† Some authors make the number of ſhips much greater.

‡ William of Malmſbury [*Geſt. reg. Angl. f.* 28 a] calls the king of Norway Harold; but the chronology anſwers better to one of the ſons of Harold Harfagur. He ſays, the roſtra of the ſhip were of gold; but that muſt be taken with allowance. To be able to gild upon metal, (for we cannot ſuppoſe the roſtra to have conſiſted of maſſes of ſolid gold) ſo as to reſiſt the corroſion of the ſalt water, may be conſidered as a mark of very great progreſs made in that art, eſpecially if we attend to the remoteneſs of Norway from thoſe countries which were then eſteemed the moſt civilized.

cal and military profeſſions were thought honourable in Europe, allured his ſubjects to engage in it by a law, which conferred the rank of a thane on every merchant, who made three voyages over the ſea with a veſſel and cargo of his own. The premium, thus held out to commercial enterpriſe, was very judiciouſly choſen, as, by rendering it the path to rank as well as to wealth, it operated upon the two moſt powerful paſſions of the human breaſt. It proves, however, that there muſt have been but very few merchants in the kingdom, who were capable of thus raiſing themſelves to the order of nobility.

947—India, from Caſhmere to Cape Comorin, was now pretty well known by the Arabs, and is deſcribed by Maſſoudi, with its diviſion into ſeveral potent kingdoms, as follows. The kingdom of Sind, adjacent to the River Sind, or Indus. Canodge, or Bourouh, near the Ganges. Caſhmere, a country full of towns and villages, and entirely ſurrounded by a ſtupendous wall of impaſſable mountains, the only entry of which is cloſed by a gate *. The dominions of the great Balhara, (a permanent title like Pharaoh or Auguſtus †) or the king of kings, whoſe capital is called Mankir, or the great Houſa. The Arabians were much favoured by the Balhara, (doubtleſs for the advantage of their commerce) and were permitted to build moſques for the performance of their religious worſhip. Moultan, between Canodge and the Arabian or Saracen dominions in Perſia. Manſura, alſo near the Indus. To the ſouthward of all theſe is the kingdom of Zanedge, or Zindge, governed by the Mehrage, or great raja; and beyond it the kingdom of Comar (or Comorin).

This deſcription gives reaſon to believe, that the commerce from the Weſt ſtill continued to be chiefly upon the weſtern ſide of India; and it is valuable, as giving a view of the progreſs of geography, a ſcience ſo inſeparably connected with commerce.

From India, our author proceeds to China. Canton had now recovered from the calamities, which, he obſerves, it had ſuffered under Baichu, and it was again reſorted to by many Arabian merchants from Baſſora, Siraf, and Oman, and alſo by veſſels from India, the iſlands of Zanedge, Senef, and other places. He ſays, that traders went to China not only by ſea, but alſo by land, through Koraſan, Thibet, and Ileſtan, which laſt is a country mentioned perhaps by no other author, and ſuppoſed to be inhabited by a colony from Perſia.

He next gives an account of Africa, which, though brief, is in ſome

* This ſingular country, the paradiſe of India, is not ſo completely locked up as Maſſoudi was made to believe; for in 1783, Mr. Forſter entered Caſhmere at the upper part of it, and following the courſe of a navigable river, the exiſtence of which Maſſoudi was not apprized of, went out at the lower part of it. See *Major Rennell's Memoir*, *p.* 102, *and the map.* See alſo the map of the third ſection corrected, which exhibits ſeven roads through the mountainous boundary of Caſhmere.

† The name and ſupremacy of the Balhara were noticed by Soliman, the Arabian merchant, about a century before Maſſoudi.

reſpects beyond our preſent knowlege of it. The Arabian merchants from Oman and Siraf traded to Sofala, which produced abundance of gold, and to an iſland called Phanbalou, or Caniclou (perhaps Madagaſcar), where they had even eſtabliſhed colonies. [*Maſſoudi's Meadows of gold and mines of pretious ſtones*, in *Notices des manuſcripts du roi, V.* i, *pp.* 9-15.]

Ebn Haukal, an Arabian traveler of the ſame age *, compoſed a geographical account of all the countries occupied by the Mohamedans. In his time, as in the preceding century, Siraf was the chief port of Perſia, and abounded with the commodities of the Eaſt, which were diſtributed to all quarters of the world by the merchants of the place, many of whom poſſeſſed fortunes of four millions of dinars, and ſome ſtill more †. Hormuz was the emporium of Kerman (or *Carmania*): the people of that country cultivated ſugar, and were noted for induſtry and probity. In Daibul, the port of Sind, there were merchants who traded in all places. The countries adjacent to the Caſpian ſea produced great quantities of ſilk, whereof that of Meru in Khoraſan was moſt eſteemed, the eggs of the ſilk-worms being carried thence to other places. In thoſe countries there were great manufactures of ſilk, wool, hair, and gold ſtuffs. The Armenians excelled in hangings and carpets, and they poſſeſſed the beautiful colour called *kermez*, which the author underſtood to be a worm or inſect. The paper made at Samarcand was the beſt in the world. Khozr (a country on the north-weſt coaſt of the Caſpian ſea) contained two nations, the one of a dark colour and reſembling the Hindoos, and the other white people, who made a practice of ſelling their children. There were many veſſels trading between the ſeveral ports of the Caſpian ſea, or ſea of Khozr. Trabzoun (or Trebiſond on the Black ſea) was much frequented by merchants. In Antakiah (Antioch), and many other cities of Aſia, the water, an object of the firſt attention to an Arabian obſerver, was made to flow through the ſtreets, and into the chief buildings. Eſkanderia (Alexandria in Egypt), though frequently mentioned, is not noticed as a place of trade: three hundred houſes, built of marble, contained all the inhabitants. In Bajeh, a country adjacent to Upper Egypt, there were the richeſt gold mines in the world; and thence Egypt was furniſhed with ſlaves. A community of white people ſettled in Zingbar (or Ethiopia) imported articles of food and clothing into that country. The author notes the great extent of the land of the Blacks, bordering on the Ocean (apparently the Gulf of Guinea) on the ſouth, and bounded by deſerts on the north,

* Sir William Ouſeley, in his preface, makes it apparent, that Ebn Haukal lived between A. D. 902 and 968; and that Edriſſi, Ebn Kordadbah, and other writers of high reputation, were copiers from him.

† He elſewhere ſtates their fortunes at ſixty millions of direms. I am not acquainted with the antient value of thoſe monies of account.

which ſituation obliged all that was brought to them to come in on the weſt ſide of their country *. Their ſkins were obſerved to be of a finer and deeper black than thoſe of the Habeſhis (Abyſſinians) or Zingians (Ethiopians). In Andalus (Spain) there were ſeveral mines of gold and ſilver. [*Oriental geography of Ebn Haukal, tranſlated by Sir William Ouſeley.*]

950—In the book of Tactics, written by the emperor Leo, and tranſcribed by his ſon Conſtantine Porphyrogenitus, the gallies of the imperial navy are directed to be of due length, and to carry *two tires* of oars, one *above* and another *below*. On this reduced ſcale, we ſhall find the antient conſtruction of the gallies retained in the Mediterranean, at leaſt to the end of the twelfth century.

Among the laws of Conſtantine, entitled the Baſilics, there is an abſolute prohibition of taking intereſt for the uſe of money; a ſufficient proof, that the value of money, and the principles of commerce, were as utterly unknown in the Greek empire, as they were in the weſtern parts of Europe, where a canon of ſimilar import, paſſed in the reign of Charlemagne, was ſo managed by the prieſts, that they made themſelves the arbiters of every bargain between man and man.

960—About this time, or perhaps ſomewhat earlier, the woollen manufacture of Flanders commenced, which continued flouriſhing and increaſing for ſeveral centuries, during which the chief part of the clothing trade of Europe was in the hands of the Flemings. At firſt the ſales were moſtly to the French, whoſe fertile and comparatively well-cultivated ſoil, enabled them to purchaſe fine woollen cloths from their induſtrious Flemiſh neighbours. On account of the ſcarcity of money the trade was carried on moſtly by barter, to facilitate which Baldwin, earl of Flanders, who ſeems to have exceeded moſt of the ſovereigns of his age in diſcerning the real intereſt of himſelf and his ſubjects, ſet up weekly markets, and eſtabliſhed regular fairs at Bruges, Courtray, Torhout, and Mont-Caſel, at all which he exempted the goods ſold, or exchanged, from paying any duties on being brought in or carried out. [*Meyeri Ann. Flandr. f.* 18 b.—*De Witt's Intereſt of Holland* †, *p.* 47. *Engl. tranſl.*]

* The trade with the Negroes was moſt probably entirely managed by the Mooriſh caravans, unleſs the ſeamen of Morocco ventured to double the ſtormy capes, which in after ages ſo long continued bugbears to the Portugueſe navigators.

† It muſt be acknowleged, that the authority of De Witt, though very reſpectable, is much too modern for an event of the tenth century. But it is corroborated by that of Giraldus Cambrenſis, [*Itin. Cambriæ, L.* ii, *c.* 2] who aſcribes great ſkill in the woollen manufacture to a colony of Flemings, who ſettled in England in the enſuing century.—Gervaſe of Canterbury [*col.* 1349] ſays, that the buſineſs of weaving is familiar, and, as it were, peculiar to the Flemings: and Ralph de Diceto [*col.* 528] marks them as a manufacturing nation.—The high value of wool in England (which will be noted under the year 1066) ſeems to infer that it was exported; and Flanders was apparently the only country that could have a demand for it, and, being adjacent to the River Rhine, was apparently the country which ſent ſilver by that river to purchaſe 'the moſt pretious wool,' and other articles of Engliſh produce, as we are told by Henry of Huntingdon, in the beginning of his hiſtory.—The epithet of *the weaver*, twice given to Flanders

963—Among many other donations and privileges granted by King Edgar to the abbay of Medeſhamſtede (afterwards called Peterburgh) there was the right of having a mint at Stanford with one coiner. [*Chr. Sax. ad. an.*] None of the towns, named as coining places in Athelſtan's law, were near ſo far north as this one.

964—According to a pompous charter, aſcribed to Edgar, 'the greateſt part of Ireland, with its moſt noble city Dublin,' was ſubject to him. But the Iriſh conqueſts, achieved for Edgar by the monks, are unknown to the ſober hiſtorians of England, as well as to thoſe of Ireland. The later relate, that for ſome years before this time Dublin was taken and retaken almoſt every year by the native Iriſh and Oſtmen; and that their perpetual wars with the Oſtmen, and among themſelves, had reduced the Iriſh, a people deſtitute of commerce, to ſuch a tremendous exceſs of miſery, that 'the father ſold his ſon and daughter 'for meat.' [*Spelman, Concil. p.* 432.—*Waræi Antiq. Hibern. p.* 111.—*An. Ult. ad. an.* 964.]

968—The emperor Otto firſt opened the ſilver mines in the Hercynian mountains, which have greatly enriched Germany; and he built the town of Goſlar near them, whence they are now called the mines of Goſlar. [*Spener Hiſt. Germ. pragmat. V.* i, *p.* 351.—*Cluverii Hiſt. mundi, p.* 450.] Some think the ſilver mines of Chemnitz in Hungary more antient than thoſe of Goſlar.

969—According to the contemporary teſtimony of Liutprand, biſhop of Cremona, and ambaſſador from the Weſtern to the Eaſtern Roman empire, the trade and navigation of Amalfi at this time emulated thoſe of Venice. The Amalfians, though poſſeſſing a very narrow tract of country, acquired wealth, and ſupported liberty, by their foreign commerce, which extended to the oppoſite coaſt of Africa, to Conſtantinople, and to ſome of the ports in the eaſt end of the Mediterranean: and they, together with the Venetians ſupplied Italy and other parts of Europe, with the pretious produce and rich manufactures of the Eaſt. [*Muratori, Script. V.* ii, *p.* 487; *Antiq. V.* ii, *p.* 884.]

970—But the commerce of the Saracens in the Mediterranean was much more extenſive than that of the Chriſtians; and they were alſo ſuperior to them in naval power, and particularly in the ſize of their veſſels. Abdirraman, the Saracen ſultan, or calif, of the greateſt part of Spain, built a veſſel larger than had ever been ſeen before, and loaded her with innumerable articles of merchandize, to be ſold in the eaſtern regions. On her way ſhe met with a ſhip carrying diſpatches from

ders in Geffrey Viniſauf's poem, [*Richardi Jter, ap. Gale, p.* 433] might refer equally to woollen, or any other, goods made in the loom.—All theſe authors flouriſhed about the year 1200. And to them may be added Mathew of Weſtminſter, though a later writer, as he introduces a perſon addreſſing himſelf to England, [*p.* 396] and ſaying of former times, 'Flanders, *thy weaver* made 'pretious clothing for thee from thy own mate-'rials.'

the amir of Sicily to Almoez, a ſovereign on the African coaſt, and pillaged her. Almoez, who was alſo ſovereign of Sicily, which he governed by an amir, or viceroy, fitted out a fleet, which took the great Spaniſh ſhip returning from Alexandria, loaded with rich wares for Abdirraman's own uſe, and particularly beautiful ſlaves, among whom were ſome women very ſkilful in muſic. [*Hiſt. Saracen. ap. Muratori Script. V.* i, *part* ii, *p.* 252.] We ſhall afterwards meet with ſeveral other great ſhips built by the Saracens in various places. It was probably in imitation of thoſe built in Spain, that the Chriſtian Spaniards introduced the uſe of large ſhips, for which they were diſtinguiſhed at leaſt down to the age of Philip II, whoſe *invincible* armada conſiſted of ſhips much larger than the Engliſh veſſels oppoſed to them.

The moſt illuſtrious character of the tenth century was undoubtedly Gerbert, a native of France, and a monk of Fleury. Born in an age, which is juſtly reprobated by hiſtorians as overwhelmed with the deepeſt ſhade of that mental darkneſs, wherein Europe was buried for ſo many centuries, this heaven-born philoſopher ſurmounted the prejudices of education, and, in defiance of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, withdrew from teachers who could add nothing to his ſtock of knowlege, to ſeek from the profeſſors of a different religion the treaſures of ſcience, for which he ſo ardently thirſted, and which they alone of all the people of Europe then poſſeſſed *. At Seville in Spain he learned the language of the Arabs, and ſoon made himſelf maſter of their ſuperior knowlege in aſtronomy, geometry, mechanics, and apparently arithmetic. On his return to France in the year 970 he liberally imparted to his countrymen the fruits of his ſtudies. His muſic, his hydraulic organs, his mechanic horologe, &c. I ſay nothing of, as not ſo immediately connected with commerce; but that part of his imported ſtock of knowlege, which moſt eminently entitles him to the gratitude of the Europeans in all ſucceeding ages, and eſpecially of every merchant, was the glorious ſcience of ARITHMETIC, as now practiſed by means of the numeral figures, which the Arabs had brought with them from the Eaſt. It was thought a moſt wonderful thing by the French, that the ſame figure could expreſs one, one hundred, one thouſand, &c. and the rules of arithmetic, which he publiſhed, could ſcarcely be comprehended by the moſt laborious ſtudents, even in the twelfth century †. It is, however, not impro-

* Selden quotes (from memory) ſome author of thoſe ages, who calls the ſtudy of natural philoſophy and the arts *Studia Saracenorum*. [*Titles of honour, preface.*]

† 'Abacum certè primus a Saracenis rapiens, regulas dedit, quæ a ſudantibus abaciſtis vix intelliguntur.' [*W. Malmſb. f.* 36 a.] Whether that was owing to the want of comprehenſion in the ſtudents, or to the imperfection of the rules, it is impoſſible for us to know, as Maſſon has moſt ſtrangely withheld from the public Gerbert's treatiſe upon arithmetic, though he acknowleges he had it in his poſſeſſion, and at the end of the 160th epiſtle, which was prefixed to it, even gives a ſpecimen of it as follows.

'De ſimplice.

'Si multiplicaveris ſingularem numerum per ſingularem, dabis unicuique digito ſingularem, et omni articulo decem, diſertè et converſim, &c.'—

and

bable, that, within five years after Gerbert's return from Spain, ſome native of England had learned at leaſt as much of the new arithmetic, as to combine the figures 975, which are ſuppoſed to be inſcribed upon an antient portal of Saxon architecture at Worceſter *.

By the favour of Robert king of France, and Otto emperor of Germany, who had both been his pupils, Gerbert was promoted ſucceſſively to the ſees of Rheims, Ravenna, and at laſt Rome itſelf under the name of Silveſter II. The ignorant vulgar and the envious pretenders to ſcience agreed in aſcribing the wonders of his ſuperior knowlege to a compact with the devil; and a number of extravagant fictions were invented to ſupport the ſlander; whereupon William of Malmſbury, though not entirely above aſſenting to the abſurdity, obſerves, that it was common to aſperſe the fame of learned men, and to aſcribe their pre-eminence to intercourſe with the devil †. Such is too often the ungrateful return made by mankind to their beſt benefactors; and ſuch

and ſo he concludes his edition of Gerbert's Epiſtles. [Vide *Præf. et p. ult.*]

Doctor North [*Archæologia, V.* x] has adduced many arguments to prove, that the Arabians were not yet maſters of that kind of numeration by figures, to which we give their name. Without preſuming to determine on either ſide of ſo difficult a queſtion, I may be permitted to obſerve, that his poſitive evidence reſts chiefly upon the authority of Theophanes, 'the father of many a lie,' [*Gibbon, V.* ix, *p.* 253] and that his other arguments are of the negative kind. It is not at all ſingular, that the evidences of Gerbert's introduction of this moſt important ſcience into Chriſtendom are but ſlight, when we advert to the extraordinary darkneſs of the age, in which he ſhone a ſolitary ſtar: but, as there is not equal evidence of the introduction of it by any other perſon, and it *was* introduced by ſomebody, the balance of evidence is in favour of Gerbert. The benevolent inventors of arts or improvements, which add to the happineſs of mankind, have ſcarcely ever received their due praiſe, though fame has in all ages been laviſhed upon the deſtroyers and ſcourges of the human race. When not one of a thouſand could read, and ſtill fewer concerned themſelves with arithmetic of any kind, we need not wonder that the knowlege of it ſhould ſpread very ſlowly: and, indeed, the progreſs of any improvement muſt have been very tardy, before the propagation of knowlege was facilitated by the art of printing. I have already obſerved, that the introduction of ſilk-worms in Europe was unknown to Iſidore, biſhop of Hiſpalis in Spain, when manufactures from their ſilk had been eſtabliſhed a hundred years in Greece.—It muſt be acknowleged, that Bzovius, in his treatiſe, entitled '*Silveſter II a calumniis vindicatus*,' has not a word of arithmetic: but ſuch a matter was of little conſequence to an author, who ſets out with deducing the parentage of his hero from Hercules, and labours to vindicate him from the *guilt* of acquiring ſcience from the Saracens of Spain—his chief glory, and probably the cauſe of his exaltation.

* The time when numeral figures were introduced in this country has been much diſputed by the learned; and, conſequently, the genuineneſs of this date is denied by thoſe who do not allow them to be ſo antient; as is alſo that of 1090, ſuppoſed to be remaining on the ſill of a window at Colcheſter, and ſome others even later. [See *Philoſophical tranſactions, V.* xxi, *p* 287, and *Doctor North's Eſſay above mentioned.*] But nothing can be concluded on either ſide of the queſtion from ſuppoſed numbers, which require conjecture to read them, and which, if they were perfectly plain, might be only renovations of more antient ſculptures.—The introduction of our numeral figures is a ſubject well worthy of inveſtigation in a judicious treatiſe.

† William of Malmſbury confounds Gerbert (or Silveſter II) with John XV, between whom and Gerbert there were no fewer than four popes. Sergius, who ſucceeded to the papal chair in one year after the death of Gerbert, inſcribed on his monument an epitaph, containing an excellent character of him. The continuator of Aimonius, who wrote in France about the ſame time that Malmſbury wrote in England, calls Gerbert ſimply a philoſopher, and ſays, that his elevation to the popedom was at the unanimous deſire of the whole people of Rome. But neither he, nor any of the writers of the age immediately after that of Gerbert, has one word of devils, or any thing ſupernatural.—Marvelous ſtories improve prodigiouſly by remoteneſs of time and place.

was the method contrived by malice and ignorance to atteſt their involuntary admiration of this illuſtrious character.

972—The ſilver mines of Rammelſberg in Germany are ſaid to have been diſcovered at this time. They ſeem to have been exhauſted in about forty years. [*Rimius's Memoirs of the houſe of Brunſwick, p.* 258.]

973—The monks in their great zeal to extoll their creature and patron, King Edgar, have turned his hiſtory into romance. The ſimple and unimportant fact, that he aſſembled his fleet at Cheſter immediately after the ceremony of a coronation, or conſecration, at Bath, and that ſix kings (moſt probably all of Wales *) met him there, and entered into an alliance with him, [*Chr. Sax. ad. an.*] has been diſtorted by the groſs impudence of monkiſh exaggeration for various purpoſes, one of which was to ſhow what a prodigious fleet he had; for the different writers reckon it from three to four thouſand ſhips: and thence, among other ridiculous pretenſions, it has been inferred, that this founder and ſupporter of forty-eight monaſteries, was ſovereign of the ſea †.

975—It does more real honour to Edgar that he made a law for an uniformity of money throughout all his kingdom, and for the general uſe of the Winchester meaſure. [*Edgari leges, c.* 8.]

978—At this time the herring fiſhery was very plentiful on the coaſt of Norway; and it appears from ſeveral paſſages of Snorro, the Herodotus of the North, to have been conſidered as an important object of attention. But whether the Norwegians only uſed the herrings for immediate home conſumption, or ſalted and exported them, we are not certainly informed, though the latter ſeems very probable. One circumſtance, well deſerving our attention, is, that the abundance of herrings and corn is marked as the characteriſtic of a beneficent reign, which proves that the wiſeſt of their kings were careful to encourage the fiſheries and agriculture. [*Snorro, Hiſt. Olafi Trygv. c.* 16; *Hiſt. Olafi Sancti, c.* 22.] And this, if I miſtake not, is the earlieſt undoubted account of a herring fiſhery.

* The apparently-real ſubmiſſion of a great number, perhaps the whole, of the Welſh kings to Alfred, is recorded by Aſſer, himſelf a Welſhman. [*Vita Ælfredi, pp.* 47, 49, *ed. Oxon.* 1722.]

† A ſtrong preſumption that Edgar's fleet muſt have been very inconſiderable, is, that the fleet, which his ſon Ethelred raiſed by a requiſition upon all the lands of the kingdom, and which is expreſsly ſaid to have been *the moſt numerous that ever was ſeen in England*, was found inſufficient to repell the northern invaders, or even to guard the entrance of the Thames; and a great part of it was daſhed to pieces in a ſtorm, which would not have happened, at leaſt not to ſo great an extent, if it had been built by carpenters acquainted with their buſineſs, and manned by experienced ſeamen, trained to the proper management of veſſels in Edgar's reign. [*Chron. Sax. ad. ann.* 1008, 1009.]

Edgar's ſtupendous fleet is completely outdone by the thirty thouſand ſhips, and nine million of men, brought by the king of the Huns againſt Frothi hin Fredegod, an ante-hiſtorical king of Denmark, who defeated the king of the Huns, and ſlew *every one* of his men. The *baſileus* of the Engliſh, and emperor of all the kings of the iſlands in the Ocean, was alſo ſurpaſſed in titles by Frothi hin Fredegod, king of Denmark, Sweden, Britain, Scotland, Norway, Saxony, Friſia, Ungary, and *all* the countries of the Eaſt as far as Greece. It is eaſy to muſter ſhips and men, and even vaſſal kings, upon paper; and titles coſt nothing.

993—The flouriſhing commerce of Venice had long ago created its natural attendant and ſafeguard, a powerful fleet, the firſt effort of which, recorded in hiſtory, was the ſuppreſſion of the piracies of the Dalmatians in the year 823. [*Chron. And. Danduli, ap. Muratori Scriptores, V.* xii, *col.* 175.] But as thoſe reſtleſs corſairs continued to infeſt the Venetian trade, the republic now equipped a reſpectable fleet, which took many veſſels belonging to the pirates, deſtroyed Narenta their chief port, and ſubdued the whole province of Dalmatia, to which they ſoon after added Croatia, another piratical ſtate. Having now acquired an ample territory, and the unrivaled ſovereignty of the Adriatic gulf, the Venetians conferred upon their chief magiſtrate, the doge or duke, the additional titles of duke of Dalmatia and Croatia. They had lately obtained from the Greek emperors a favourable grant of liberties and immunities for their navigators and merchants throughout the whole empire; and they alſo obtained from Otto, the emperor of Germany, a confirmation of ſeveral privileges in his dominions granted to them by his father, and a diſcharge from the obligation of delivering a pallium, which had been claimed by his predeceſſors as ſovereigns of Italy (a°. 998) *. [*Danduli Chron. coll.* 223, 225, 227, 231.]

The Chriſtians of the northern and mountainous parts of Spain, who had preſerved themſelves from the yoke of the Saracens, were now recovering a part of the territory of their anceſtors; and they alſo reſumed the iron and ſteel manufactures, for which their country had been famous before it fell under the dominion of the Romans. About the end of the tenth century they began to carry on ſome foreign trade, chiefly from their port of Bilboa †. But they were very far from being comparable to the Saracens of Spain for cultivation, opulence, or civilization.

In the long and diſaſtrous reign of Ethelred, which is reckoned from the year 978 to 1016, the Engliſh were oppreſſed by a continual repetition of miſeries, greatly exceeding the meaſure of their former calamities. The Daniſh and Norwegian robbers, now united, and led by Swein king of Denmark and Olaf Trygvaſon, who afterwards became king of Norway, ſpread the horrors of ſlaughter, captivity, and deſolation, over all the country. After waſting the lands, and utterly extinguiſhing all cultivation and induſtry, they compelled the miſerable people to bring in proviſions for their ſubſiſtence; and they moreover extorted, in the name of tribute or the price of peace, but in reality the premium for invaſion, the enormous ſums of ten thouſand pounds of

* Hitherto the Venetians had profeſſed a ſlight divided allegiance to both empires, which with reſpect to that of Conſtantinople was perhaps never formally extinguiſhed, but muſt have been cancelled when the Venetians became maſters of that empire. It was not till the year 1085 that the Greek emperors renounced their claim to the ſovereignty of Dalmatia and Croatia.

† I have taken this notice of the trade of Bilboa from Mr. Anderſon, though I have not found his authority for it.

ſilver in the year 991, ſixteen thouſand pounds in 994, twenty-four thouſand pounds in 1002, thirty thouſand pounds in 1007, and forty-eight thouſand * pounds in 1012; after which the greateſt part of the country ſunk under the power of the Danes, whoſe king Swein died in the year 1014 in England, of which he had been for ſome time the real and abſolute ſovereign.

Hiſtorians attempt to account for theſe uninterrupted calamities by laying the blame on wicked, incapable, and treacherous, miniſters and generals, to whom the weak king entruſted the conduct of government and the defence of the country. Certain it is that the Engliſh armies appear to have been totally enervated throughout this reign, and that the fleet raiſed by a requiſition upon all the lands of the kingdom, which was more numerous than that of any preceding king of England, anſwered no purpoſe but exhauſting the ſtrength and treaſure of the country, and encouraging the enemy.

The city of London was burnt in 982 or 983. Stow [*Annales, p.* 114, *ed.* 1600] copying from Rudburn, an unedited writer of the fifteenth century, ſays, that the greateſt part of the houſes were then on the weſt ſide of Ludgate, and only ſome ſcattering houſes where the heart of the city now is; and that Canterbury, York, and ſome other cities in England, then ſurpaſſed London in building. The ſea contributed to the diſtreſs of the times by an extraordinary inundation in the year 1014, which ſwept away ſeveral towns and a prodigious number of people. To complete the general calamity of England, it was haraſſed by civil diſſenſions, and afflicted by contagious diſorders, which deſtroyed both man and beaſt, the neceſſary conſequence of famine and unwholeſome food.

London ſoon recovered from the conflagration; and the citizens diſtinguiſhed themſelves as the only people in England who made any ſtrenuous or effectual oppoſition to the enemy. In the year 994, when Olaf and Swein came up the river with ninety-four ſhips, and attempted to burn the city, they were repulſed with more bravery than they ſuppoſed any citizens were capable of. This perhaps inclined Olaf more readily to accept Ethelred's propoſal for buying him off from the confederacy: and it is remarked, that he honourably adhered to the terms of the treaty, his piracies being thenceforth exerciſed in Northumberland, Scotland, the Iſlands, Ireland, and France. The Danes were fruſtrated in all their attempts upon the city in 1008, and in 1013 they were again repulſed with their king Swein. It is upon this occaſion that

* The Saxon Chronicle has only eight thouſand; but Florence, Simeon, &c. have tranſcribed from copies wherein the number ſtood 48,000, which accords with the progreſſive augmentation of the extorſion. The ſums thus paid to induce the Northern invaders to deſiſt from, or rather to repeat, their deſtructive viſits by an exhauſted country, poſſeſſing no mines of ſilver, that we know of, and ſcarcely any commerce, may ſtagger credibility, though vouched by the reſpectable authority of the Saxon Chronicle and the oldeſt Engliſh hiſtorians.

we have the earlieſt certain notice of London bridge; for we are told, that in coming from Wincheſter to London many of the Danes were drowned in the Thames, becauſe they neglected the bridge *.

Amidſt the deſolations of this unhappy reign, but moſt probably in the early part of it, ſome attention was paid to regulations for internal and coaſting trade, both of which were apparently on a ſmall ſcale for articles of ſubſiſtence; and England had even ſome paſſive foreign trade, as appears from the twenty-third chapter of the laws enacted by Ethelred and his wiſe men at Venetyng or Wanating (*Wantage* in Berk-ſhire), according to which every boat arriving at Bilynggeſgate paid for toll or cuſtom one halfpenny; a larger boat with ſails, one penny; a keel or hulk, four pennies; a veſſel with wood, one piece of wood; a boat with fiſh coming to the bridge, one halfpenny, or one penny, according to her ſize. The men of Rouen, who brought wine and large fiſh †, thoſe of Flanders, Ponthieu, Normandy, and France, ſhowed their goods, and cleared the duties ‡; as did alſo thoſe of Hegge §, Liege, and Nivell. The emperor's men who came with their ſhips were deemed worthy of good (or favourable) laws; but they were not to foreſtall the market to the prejudice of the citizens, and they were to pay their duties. At Chriſtmas thoſe German merchants paid two grey cloths and one brown one, ten pounds of pepper, five pair of men's gloves, and two veſſels ‖ of vinegar. The ſame dues were alſo levied from them at Eaſter. [*Bromton, col.* 897.]

The merchants, called in this law the *emperor's men*, are ſuppoſed to have been the predeceſſors of thoſe who were afterwards called the *Merchants of the Teutonic gildhall.*

At the ſame time the number of coiners in England was reduced to three for every principal port, or town, and one for every ſmaller one, who ſhould be anſwerable for their workmen as to the quality and juſt weight of the money. The market weights were alſo ordered to be uniform with that of the money, viz. fifteen *oræ* (a Daniſh denomination) to each pound. [*Bromton, col.* 899.]

* A bridge at London is mentioned in a law of Ethelred of uncertain date, but ſuppoſed by Spelman [*Concilia, p.* 532] to be prior to his treaty with Olaf in 994. Stow [*Survey of London, p.* 48, *ed.* 1618] dates this firſt notice of the bridge in 994, but the Saxon Chronicle expreſsly in 1013. William of Malmſbury [*f.* 38 b] ſeems to have confounded the two ſieges of London by Swein, and thus miſled Stow. We may however preſume, from ſundry notices in Domeſday book, that bridges had long been common even in the inland and remote parts of England.

Snorro Sturleſon relates that Olaf Haraldſon aſſiſted Ethelred to recover London from the Daniſh king Cnut, the ſon of Swein. Meeting with an obſtruction from London bridge (the breadth of which is remarked to have been ſufficient for two carriages) Olaf made faſt his ſhips at high water to the wooden piles of it, and then, rowing them vigorouſly down the river with the ebb tide, he ſhook down the bridge, and London thereupon ſubmitted to Ethelred. [*Hiſt. Olafi Sancti, c.* 11.] This ſtratagem, I believe, is not mentioned by any of the Engliſh hiſtorians.

† 'Craſpiſce.' See the Gloſſary to the *Scriptores decem*, in vo. Craſpiſcis.

‡ 'Monſtrabant res ſuas, et extolneabant.'

§ So it is printed in Bromton's Chronicle. This law is not publiſhed by Lambard, Wheloc, Spelman, or Wilkins.

‖ 'Duos cabillinos colennos,' the meaning of which the gloſſariſt is unable to explain.

A council held by the wiſe men of England and the counſelors of Wales, for regulating the intercourſe between the two nations, during this reign as is ſuppoſed, ſcarcely deſerves notice in commercial hiſtory. By it ſix Engliſh and ſix Welſh law-men (or men ſkilled in the law) were appointed to ſettle all diſputes between individuals of the two nations; and the rates of compenſation for ſlaves, cattle, &c. were aſcertained. [*Lambardi Archaionomia, f.* 90, *ed.* 1568.]

996-1000—Olaf Trygvaſon, having by his piratical expeditions acquired ſome knowlege of the productions and the wants of various countries, after his acceſſion to the crown of Norway endeavoured to encourage commerce in his own country. With this view he founded Nidaros (i. e. Nid's mouth), and appointed it to be an emporium for trade, as it ſtill remains under the name of Drontheim. [*Snorro, Hiſt. Olafi Tryg. c.* 77.]

King Olaf went beyond all his predeceſſors in his attention to maritime affairs; and he built ſome ſhips of war larger than had ever been ſeen in the northern ſeas. One of theſe, called the Dreki (or Dragon), was ſeventy-four elns * by the keel; ſhe had thirty-four benches for the rowers; her ſides are ſaid to have been as lofty as thoſe of ſhips of burthen; and her head and ſtern were finely adorned with carving and gilding by an artiſt, whoſe name was Thorberg Skaffhog.

The battles of the northern nations were moſt frequently fought upon the water. Their warlike ſhips, or gallies, were long, narrow, and low; and they were adorned with figure heads, the uſe of which appears to have come down from the earlieſt ages. Beſides ſwords, bows and arrows, and pikes, they took onboard a quantity of ſtones to throw into their enemy's veſſels. A parapet, or breaſt-work, compoſed of ſhields, was ſet up around the ſides of the ſhips †. Like the antient naval combatants of the Mediterranean, they drove the beaks of their gallies by the force of the oars againſt the ſides of the enemy, and the battle was ſupported chiefly on the fore part of the deck. It was a great object to have the heads and ſterns lofty for the ſake of pouring down ſtones, darts, &c. on the enemy's deck. They generally endeavoured to grapple their enemy, and board him. Sometimes by mutual conſent the hoſtile ſhips were bound to each other, and the men fought hand to hand, till one of the ſhips was overpowered. [*Snorro, Hiſt. Olafi Tryg. cc.* 124-128; *Hiſt. Olafi Sancti, c.* 47; *Hiſt. Haraldi Hardrad, c.* 2.—*Torfæi Orcades, L.* i, *cc.* 14, 22, 39.]

That foreign articles of elegant dreſs and ornament were not un-

* The eln of Norway is equal to a foot and a half of our meaſure, as I was informed by Doctor Thorkelin, the learned keeper of the Daniſh royal library. The keel of the Dragon therefor meaſured 111 feet, which is equal to the length of our large modern frigates of 32 or 36 guns.

† The ſhields, &c. ſometimes now painted upon the quarter-cloths, ſeem to be a veſtige or memorial of this cuſtom.

known in thoſe remote regions, appears from the following deſcription. Sigurd Syr, the ſtepfather of King Olaf the Saint, who is noted as a plain man, a good farmer, and a lover of peace, could on extraordinary occaſions dreſs in breeches, or trouſers, of Cordovan leather, and clothes made of ſilk, with a ſcarlet cloak over them. His ſword was richly adorned with carving in gold, and his helmet and ſpurs were gilded. His horſe had a ſaddle embelliſhed with golden ornaments, and a bridle ſhining with gold and gems. Thoſe articles of finery were not, however, ſo often acquired by fair trade as by piracy, then the chief trade of all the northern nations; for, though ſome of the Vikveriar (people of the ſouth part of Norway) are ſaid to have been conſiderable traders (according to the eſtimation of their age and country) to England, Ireland, Saxony, Flanders, and Denmark, yet their attachment to trade did not prevent them from ſometimes amuſing themſelves with piracy when they found an opportunity, and taking free winter quarters in the countries of the Chriſtians *. [*Snorro, Hiſt. Olafi Sancti, cc.* 31, 32, 62.]

About this time periodical public markets, or fairs, were eſtabliſhed in ſeveral towns of Germany and the northern kingdoms; and a principal part of the merchandize brought to them in theſe days of rapine conſiſted of ſlaves taken in the wars, which were indeed often made merely for the purpoſe of carrying off captives. Helmold relates that he ſaw ſeven thouſand Daniſh ſlaves at one time expoſed to ſale in the market at Meklenburg. The common price of ordinary ſlaves of either ſex was about a mark (or eight ounces) of ſilver; but ſome female ſlaves, for their beauty or qualifications, were rated as high as three marks. [*Thorkelin's Eſſay on the ſlave trade, pp.* 4-9.]

1000 or 1001.—It was in the laſt year of the tenth century, or the firſt year of the eleventh, that the adventurous ſpirit of the northern navigators of Iceland carried them to a country ſituated ſouth-weſt from Greenland, and having in the ſhorteſt day the ſun eight hours above the horizon, which infers that it was about the forty-ninth degree of latitude. The fertile ſoil was covered with wood, whence they called the country Merkland; but having diſcovered that it produced grapes ſpontaneouſly, they altered the name to Winland. The rivers were well ſtored with fiſh, and eſpecially with large ſalmon. The natives, whom the Icelanders never ſaw till the third year of their voyages to the country, were a diminutive race, who uſed boats covered with leather, and fought with bows and arrows. Theſe people, after having a ſkirmiſh with the Icelanders, traded with them, giving them fine furs in exchange for their goods.

Several of the ſhips, which ſailed from Iceland for this new-found land, carried a number of families in order to eſtabliſh a permanent ſettlement, which appears to have ſubſiſted at leaſt above a century, as we

* For the ſake of connecting the detached parts of Norwegian commercial hiſtory, this paragraph is introduced a few years earlier than its proper date.

find that a biſhop went from Greenland in the year 1121 to convert the coloniſts of Winland to the Chriſtian religion. After that time there is no further *certain* account of the colony, and the connection between Iceland and Winland ſeems to have been entirely dropt *. But if there is, as has been aſſerted, a tribe of people in the interior part of Newfoundland who differ in perſon and manners from the Eſkimaux of the north end of the iſland, they may not improbably be ſuppoſed the remains of the Icelandic colony †.

Winland was evidently ſome part of the continent at the mouth of the River St. Laurence, or Newfoundland, more probably the later; and the vagrant natives, called by the Icelanders Skrelingur, were apparently the Eſkimaux.

The accidental diſcoverer of this weſtern land was Biorn, the ſon of Heriolf; and Lief, the ſon of Erik Raud, fitted out the firſt veſſel which ſailed purpoſely for it. Snorro, the ſon of Torfin, was the firſt perſon of European parentage born on the weſt ſide of the Atlantic ocean; and from him deſcended a family, which long flouriſhed, and probably ſtill flouriſhes, in Iceland.

As the diſcovery of AMERICA by the Icelanders, though an event extremely curious and intereſting in the hiſtory of mankind, is not ſo generally known as it ought to be (even ſome of thoſe who have profeſſedly written upon the diſcovery of that continent being ignorant of it), it is proper to obſerve, that it is moſt unqueſtionably authenticated by the teſtimony of contemporary authors, and others who lived ſoon after; all of them long before the generally-ſuppoſed firſt diſcovery by Colon, or Columbus ‡. Therefor, without detracting in the ſmalleſt degree from the merit of that illuſtrious navigator, who ſet out upon ſcientific principles, and with ſome previous aſſurances collected from the accidental diſcoveries of preceding navigators, to ſearch for a weſtern route

* According to Doctor Forſter's expoſition of the geography of Zeno's voyage, Winland was afterwards called Eſtotiland, and it was in a flouriſhing condition in the fourteenth century. See *Forſter's Diſcoveries in the North, pp.* 188, 203, *Engl. tranſl.* and below under the year 1360.

† Whether thoſe people are of Norwegian origin or not, may be very eaſily aſcertained by their language, which to a proper judge muſt appear, through all the fluctuations of eight centuries, to be radically Norwegian, if they are the remains of a Norwegian colony, though they may have loſt all traditional knowlege of their anceſtors, if any perſon in Newfoundland, properly qualified, would take the trouble to make the inquiry. Such an inquiry I have myſelf ſet on foot, but hitherto without ſucceſs.

‡ *Adam Bremenſis de ſitu Daniæ, p.* 36, *ed.* 1629: he died in 1076.—*Orderici Vitalis Hiſt. eccleſ. ad an.* 1098: he flouriſhed about 1140.—*Snorro Sturleſon, Hiſt. Olafi Trygv. cc.* 105-111: he was the earlieſt general hiſtorian of the North, and was repeatedly chief magiſtrate of Iceland, A. D. 1215-1232.—*The Flateyan manuſcript in the king of Denmark's library*, which was finiſhed in 1394.—I ſay nothing of Arngrim Jonas, Torfæus, and other northern writers, who have flouriſhed after the age of Columbus.

Forſter in his *Hiſtory of Voyages, &c. in the North*, and Mallet in his *Introduction to the hiſtory of Denmark*, have given accounts at ſome length of the diſcovery and colonization of Winland: yet though Engliſh tranſlations of both theſe works have been publiſhed, it is ſurpriſing how many people there are, even among thoſe of general reading, who believe that no European ever ſet a foot in America before Columbus.

to India, we muſt acknowlege that the reputation of the firſt diſcovery of lands in the weſtern hemiſphere unqueſtionably belongs to Biorn. SUUM CUIQUE.

1000-1024—From the regions of the North-weſt, where commerce was yet in its infancy, our attention is now called to the Eaſt by the revolutions of, probably, the firſt civilized country in the world, where manufactures, commerce, and ſcience, had attained to maturity many centuries before any human footſtep had penetrated the Britiſh woods, or preſſed the Norwegian ſnows. The great, rich, and populous, country of Baratta *, called by the Europeans India or Hindooſtan, had never, that we know of, ſuffered to any great extent the violation of a foreign conqueſt †, till it was invaded by Mahmood, the Turkiſh prince or ſultan of Gazna, who in twelve expeditions ſubdued the greateſt part of the northern provinces (or of the proper Hindooſtan), as far eaſt as the Ganges, and as far ſouth as the Nerbudda. This delightful country has ever ſince been ſubject to various dynaſties of princes, all of foreign extraction.

1013—From the accounts written by two Arabian merchants we have ſeen that the Chineſe were a more commercial and enterpriſing people in the ninth century than in the eighteenth. About this time, if we may depend on the information, perhaps traditional, obtained by Hugo Grotius ‡, [*Ann. de reb. Belg.* L. xv, *p.* 702] they extended their conqueſts throughout the Indian ſeas, and, with conſiderable expenſe of blood and treaſure, made themſelves maſters of Ternate, Tidor, Motiel (or Motir), Makiam, and Bakiam, iſlands celebrated for the production of ſpices, eſpecially cloves, and kept poſſeſſion of them about ſixty years. The iſlands were next occupied by a colony of Malays, whom the Arabs, aſſiſted by the Perſians, drove out, and eſtabliſhed themſelves firmly in their place §.

Hamburgh, which had been ſeveral times deſtroyed by its turbulent neighbours, was now rebuilt with wood in a more magnificent manner than before, and was ſoon repeopled by its diſperſed citizens and an acceſſion of new inhabitants. [*Original authors, ap. Lambecii Orig. Hamburg. p.* 43.]

1016—The ſilver mines of Rammelſberg no longer anſwering the expectation of the proprietors, new ones were ſearched for and diſcovered

* For this genuine name I am indebted to Major Rennell's *Memoir of a map of Hindooſtan.* Qu. is not *Maratta* the ſame name? But it may perhaps be doubted whether ſo large a country ever was comprehended under one indigenous general name.

† The impreſſion made by Alexander on the weſtern border of India was neither extenſive nor permanent. The more antient conqueſts aſcribed to Bachus, Oſiris, &c. ſeem to be little better than fictions of romantic Greece;

Quicquid Græcia mendax
Audet in hiſtoriis.

‡ There is no account of any ſuch conqueſt at this time in the *Hiſtoria Sinica ap. Thevenot, V.* ii. But the commercial enterpriſe of the Chineſe remained in full vigour in the thirteenth century, when Marco Polo was in their country.

§ Grotius obſerves that Molucco, the general name by which thoſe iſlands are known to us, and ſultan, the title of the ſovereign, are Arabic words.

in the Upper Hartz (the Hercynian foreſt of antient geography). They were worked till the year 1181, when they were ruined by war, and neglected till the emperor Otto again worked them in the year 1208, when another war again involved them in ruin, from which they were recovered in the ſixteenth century by Erneſt prince of Grubenhagen, who gave great encouragement to all who would engage in working them, and built a town for the accommodation of the labourers. Theſe mines ſtill yield a conſiderable revenue to the houſe of Brunſwick. [*Rimius's Mem. of the houſe of Brunſwick, p.* 258.]

The citizens of London were now of ſuch conſequence, that they, in conjunction with the nobles who were in the city, choſe a king for the whole Engliſh nation. The object of their choice was Edmund Ironſide, the ſon of the late king Ethelred, who, after a brave ſtruggle, wherein he was well ſupported by the city of London, at laſt ſunk under the ſuperior power of Cnut, who had ſucceeded his father Swein in the command of the Daniſh army, and had been choſen king by the Danes and a great part of the Engliſh.

During the war between Edmund and Cnut, the later, in order to get his fleet above the bridge to beſiege the city of London, dug a ditch, or canal, ſufficient to carry the ſhips, on the ſouth ſide of the river, by which he paſſed the bridge, and kept the city cloſely inveſted, till it was relieved by the arrival of Edmund.

1018—Cnut, now the acknowleged ſovereign of all England, in order to reward his Danes, and induce them to return quietly home, levied eleven thouſand pounds of ſilver from the city of London *, and ſeventy-two thouſand from the reſt of the kingdom; a moſt wonderful ſum to be collected in a country already ſo drained by the great and frequent extorſions of his father. Of all his forces Cnut retained only forty Daniſh ſhips; ſo well was he ſatisfied of the good will of the Engliſh.

1020—The citizens of Amalfi, whoſe ſpirited commercial exertions have already been repeatedly noticed, were now in very great favour with the rulers and people of the Mohamedan countries in the Eaſt, 'becauſe they imported many articles of merchandize hitherto unknown in thoſe countries.' They had already obtained permiſſion to eſtabliſh houſes, or factories, in the maritime towns; and, becauſe they had no houſe in Jeruſalem, the calif of Egypt gave them a letter to the preſident of that city, who aſſigned them ſufficient ground for building upon. The merchants immediately built two monaſteries and an hoſpital for travelers, whereupon many Chriſtians repaired to the holy city on account of religion as well as of trade. An hoſpital for men, dedicated to St. John, and another for women, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalen, were afterwards added. The keepers of the former became fam-

* Florence of Worceſter makes the ſum paid by London fifteen thouſand pounds.

ous in hiſtory by the title of Hoſpitalers and Johannites, which in the changes of their fortune gave place to that of knights of Rhodes; and now they are called knights of Malta. [*Willielm. Tyr. L.* xviii, *c.* 4.—*Brencman. de rep. Amalf.* § 8.]

1028—So far was Cnut from entertaining any apprehenſions of an inclination to revolt among the Engliſh, that he made frequent voyages to the continent, where he enlarged his dominions by the conqueſt of Norway. This acquiſition, which united all the maritime nations of the North under one ſovereign, was effected chiefly by Engliſh ſhips, and by the help of his Engliſh ſubjects, whoſe courage revived under the conduct of a general capable of directing it.

Some of the ſhips of Cnut's fleet (but whether built in England or Denmark, we are not told) exceeded in magnitude the largeſt ſhip built by Olaf Trygvaſon king of Norway, or any other ſhips hitherto ſeen upon the Weſtern ocean. [*Snorro, Hiſt. Olafi Sancti, c.* 158.]

1031—Cnut alſo made a journey to Rome, 'becauſe he was told by 'wiſe men that St. Peter kept the key of the celeſtial kingdom,' where he ſpent a great deal of money. There he met with the emperor Cunrad and other princes, from whom he obtained for all his ſubjects, whether merchants or pilgrims, a complete exemption from the heavy tolls uſually exacted on their journey to Rome. [See Cnut's own letter *ap. Will. Malmſb. f.* 41 b.]

Cnut is believed to have eſtabliſhed, or authorized, mints at a greater number of places than any other king of England; and the following modernized liſt of the names, found upon money coined in his reign, ſhows that at leaſt thirty-ſeven cities and towns had that privilege.

Briſtol,	Glouceſter,	Mancheſter,	Stamford,
Cambridge,	Haſtings,	Norwich,	Sudbury,
Canterbury,	Hereford,	Nottingham,	Tamworth,
Cheſter,	Hertford,	Oxford,	Thetford,
Colcheſter,	Hythe,	Rocheſter,	Wells,
Crookhorn,	Huntingdon,	Sarum,	Winchester,
Derby,	Ipſwich,	Shaftſbury,	York *.
Dorcheſter,	Leiceſter,	Shrewſbury,	
Dover,	Lincoln,	Southampton,	
Exeter,	London,	Southwark,	

1036—On the death of Cnut the citizens † of London were again a

* This liſt is extracted from a *Catalogue of the coins of Canute king of Denmark and England*, 4to, 1777, publiſhed in conſequence of a great variety of his coins being found in the year 1774 in a peat moſs near Kirkwall in Orkney, whither they might be conveyed either by trade or by piracy, in thoſe ages the chief trade of the Norwegian inhabitants of the Orkney iſlands, which were ſubject to the crown of Norway till the year 1468.

† The Saxon Chronicle calls them ſeamen or navigators ('liths-men'). They were probably merchants who went in their own veſſels. William of Malmſbury on this occaſion obſerves, that the citizens of London, by their great intercourſe with the Danes, whom he calls barbarians, reſembled them very much in their manners.

conſiderable part of the electors, by whom his natural ſon Harold was made king of England.

1037-1054—Scotland was at this time governed by King Macbeth, whom the flatterers of the poſterity of King Malcolm Kenmor have repreſented as a tyrant and an uſurper, whoſe hiſtory Boyſe has turned into a fairy tale, and Shakſpeare into a dramatic romance. The little we know of him, which is rather more than we know of moſt of his predeceſſors, entitles him to ſome notice in this work. The original part of the Latin Elegiac chronicle of the Scottiſh kings ſays, that Scotland enjoyed plentiful ſeaſons during his reign; and Wyntown, copying from it and ſome other impartial antient record, ſays, that

'All hys tyme wes gret plentè
'Abowndand, báth on land and ſe.'

[*Wyntown's Cronykil of Scotland*, *B.* vi, *c.* 18, *ll.* 47, 408.]

The only influence a king of Scotland could poſſibly have in producing plenty by land and ſea muſt have been by mild and judicious government, by giving encouragement to agriculture, the prime ſource of wealth in every country, and to the fiſhery, that inexhauſtible ſecondary fund of wealth, wherewith bountiful Nature has ſurrounded Scotland. That Macbeth's government was beneficent, and eſtabliſhed in the affections of his people, notwithſtanding the claims and efforts of the rival family, appears from the comparatively-long duration and tranquillity of his reign, and from his venturing to delegate his power in order to make a journey to Rome in the year 1050. As an additional proof of his merit I may adduce the abſurd obloquy thrown upon his memory. That Scotland in his reign enjoyed ſome foreign commerce, the baſis of which was probably the fiſhery, and that a balance of caſh was even paid by the neighbouring nations, is ſufficiently evident from the great expenſe of his journey to Rome, where his charity to the poor was conſpicuous even in that general reſort of wealthy pilgrims. [*Mariani Chron. ad an.* 1050.]

1050—About the middle of the eleventh century Sliaſwig (*Sleſwik*), or Heithebu, is deſcribed as a port of the Barbaric, Baltic, or Scythic, ſea, from which ſhips ſailed to Slavonia, Semland, and even to Greece, by which name we are ſurely to underſtand Ruſſia *. Ripa was a port on the oppoſite ſide of Yutland, whence veſſels ſailed to Freſia, Saxony, and England. Arhuſen, on the eaſt ſide of Yutland, was the port of departure for Fionia or Seland, Sconia, and Norway. [*Adami Bremens. Lib. de ſitu Daniæ*, *p.* 2, *ed.* 1629.]

At this time, if Adam of Bremen [*p.* 17] was rightly informed, Sweden was full of foreign merchandize: but this account may be taken with large allowance.

* 'The name of Greeks was applied to the Ruſſians even before their converſion.' [*Gibbon*, *V.* x, *p.* 226, *Note*, where the original authors are quoted.]

Adam of Bremen and ſome other old German writers ſpeak in ſtrains of high admiration of the populouſneſs and wealth of the great commercial cities of Winet and Julin, *both* at the mouth of the River Oder on the ſouth ſide of the Baltic ſea. But as all things are great or ſmall by compariſon, and as it is difficult to conceive how any port of the Baltic ſea could poſſibly have a very great trade at that time, and more eſpecially two adjacent ports, we muſt believe that thoſe accounts are prodigiouſly exaggerated *.

The rotundity of the earth and the theory of the inequality of the length of the day were known by Adam of Bremen; and we do not hear of his being excommunicated or reprehended for his knowlege.

1052—Pefeneſea, Rumenea, Hythe, Folces-ſtane, Dofra, and Sandwic †, are noted as ports having ſhips, which were all ſeized and carried off by Earl Godwin, after his ſon-in-law King Edward had driven him out of the kingdom.

1063—The commercial republic of Piſa on the weſt ſide of Italy was now in a flouriſhing ſtate. The Piſans, deſpiſing the narrow dictates of religious bigotry, made frequent voyages to Panormus (or Palermo) in Sicily, where they traded with the Saracen inhabitants. They alſo traded to the coaſt of Africa, where, ſome time after this, conceiving themſelves on ſome occaſion to be injured, they led an army againſt the royal city of Tunis, of which they made themſelves maſters, except one ſtrong tower, in which the Saracen king or chief was obliged to ſhut himſelf up. [*Galfridi Malaterræ Hiſt. Sicul. L.* ii, *c.* 34; *L.* iv, *c.* 3.]

1064—About the ſame time the Genoeſe appear to have had a conſiderable ſhare of the trade to the Levant, or eaſt end of the Mediterranean. A fleet of their ſhips, which arrived at Joppa, after the merchants had bartered their goods among the maritime cities, and paid their adorations to the holy places, brought off the remains of a company, or rather an army, of pilgrims, who had traveled over land from France and Germany, as we learn from Ingulf, an Engliſh hiſtorian, [*p.* 74, *ed. Gale*] who was one of the number.

1065—The church of Weſtminſter, which was founded, or refounded on a larger ſcale, by King Edward, was the firſt ſpecimen in England of a kind of architecture, which, according to William of Malmſbury, [*f.* 52 b] afterwards became very general. It may be preſumed to have been that which is generally, but ſeemingly improperly, denominated the Gothic ‡.

* Helmold, the author of the Chronicle of the Slavi, who wrote about the end of the twelfth century, ſays, that the *reports* of the wonderful wealth of Winet are *incredible*. It was the greateſt city in Europe—and it was *reported* that it was totally deſtroyed by ſome *nameleſs* king of Denmark. [*Chron. Slav. L.* i, *c.* 2.]

† Now called Pevenſey, Rumney, Hyth, Folkſton, Dover, Sandwich.

‡ If the Gothic architecture was not introduced in England till the reign of Henry II, as is generally ſuppoſed, what kind was this?

In the reign of Edward the Confeſſor the Engliſh recovered their military and naval character, chiefly under the conduct of his brother-in-law Harold; for the king himſelf was much better qualified to perform the offices of a monk than to diſcharge the duties of a ſovereign. On the death of Edward without iſſue, his nephew, Edgar Atheling, who was under age, was ſet aſide, and Harold was choſen king (a°. 1066). He appears to have been, after Alfred, the greateſt of the Saxon princes; and like him he was ſenſible that a well-appointed navy was the natural ſafeguard of England *. As ſoon as he became king, he was threatened with an invaſion by William duke of Normandy, who alleged that the late king had promiſed to appoint him his ſucceſſor. Knowing the great power and military talents of the duke, he provided a fleet of above ſeven hundred ſhips, which he ſtationed on the coaſt oppoſite to France. Unfortunately a part of it was called off by the unexpected attack of the fleets of Norway and Orkney, led by Harold Hardrad ‡ king of Norway, whoſe life paid the forfeit of his unprovoked hoſtility. And William, who landed on the ſouth coaſt almoſt at the ſame time, would probably in like manner have expiated his unprovoked attack of a people who had never injured him, had not Harold been ſlain by a random ſhot of an arrow, after ſupporting with his army, fatigued by their march from Stanford to the coaſt of Suſſex, a battle of a whole day with great courage and conduct, if we except his miſconduct in fighting at all. But the prudence of allowing an invader to waſte his ſtrength and the ardour of his troops by delay was unknown in the art of war of that age.

Even after the diſaſter of Harold's death the fleet of England was ſuperior to that of the invaders, which it kept blocked up in the ports of Pevenſey and Haſtings. The fleet of William and his allies is moſt diſcordantly numbered, from ſeven hundred to three thouſand ſhips, by the various writers upon that famous expedition.

Soon after the death of Harold, the Engliſh, finding themſelves without a leader, and influenced by the clergy, ſubmitted to William, who on the 25th day of December was crowned as king of England in Weſtminſter abbay.

The acceſſion of William conſtitutes a new æra in the hiſtory of England, which is thenceforth much more fully known than in the preceding ages, its affairs being now much connected with thoſe of the continent, and illuſtrated by a continued ſucceſſion of good hiſtorians, domeſtic and foreign. The materials for commercial hiſtory, and particularly of that of this iſland, will conſequently be more ample in the

* The ſuppreſſion of the Welſh in the reign of Edward was effected by Harold, chiefly by means of a fleet of ſhips, wherewith he ſailed from Briſtol. The army and fleet of Northumberland, which aſſiſted Malcolm prince of Scotland againſt Macbeth, wa at e Daniſh than Engliſh.

† The name of Harold *Harfagur*, given to this king by moſt writers, is one of the many inſtances of the actions of leſs celebrated characters being transferred to more famous perſonages of the ſame name.

ſucceeding ages than in the paſt; and the labour of the writer will not, as in the preceding part of this work, conſiſt chiefly in ſearching for materials, but in ſelecting thoſe which are moſt worthy of being laid before the reader.

Before proceeding to what may comparatively be called the modern hiſtory of commerce, it will be proper to introduce ſome notices concerning the trade of the Anglo-Saxons, which could not conveniently be referred to any particular dates.

Before the eſtabliſhment of the feudal ſyſtem in this country, which the beſt antiquaries ſeem agreed in aſcribing to the Norman kings, [See *Spelman, Gloſſ. vo.* Feodum] landed property was more abſolutely at the diſpoſal of the proprietors, than when all eſtates were held by feudal tenures. From the hiſtories of churches and abbays, (of which many are extant in manuſcript, and alſo ſeverals publiſhed) we have numerous accounts of ſales of eſtates *. We find five hides of land at Holland, on the coaſt of Eſſex, ſold for twenty pounds of ſilver; [*Hiſt. Eliens, ap. Gale, p.* 481] and it appears, that the price ſcarcely ever exceeded five pounds of ſilver for a hide of land, even of the beſt quality †. So low a price of land affords the cleareſt demonſtration, that the country was very thinly peopled, and that few of the people were in opulent circumſtances.

Agriculture, which was in ſuch a flouriſhing ſtate in Britain when under the Roman government, was much neglected during the long wars between the Britons and the Saxons, Angles, &c. and it never recovered its former degree of perfection during the whole period of the Anglo-Saxon government. There is not, I believe, any authority to ſay, that one cargo of corn was ever ſhipped from England in all that long ſucceſſion of ages. It is unneceſſary to add, that a bad harveſt brought on univerſal diſtreſs ‡.

* See eſpecially the Hiſtories of Ramſey and Ely, *ap. Gale, Scriptores, V.* i, 1691. The later in particular is full of ſuch purchaſes, many of which, even by the account of a monk of the abbay, appear to have been fraudulent.

† There is great difference of opinion concerning the quantity of land contained in a hide, which appears to have varied from 96 to 160 acres. The average price of an acre of good land may, therefor, be ſtated at about half an ounce of ſilver. In the reign of Cnut two mills were purchaſed for two marks of gold; but I know not if it was a fair price, for the eſtate to which they belonged was acquired by a ſwindling trick. [*Hiſt. Ramſ. p.* 442.]

‡ The languid condition of agriculture is evident from a great part of the country having reverted to the natural ſtate of an uncultivated foreſt, which was only uſeful for feeding hogs and wild animals, and furniſhing fuel and timber for building. In the reign of Edward the Confeſſor Leofſtan, abbat of St. Albans, cut down the trees adjoining to the great road called Watling-ſtreet, beginning at the Chiltern, and proceeding almoſt to London, that travelers might be leſs expoſed to the depredations of robbers, who haunted the wood, which was alſo occupied by wolves, boars, wild bulls, and deer. And he gave a grant of the manor of Flamſtead to Thurnoth, on condition that he ſhould clear the wood of noxious animals and robbers, and make good the loſs ſuſtained by any perſon robbed within his diſtrict. The wood, however, was not ſufficiently cleared, or thinned, between St. Alban's and London; for we find, that Frederic, the next abbat, gave the manor of Aldenham on the ſame terms to the abbat of Weſtminſter. After the conqueſt many of the Engliſh fled from the oppreſſion of the Normans to the woods, where they ſupported themſelves by plunder. [*M. Paris Vit. abbatum, pp.* 45, 46.]

When

The fertile and extenſive paſtures of the Britiſh iſlands, exempted, by the changeable nature of our climate, from the long-continued parching droughts, which frequently deſtroy the graſs in other countries, have, from the earlieſt ages that we have any account of, nouriſhed innumerable herds and flocks, from which the natives derived the principal part of their food, their clothing, bedding, armour, and even their boats. The ſkins alſo furniſhed an article of the rude commerce of the Britons, before they became ſubject to the Romans. And, though there is not, I believe, any poſitive authority to eſtabliſh the fact, there can be little doubt, that the Flemings, the great manufacturers of fine woollen goods for the whole of Europe, carried great quantities of wool from this country in the period now under our conſideration, as, we know for certain, they did in the following ages: [*M. Weſtm. p.* 396] and we may thereby account for the diſproportionate price of the fleece, which ſeems to be valued at two pennies in the 68th law of Inè, king of the Weſt Saxons, whereas the value of a ſheep with her lamb, by the 56th law of the ſame king, was only one ſhilling, i. e. either five or four pennies. By the 8th law of King Edgar, the higheſt price which could be taken for a weigh of wool, was fixed at half a pound of ſilver, being, if the weigh contained then as now, 182 pounds of wool, near three fourths of a penny for a pound; a price which, as far as we are enabled to compare it with the prices of other articles, may be thought high.

We know that lead was frequently uſed for the roofs of churches and other buildings; and we know from Domeſday book, that in the neighbourhood of Glouceſter, there were iron works in the time of Edward the Confeſſor, which had probably been kept up ſince before the invaſion of the Romans. Though there is no account of the exportation of any metals in the ages now under our conſideration, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the demand from other countries muſt at all times have prevented the owners of the mines from neglecting them; and we may preſume, that at leaſt lead and tin *, if not iron, formed a conſiderable part of the few exports during the Anglo-Saxon period.

It may be preſumed, that horſes had been ſometimes exported, as King Athelſtan made a law againſt carrying any out of the kingdom, unleſs they were to be given as preſents.

When the country was almoſt covered with wood ſo near the capital, the remoter diſtricts muſt aſſuredly have been in a ſtill lower degree of cultivation, of which indeed many poſitive proofs might be adduced, if it were neceſſary.

* Mathew Paris [*Hiſt. p.* 570] ſays, erroneouſly, that from the creation of the world to the year 1241 no tin had ever been found anywhere but in Cornwall. Camden [*Britan. p.* 134] ſuppoſes, that the Saracens worked the Corniſh mines in the times of the Anglo-Saxons; and he ſays, the exhauſted mines are called in Corniſh *Attal Sariſin*, which he interprets *the leavings of the Saracens.*

Raynal [*Hiſt. phil. et polit. V.* ii, *p.* 177, *ed.* 1782] ſays, that in the ſeventh century the Saxons carried their tin and lead to the fairs eſtabliſhed in France by Dagobert. It is a pity that that valuable author never produces his authorities.

It will ſound ſtrange to the ears of many, that human creatures, not Africans of a different colour, but white people, natives of Britain, conſtituted an article of trade in thoſe days. The people of Briſtol were great dealers in ſlaves, whom they generally exported to Ireland. [*W. Malmſbur. Vit. Ulſtani, in Anglia ſacra, V.* ii, *p.* 258.—*Gir. Cambr. Hib. exp. L.* i, *c.* 18.] Some Northumbrian ſlaves were carried as far as Rome, where, being expoſed to ſale in the ſlave-market, their handſome figure ſo engaged the compaſſion of a monk called Gregory, that he afterwards, when he was pope, ſent Auguſtine to convert their nation to the Chriſtian religion, who, inſtead of proceeding to Northumberland, took up his reſidence at Canterbury. [*Bedæ Hiſt. eccleſ. L.* ii, *c.* 1.]

The foreign trade appears to have been chiefly carried on by ſtrangers, and was therefor a paſſive trade on the part of England. The attempt of Athelſtan to allure his ſubjects to avail themſelves of the natural advantages of their inſular ſituation would not have been either neceſſary or proper, if many Engliſh merchants had traded to foreign countries, or if many of them had been capable of fitting out and loading a veſſel.

The internal trade of England muſt alſo have been on a very diminutive ſcale, when the preſence of two or more witneſſes, of the chief magiſtrate, the ſhirref, the prieſt, or the lord of the manor, was neceſſary to give validity to a bargain of more than twenty pennies. If we may place any dependence on the laws aſcribed to Edward the Confeſſor, the clergy were entitled to draw their tenths even from the profits of trade, which was a ſafe and good trade for them.

The inland trade was aſſiſted not only by the many navigable rivers, which interſect England, but alſo apparently by artificial canals, where the ground was level. Abbo of Fleury deſcribes the kingdom of the Eaſt-Angles as bounded on the weſt by a rampart and ditch. [*See Camdeni Britan. in Cambridge-ſhire, where ſeveral ſuch are noted.*] A canal in Huntington-ſhire, called Kingsdelf, is at leaſt as old as the year 963. [*Chron. Sax. ad an.—Hiſt. Rames. ap. Gale, p.* 457.] It is not impoſſible, that theſe canals may be of ſtill higher antiquity, and may owe their origin to Roman policy and Britiſh labour.

Though the ſubjection of the Engliſh by the Danes was fatal to ſome great families, it muſt be acknowleged that it was highly advantageous to the great bulk of the people, and more eſpecially to ſuch of them as were engaged in any kind of commerce. The merchants of all the northern countries of Europe, poſſeſſing any quantity of ſhipping, being fellow-ſubjects in the reign of Cnut, navigation was perfectly free from the danger of pirates, and trade was ſafe. The ſubjects of ſo great a king were alſo, upon his account, more reſpected and favoured in other parts of Europe, as we have already had occaſion to obſerve.

Concerning the manufactures of this country, the meagre chronicles of the times now under conſideration afford little addition to what has been already ſaid upon the introduction of the art of making glaſs in Northumberland; except in a department, which might be ſuppoſed to belong to a ſtate of ſociety vaſtly more advanced in refinement than the Engliſh then were. We have undoubted proof that the Engliſh jewelers and workers in gold and ſilver were eminent in their profeſſions, and that probably as early as the beginning of the ſeventh century (ſee above, p. 238); and certainly as early as the time of Alfred. A piece of ornamental work in gold, with an inſcription ſhowing that it was made by the order of that great prince, is preſerved in the Aſhmolean muſeum, and engravings of it have been repeatedly publiſhed. Though the drawing of the figure upon it proves that the arts of deſign were in a very low ſtate indeed, yet the nice ſculpture of the goldſmith's tools has been greatly admired. [See *Hickeſii Theſaur. Angl. Sax. V.* i, *pp.* 142, 173.—*Aſſerii Vit. Ælfredi, pp.* 43, 171, *ed.* 1722.—*Philoſ. tranſact. n°.* 247.] So great was the demand for highly-finiſhed trinkets of gold and ſilver, that the moſt capital artiſts of Germany reſorted to England; and, moreover, the moſt pretious ſpecimens of foreign workmanſhip were imported by the merchants. The women of England were ſo famous for their taſte and ſkill in embroidering with ſilk of various colours, and with threads of gold and ſilver, that embroidery was now called *Engliſh work*, as in antient times it was called *Phrygian.* William the Conqueror ſent to his patron, Pope Alexander II, the banner of King Harold, which contained the figure of an armed man in pure gold, and along with it ſeveral other ornamental works, 'which might be greatly admired even at Conſtantinople.' The preſents ſent by the ſame conqueror to the church of Caen in Normandy, were 'ſuch 'as ſtrangers of the higheſt rank, who had ſeen the treaſures of many 'noble churches, might look upon with delight; and even the natives 'of Greece or Arabia, if they were to travel thither, would be equally 'charmed with them.' What renders theſe praiſes of the Engliſh male and female artiſts the more valuable, is, that it is beſtowed by foreigners *. [*Gul. Pictav. ap. Du Cheſne Script. Norm. pp.* 206, 211.—*Muratori Antiq. V.* ii, *coll.* 404, 405.]

The imports of England in thoſe ages comprehended ſilk, and other expenſive articles of dreſs for the great, pretious ſtones, perfumes, and other Oriental luxuries, purchaſed in the ports of Italy, and probably ſometimes at Marſeille. To theſe may be added books, and alſo, what will appear ſurpriſing to a modern proteſtant reader, dead carcaſes, legs, arms, fingers, toes, and old rags, ſuppoſed to have belonged to the canonized ſaints.

* See alſo the account of Matildis, a woman very ſkilful in the art of dying purple, and adorning the dreſſes of the rich with gold, gems, pictures, and flowers, by Ailred, a native writer. [*Col.* 409, *ap. Twyſden.*]

With ſuch ſlender reſources as the foreign trade of England appears to have furniſhed, it may be aſked, how the country could raiſe ſuch ſums as were repeatedly paid to procure the forbearance, or to allure the invaſions, of the Danes; to ſay nothing of the permanent taxes of Dane-geld and Peter-pence, the later of which, with the innumerable pilgrimages, made a perpetual drain of money to Rome. As we can ſee no reaſon to ſuppoſe that the little trade then carried on produced any regular or laſting balance in caſh, we muſt believe, that thoſe heavy demands were ſupplied, either from mines of the pretious metals, though unnoticed by any hiſtorian ſince the beginning of the Roman dominion in the iſland, except Bede, [*Hiſt. eccleſ. L.* i, *c.* 1] or from the remainder of the vaſt treaſure, which the fertile fields, the copious mines of tin and lead, and the other valuable productions of Britain, long continued to draw from Rome and the provinces of the empire in former ages. That all thoſe heavy drains did not exhauſt the ſtock of the pretious metals in England, is abundantly evident from many facts to be found in antient writers, which ſhow, that the kings, the clergy, and the nobles, were ſtill very rich. King Cnut expended vaſt ſums in his pilgrimage to Rome, as already obſerved. Edward the Confeſſor built Weſtminſter and other churches at an uncommon expenſe. The great quantity of money, found in Harold's treaſury, enabled William to be incredibly liberal to the church of Rome, as his biographer expreſſes it *. Egelnoth, archbiſhop of Canterbury, being on his return from Rome, made a purchaſe at Pavia of an arm of S^t^. Auguſtine (or of ſome other body) for one hundred talents of ſilver and one talent of gold †; an excellent bargain—for the knaviſh ſeller. [*W. Malmſb. f.* 42 a.] But, what was at leaſt equally aſtoniſhing, we are told, that Elfſig, abbat of Peterburgh, in the year 1013, in the very midſt of the convulſions, gave five thouſand pounds of ſilver for a headleſs carcaſe. [*Chron. Sax. ad an.*] Of the opulence of the nobles I ſhall ſelect only one example, which, after making a large deduction for the exaggeration of tradition, ſhows that they were very rich, and the court very venal. Earl Godwin appeaſed the wrath of King Hardacnut by a preſent of a galley with golden (or gilded) roſtra, carrying eighty ſoldiers, each of whom had two bracelets on each hand containing ſixteen ounces of gold, being in all 320 bracelets, and 5,120 ounces of gold; a ſum equal in real effective value to at leaſt two hundred thouſand pounds of our modern money. We are fur-

* 'Pecuniam in auro atque argento, ampliorem 'quam dictu credibile ſit.' [*Gul. Pictav. ap. Du Cheſne, p.* 206.]

Inè king of the Weſt Saxons is ſaid to have given near three thouſand pounds of ſilver, and about three hundred pounds of gold, to adorn a chapel at Glaſtonbury. But this muſt be understood to be mere monkiſh rant. [*W. Malmſb. ap. Gale, p.* 310.]

† As the writers of the middle ages often affected claſſical words, when very improper for their ſubject, it is probable that this important purchaſe was tranſacted in more modern money. Surely 100 *pounds* of ſilver and one *pound* of gold was not too ſmall a price for a rotten arm.

ther told that even the battle-axes, ſpears, &c. of theſe ſplendid ſoldiers were completely covered with gold. [*W. Malmſb. f.* 43 a.] Of the wealth of the great body of the people nothing is recorded; and there was moſt probably nothing to be recorded, except that they were devoured by the unconſcionable avarice of their ſuperiors. [*W. Malmſb. f.* 57 b.]

Slaves and cattle conſtituted that kind of property, uſually transferred with the ſoil, which is often mentioned by the early Engliſh writers under the name of *living money;* whereas money made of metal was called *dead money.*

It ſeems agreed upon by the learned, that, during the Anglo-Saxon period of our hiſtory, the nominal pound in money was a real pound of ſilver in weight; and that weight may, with great appearance of truth, be preſumed to have been brought from Germany *. Authors agree, that the pound was coined into 240 pennies; but they vary greatly as to the number of ſhillings of account contained in the pound, ſome reckoning forty-eight ſhillings of five pennies each, ſome ſixty, and ſome only twenty. The ſhorteſt abridgement that could be made of the arguments and proofs in ſupport of the various opinions would be too tedious to be admitted in this work, and would ſtill be unſatisfactory to thoſe who wiſh to inveſtigate the matter. I ſhall only ſuggeſt, that it is very probable, that in different parts of England, or in different ages, the kings, who did not think of introducing a depretiated nominal pound, divided the pound of ſilver, the only metal generally uſed for current money, into a greater or leſſer number of parts, which ſtill retained the ſame names of pennies and ſhillings, though the later was probably not a real coin till many ages after. The mark was alſo not a real coin, but a denomination for two thirds of a pound, and was apparently introduced by the Danes in the time of Alfred. The mancus, according to Ælfric, [*Grammat. p.* 52] contained thirty pennies, and is ſuppoſed to have been a gold coin †, a little better than a third part of our guinea. The thrymſa, ora, ſceata, and the braſs ſtyca, were coins, or denominations of money, concerning which the learned are not at all agreed.

The proportion of ſilver to gold, in the Anglo-Saxon times, is generally believed to have been twelve to one.

The Yutes, Saxons, and Angles, appear to have ſurpaſſed the people of the northern countries of Europe, whence they themſelves came, in

* The old Saxon pound contained 5,400 grains of Troye weight, or 12 ounces of 450 grains each. The ſtandard ounce of Cologne and Straſburg contains at preſent 451. 38 grains; a reſemblance, or rather identity, not to be aſcribed to accident.

For the nature of the Saxon money, the reade may conſult *Hickeſii Diſertatio epiſtolaris.—Folkes's Tables of Engliſh coins.—Clarke on coins.—Fleetwood's Chronicon precioſum, &c.*

† This ſuppoſition is againſt the general belief, that no gold was coined in England before the year 1344. See *Pegge's Diſſertation on Anglo-Saxon remains.*

coining money; an important point in the progreſs of civilization, which the Scandinavians had not attained in the tenth century *. Specimens of the coins of the various kingdoms in England, from the beginning of the ſeventh century †, and alſo of the monarchs of all England, are preſerved in cabinets; and engravings of them have been repeatedly publiſhed.

No Scottiſh coins have hitherto been diſcovered of any king preceding Alexander I; if thoſe aſcribed to him are indeed his; for the total want of numbers and dates, renders the diſcrimination of the antient coins of kings of the ſame name almoſt impoſſible. [See *Anderſon's Diplomata et Numiſmata Scotiæ, tab.* clvii, *with Ruddiman's judicious Preface, pp.* 57, 97.]

From the unqueſtionable authority of Domeſday book ‡ the following particulars are ſelected, as illuſtrative of the condition of ſome of the ports and trading towns, and as containing hints of the ſtate of commerce in England, in the time of Edward the Confeſſor.

Dovere paid to the king and the earl £18. The burgeſſes were bound to find twenty ſhips, carrying twenty-one men each, for fifteen days in a year; and they were therefor exempted from ſac and ſoc, and were free from toll throughout all England.

In the city of Cantuaria *(Canterbury)* the king had 51 burgeſſes paying rent or cuſtoms *('gablum')*, and 212 liable to ſac and ſoc; and three mills of 40 ſhillings rent.

The city of Roveceſtre *(Rocheſter)* paid 100 ſhillings.

The burgh of Sanwic *(Sandwich)* paid £15, and rendered the ſame ſervices to the king as Dover.

In the burgh of Pevenſel *(Pevenſey)* there were 24 burgeſſes in the king's demeſne, who paid ſeveral ſmall ſums for rent, toll, port-dues, &c. There were other burgeſſes ſubject to the biſhops, the prieſts, &c.

The city of Ciceſtre *(Chicheſter)* paid 100 ſhillings, wanting one penny.

The burgh of Lewes paid £6 : 4 : 1½; and the king had 127 burgeſſes in his demeſne, who collected 20 ſhillings for marine ſervice.

* In the tenth century, when Hoſkold bought a beautiful female ſlave at the great fair in Brenneyar near Gothenburg, he *weighed* three marks of ſilver, which he paid for her to Gilli, a rich merchant of Ruſſia. [*Laxdæla ſaga, MS. in muſeo Brit. Cat. Ayſc.* 4861; *one of the Icelandic manuſcripts preſented by Sir Joſeph Banks.*]

The piece marked with three crowns, and aſcribed to Olaf, king of Sweden about the year 800, [*Brenneri Theſaur. numm. Sueo-Goth. tab.* i] is of very doubtful age. The earlieſt undoubted Swediſh coins are of the twelfth century. About the beginning of that century Anketil, a very ingenious Engliſh goldſmith, was invited by the king of Denmark to ſuperintend his works in gold, and be the keeper of his money, and chief banker, or money-changer ('trapezita'). He lived ſeven years in Denmark, and very probably coined money there. [*M. Paris, Vit. abbat. p.* 59.]

† Camden [*Remains p.* 181, *ed.* 1657] ſays, he had ſeen a coin of Ethelbert, the firſt Chriſtian king of Kent, who died in the year 616. It might however belong to one of his ſucceſſors of the ſame name.

‡ It was called *the book of Wincheſter* ('Liber de Wintonia') by the compilers of it: but *Domeſday book* has afterwards become the eſtabliſhed name.

Gildeford paid £18 : 0 : 3.

In Sudwerche *(Southwark)* the king had a duty upon ſhips coming into a dock (' aquæ fluctus,'—' exitus aquæ') and a toll on the ſtrand.

In the burgh of Walingeford the king drew £11 of rent or cuſtom (' gablum'), with ſome ſervices. There was one coiner.

In Doreceſtre *(Dorcheſter)* there were 172 houſes, which paid the geld of ten hides of land, viz. one mark of ſilver for the king's houſehold. There were two coiners, who paid one mark, and alſo 20 ſhillings each.

In Brideport there were 120 houſes, paying, as for five hides, half a mark to the houſehold. There was one coiner, who paid as thoſe of Doreceſtre.

In Warham there were 143 houſes in the king's demeſne, paying one mark as Doreceſtre ; alſo two coiners, who paid as thoſe of Doreceſtre.

In the burgh of Scepteſberie *(Shaftſbury)* there were 104 houſes in the king's demeſne ; and they paid to the houſehold two marks, as for twenty hides. The abbeſs had 153 houſes in her diſtrict. Three coiners here paid as thoſe of Doreceſtre.

The burgh of Bade *(Bath)* gelded as for twenty hides, when the ſhire gelded. The king had 64 burgeſſes paying £4 ; and other ſuperiors had 90 burgeſſes paying 60 ſhillings. This burgh, with Eſtone, paid £60 by tale, and one mark of gold. It alſo paid £30 to the queen. Moreover, the coiners paid 100 ſhillings.

The city of Exonia *(Exeter)* paid no geld, except when London, York, and Wincheſter, paid, and then half a mark for the army, with the military ſervices due from five hides of land. Twelve carucates of land near the city paid no cuſtom but to it.

The burgh of Totnais *(Totneſs)* belonged to the king. It contained 95 burgeſſes ; and it paid £3, the ſilver of which was proved by the fire and the ſcale. This burgh performed the ſame ſervices as Exeter ; and ſo did Barneſtaple and Lideford, both belonging to the king in demeſne.

The burgh of Hertforde was rated as ten hides. There were 146 burgeſſes in the king's ſoc.

Bochingheham *(Buckingham)*, together with Bortone, paid as one hide, the whole of its dues, amounting to £10 by tale. There were 26 burgeſſes.

The burgh of Oxeneford *(Oxford)* paid £30, and ſix ' ſextaria' * of honey, together with the military ſervice of twenty of the burgeſſes when the king was on an expedition, or £20 in lieu of it.

The city of Gloweceſtre paid £36 by tale, and 12 ' ſextaria' of honey

* *Sextarium* is generally tranſlated *gallon*. From the commutation paid for the honey due by Warwick, it appears to have been a much larger meaſure. But there were alſo ſmaller *ſextaria*. The widow Thova paid annually to the abbay of St. Albans one *ſextarium* of honey, containing thirty-two ounces, in the reign of Edward the Confeſſor. [*Math. Paris, Vit. abbatum, p.* 45.]

of the meaſure of the burgh, 36 dicres of iron, and 100 iron rods for nails (or bolts) to the king's ſhips, together with ſome other petty cuſtoms *.

The burgh of Wincelcumbe *(Winchcomb)* paid £6 of firm, or farm.

The city of Wireceſtre *(Worceſter)* paid to the king and the earl £18; and when the county paid geld, it was rated at fifteen hides. It paid the king no other dues, except the rents of his houſes. The coiners paid 20 ſhillings each on receiving their dies at London. In Worceſter-ſhire the king had ſhares in the ſalt works, or duties from them.

In the city of Hereford the king had 103 tenants, (ſome of them without the wall) who performed certain ſervices inſtead of rents, as did alſo ſix blackſmiths. Seven coiners gave 18 ſhillings each for their dies, and a duty of 20 ſhillings. The provoſt ('præpoſitus') farmed the cuſtoms for £12 paid to the king, and £6 to the earl.

The burgh of Grentebrige *(Cambridge)* was divided into ten wârds, and was rated as a hundred.

The burgh of Huntedun *(Huntington)* had 256 burgeſſes paying cuſtoms and geld to the king; and it paid £10 of ground-rent ('land-gable'). There were three coiners in it.

In Northantone *(Northampton)* there were 60 burgeſſes, and as many houſes in the king's demeſne.

The city of Ledeceſtre *(Leiceſter)* paid £30 and 15 'ſextaria' of honey. Twelve of the burgeſſes attended the king's army; and, for a maritime expedition they ſent four horſes as far as London to carry arms, &c.

The burgh of Warwic, with the ſhire and the royal manors, paid £65, and 36 'ſextaria' of honey, or £24 : 8 : 0 inſtead of the honey. Ten burgeſſes of Warwic went to the king's army; and for maritime ſervice the burgh provided four 'batſueins' or ſailors, or £4 inſtead of them.

The city of Sciropeſberie *(Shrewſbury)* paid geld as for one hundred hides. There were 252 houſes, and as many burgeſſes, paying annually £7 : 16 : 8 of rent ('gablum'). The ſervices and cuſtoms due to the king were very numerous. He had a tax upon marriages, of 10 ſhillings from every maid, and 20 ſhillings from every widow. There were three coiners paying 20 ſhillings each to the king. The whole duties, &c. paid by this city, amounted to £30 annually.

The city of Ceſtre *(Cheſter)*, with its dependencies, paid geld as fifty hides of land. The king had the geld of 431 houſes, and the biſhop, of 56, in the city. The city paid ten marks and a half, beſides a farm, or firm, of £45, and three timbres of martin's ſkins; and it was liable to a great many cuſtoms and penalties. If a ſhip arrived or ſailed with-

* The copious mines of iron near Glouceſter are noted in the following century by Giraldus Cambrenſis, *Itin. Cambriæ, L.* i, *c.* 5.

out the king's leave, ſhe was ſubject to a fine of 40 ſhillings for every man in her: if a ſhip came in againſt the king's will, ſhe, her cargo, and her men, became forfeited to the king and the earl. Ships coming in with the king's permiſſion might diſpoſe of their cargoes, paying at their departure four pennies for every laſt. Thoſe who brought martin's ſkins * were bound, under a penalty of 40 ſhillings, to ſhow them firſt to an officer, who might buy for the king what he wanted of them. There were ſeven coiners in this city, who paid £7 to the king and the earl; and there were twelve judges choſen from the vaſſals of the king, the biſhop, and the earl.

In the burgh of Snotingeham *(Nottingham)* there were 173 burgeſſes, and it paid £18. Two coiners paid 40 ſhillings. The navigation of the Trent and the Foſſe, and the road to York, were carefully preſerved. The fiſhing of the Trent belonged to the burgeſſes.

The burgh of Derby † contained 143 burgeſſes. There were 14 mills belonging to it. The burgh and the mills paid in all £24.

In the city of Eboracum, or Eurvic *(York)*, there were ſix diviſions or wards ('ſcyræ'), five of which contained 1,418 inhabited houſes, and the archbiſhop's diviſion contained 189. The burgeſſes of this city were exempted from paying reliefs ‡.

In the city of Lincol *(Lincoln)* there were 1,150 inhabited houſes, and twelve law-men (or judges) having ſac and ſoc.

The king's burgh of Stanford was charged as twelve hundreds and a half in the rates for the army, the fleet, and Dane-geld, and paid a firm, or farm, of £15. It had ſix wards, five in Lincole-ſhire, containing 141 houſes, and the ſixth beyond the bridge in the ſhire of Hantun *(Northampton)*, which paid all cuſtoms along with the other five, except the rent and toll due to the abbay of Burg *(Peterburgh)*. There were twelve law-men inveſted with ſeveral privileges.

Torcheſey *(Torkſey)* was rated at £18. There were in it 213 burgeſſes, whoſe cuſtoms were generally the ſame with thoſe of Lincol: but they enjoyed ſome immunities, in conſideration of being bound to convey the king's meſſengers in their boats from their own town to York.

Melduna *(Maldon)* paid altogether £13.

In Coleceſtra *(Colcheſter)* the king's burgeſſes paid two marks of ſilver, and alſo, as a compoſition for the rent of ſix pennies on every houſe, £15 : 5 : 4, of which £4 was paid by the coiners.

In Norwic *(Norwich)* there were 1,320 burgeſſes. It paid, on vari-

* Martin's ſkins are mentioned in the *Libel of Engliſh police*, publiſhed by Hakluyt, [*Voiages, V.* i, *p.* 199, *ed.* 1598] among the commodities of Ireland, from which they were no doubt imported to Cheſter. Perhaps ſome were alſo brought from Germany. See below, under the year 1156.

† Derby is mentioned in Snotingeham-ſhire as a part of it.

‡ The other towns of York-ſhire, now ſo opulent with their flouriſhing manufactures, are only noted as farming villages.

ous accounts, £31 : 1 : 4, and 6 ' ſextaria' of honey; it alſo provided a bear, and ſix dogs for the bear.

Gernemua *(Yarmouth)* had 70 burgeſſes, and paid £27 by tale to the king and the earl.

The burgh of Tetford *(Thetford)* contained 943 burgeſſes, paying all cuſtoms to the king. The king and the earl drew £20 by tale. The king alſo received 4 ſextaria of honey, and 40 pennies, with 10 hides of goats, and four hides of oxen.

In the burgh of Gepeſwiz (*Ipſwich*) there were 808 burgeſſes paying cuſtom to the king, 41 under Robert the ſon of Wimarc, and 4 under Roger de Ramis. The coiners paid £4.

Dunewic (*Dunwich*) had 120 burgeſſes, and paid £10 *.

London and Wincheſter are entirely omitted in Domeſday book; but it ſeems probable that they, together with York and Exeter, enjoyed exemptions from ſome taxations payable by the other cities of the kingdom, which, with reſpect to London, will further appear from the charter of William I to that city. [See above in Exeter.]

From Domeſday book, compared with the charter of Edward I in the year 1278 to the Cinque ports, there is reaſon to believe that the ſervice of ſhips and men was required of thoſe ports (certainly of Dover, and apparently of Sandwich) in the time of Edward the Confeſſor, and perhaps earlier, and that the privileges granted in return for thoſe ſervices are of the ſame antiquity. It is probable that the numbers of ſhips, &c. was changed from time to time according to the condition of the towns, eſpecially if Sandwich, which afterwards furniſhed only five ſhips, furniſhed twenty in Edward's time †. [See *Charters of the Cinque ports, &c. by Samuel Jeakes.*]

All the cities and burghs of England appear to have been the property of the king, or other patrons or over-lords, to whom the inhabitants looked up for protection, and whoſe ſuperiority they acknowleged by payment of a rent or burgh-mail. Every city and burgh had its own particular conſtitution, and was governed by one or more magiſtrates under the controul of the over-lord. In the firſt or ſecond year of Edward the Confeſſor the city of London appears to have had one chief magiſtrate, called a *port-geref* (i. e. ruler of the city), whoſe name was Wolfgar. Between the year 1051 and the end of his reign we find the name of Swetman, alſo a ſingle port-geref: and in his laſt year there were two port-gerefs, ſeemingly co-ordinate, called Leofſtane and Alffie. [*Charters quoted in Stow's Survey, pp.* 847, 913, *ed.* 1618.] It

* In theſe extracts from Domeſday book I have been careful to preſerve the diſtinction of city, burgh, &c. as they ſtand in the original. The ſpelling of the names is alſo exactly followed, though ſome of them, as Cantuaria, Exonia, &c. are evidently not the genuine, but the affected Latin, appellations uſed by the writers of the age.

† The ſervices due by Sandwich are not clearly expreſſed in Domeſday book.

appears from the charter of William the Conqueror, that London enjoyed ſome privileges ſuperior to thoſe of other cities: and it ſeems probable that the ſupremacy or conſervancy of the river was veſted in the city at this time, or earlier. (See below under the year 1070.) The inhabitants, or burgeſſes, alſo enjoyed the highly-prized privilege of hunting in the extenſive chaces of Chiltern, Middleſex, and Surry, as we learn from the confirmation of it contained in the charter of Henry I to the city.

There ſeems no reaſon to believe that in thoſe times there was any town in Scotland, or in Wales, which would now be called a good village, though, in the eſtimation of the laſt writer of the Pichtiſh Chronicle (one of the moſt antient extant monuments of Scottiſh hiſtory, which was finiſhed in or about the year 972), Brechin was a great city. It is now but a village with the rank of a burgh; and there is not, I believe, any reaſon to ſuppoſe that it ever was much larger, though it has been a biſhop's ſee.

To the gleanings of the commercial hiſtory of the Anglo-Saxons it may not be improper to add a ſhort account of their manners, from the obſervations of a judicious hiſtorian, who, living immediately after the conqueſt, had an opportunity of marking the features which diſtinguiſhed the Anglo-Saxon from the Norman character, before they were obliterated by long-continued intercourſe.

Before the conqueſt learning appears to have been almoſt at as low an ebb in England, as it was at the commencement of the reign of Alfred. Few of the clergy could repeat the offices of religion; and a clergyman who was maſter of grammar was eſteemed a prodigy of learning. The nobles abandoned themſelves to the exceſſes of gluttony, drunkenneſs, and promiſcuous concubinage, not ſcrupling to conſign the objects of their luſt, and even their own offſpring, to the miſeries of ſlavery for a little money. They expended their whole revenues in riotous entertainments, without any degree of elegance or taſte, their houſes being ſmall and mean. Their upper garments reached only halfway down to the knee. They cut their hair, and ſhaved their beards, except upon the upper lip. Their arms were loaded with weighty golden (or gilded) bracelets. And their ſkins were marked with painted figures *. But the hiſtorian candidly requeſts his readers not to apply this unfavourable character univerſally to the Engliſh. He himſelf knew many exceptions to it, as well among the laity as among the clergy.

* This cuſtom of painting the ſkin, the truth of which cannot be queſtioned, will ſeem ſtrange to many people. The practice had been prohibited in the 19th canon, or chapter, of a council held in the preſence of the king of Northumberland in the year 787. [*Spelman, Concil. Britann. p.* 299.] But we ſee that it ſtill prevailed, and even in that part of the iſland the moſt remote from the country of the Pichts, who, we are generally, but erroneouſly, told, were called *Picti* (*painted people*) by the Romans, becauſe they *alone* retained the cuſtom of painting their ſkins, after it was given up by the other nations of Britain.

[*Will. Malmſb. f.* 57.] We muſt, indeed, ſay, that a very different national character might have been expected in the long-continued reign of a king thought worthy of a place in the calendar of the ſaints.

About the ſame time that the duke of Normandy got poſſeſſion of the crown of England, Godred Crovan, an adventurer from Iceland, uſurped the maritime kingdom of Mann and the Iſles. He afterwards reduced Dublin and a great part of Leinſter under his dominion: and he is ſaid to have kept the Scots of Ireland in ſuch a ſtate of depreſſion, that he did not permit any of them to poſſeſs a veſſel or boat with more than three nails in it. [*Chron. Manniæ ap. Camdeni Britann. p.* 840.] This, if at all credible, muſt ſurely be underſtood only of the wicker boats covered with hides; and indeed it does not appear that the native Iriſh, or Scots, who were now ſhut up in the interior part of the iſland, could have any occaſion for ſea veſſels, unleſs ſome of them lived in the maritime towns under ſubjection to the Oſtmen.

1068—Spain, after being fully conquered (except the mountainous diſtricts on the north coaſt) by the Saracens, and colonized by the natives of Syria, Perſia, and Arabia, among whom were the deſcendents of the moſt antient commercial nation of the Sabæans, long continued to flouriſh in ſcience, manufactures, and commerce, beyond any country in the weſtern part of the world. The port of Barchinona (now called Barcelona) became the principal ſtation of the intercourſe with the eaſtern countries bordering on the Mediterranean ſea: and the manufacturing and commercial importance which very ſoon diſtinguiſhed that city, and have in ſome degree continued to diſtinguiſh it down to the preſent day, ſeem to infer that its inhabitants may boaſt of the real honour of deriving their blood from the moſt enlightened of the weſtern nations of Aſia, with probably ſome ſmall mixture of that of their Carthaginian founders *.

The deſcendents of the ſmall remainder of the Goths, who had taken refuge among the mountains of Aſturia, made frequent, and often ſucceſsful, attacks upon the Saracens, and gradually, though ſcarcely in as few centuries as theſe employed months in the conqueſt, recovered the

* Barcelona is ſaid to have been founded by Hamilcar, the father of the great Hannibal, who from his family name, Barca, called it Barcino.

Though few of the modern Spaniards, who reckon it an indelible diſgrace to have any mixture of Arabian (or Mooriſh) blood, will be willing to acknowlege themſelves indebted to infidels for any acquiſitions in ſcience or civilization, Don Antonio de Capmany, led by his reſearches to ſee the truth, and to have more liberal ideas, owns [*V. i, Com. p.* 26] that many of their commercial and maritime terms are derived from the Arabian language, or, in other words, that they acquired commercial and maritime knowlege from their Arabian predeceſſors: and probably his countrymen of Catalonia, as the moſt commercial people in Spain, may have retained more Arabian vocables than thoſe of the other provinces. Algodon, *cotton*, almiray, *admiral*, alfondech, the original name of the exchange of Barcelona, (which thence appears to have been an Arabian foundation) ſignifying generally *a place where merchants tranſact their buſineſs* (called *fundic-us* by the Latin writers of the middle ages), azucar, *ſugar*, are a few of the many words that a Spaniard, deſirous of the honour of deducing his genealogy from the moſt enlightened nations of antiquity, might adduce as proofs.

whole peninſula out of their hands. Charlemagne, the mighty ſovereign of France, Germany, and Italy, alſo found an opportunity of interfering in the affairs of Spain, and conquered a conſiderable part of the country adjacent to the Pyrenæan mountains, the governor of which he appointed to reſide in Barcelona. About the year 900 the governor of Barcelona made himſelf independent of Charles the Simple, king of France. His ſucceſſors, the counts of Barcelona, appear to have wiſely attended to the manufacturing and commercial intereſts of their ſubjects; and their country conſequently became proſperous and opulent.

In the year 1068 the uſages or cuſtomary laws of Barcelona were collected into a code (' *el codigo de los uſages Barceloneſes*'), under the authority of the national aſſembly, in which Raymundo Berenguer I, count of Barcelona, preſided. By the law, n°. lviii, uſually known by its firſt words, ' *Omnes quippe naves*,' all veſſels arriving at, or ſailing from, Barcelona are aſſured of friendly treatment; and they are declared to be under the protection of the prince as long as they are upon the coaſt of Catalonia *. This judicious and hoſpitable law was confirmed and amplified by his ſucceſſors, the kings of Aragon †, in the years 1283, 1289, and 1299; and the code is to this day the baſis of the conſtitution of the province of Catalonia, of which Barcelona is the capital. By the wiſe and liberal policy of admitting the commerce of all nations without regarding difference of religion, and the ſagacity of the ſovereigns in relaxing the rigour of the feudal government, Barcelona, after it fell under the dominion of the Chriſtians, continued to be the chief trading port on the weſt coaſt of the Mediterranean ſea, and diſtributed the rich merchandize of the Oriental regions to the other Chriſtian provinces of Spain. [*Capmany, Memorias hiſtoricas de Barcelona, V.* i, *Com. pp.* 21, 23, 25, 221; *V.* ii, *Notas, p.* 5.—*Benj. Tudel. in Purchas's Pilgrimes, B.* ix, *p.* 1438.]

1070—William, now king of England, being ſenſible of the great importance of the city of London, endeavoured to conciliate the good will of the inhabitants by a charter confirming their privileges; and, in order to render it the more agreeable to them, he made it be written in their own language, though he is ſaid to have had an averſion to it, and to have done all in his power to aboliſh it. The charter, tranſlated into modern Engliſh, is as follows.

' William the king greets William the biſhop and Godfred the port-
' geref, and all the burgeſſes in London, French and Engliſh, in a friend-
' ly manner. And I make known to you, that it is my will, that you be

* Is there any earlier notice than this of the protection which a veſſel enjoys by being within the juriſdiction, or under the guns, of a neutral power?

† In the year 1137 Raymundo Berenguer IV, count of Barcelona, married the infant daughter and heireſs of Ramiro king of Aragon, and thenceforth Barcelona and the province of Catalonia have been united to that kingdom.

'all law-worthy *, as you were in the days of King Edward. And it is 'my will, that every child be his father's heir after his death †. And 'I will not ſuffer any man to do you any injury. God keep you.'

Though I do not find the commencement of the juriſdiction which the corporation of London have over the River Thames as their harbour, they appear to have poſſeſſed it about this time: and they alſo ſeem to have but recently obtained it; for the limits of it were not preciſely aſcertained, as appears by a diſpute in which they were engaged (A. D. 1090) with the abbay of St. Auguſtine at Canterbury for the ſuperiority of Stonore, Stanore, or Eſtanore, a village near Sandwich, which they claimed as belonging to the port of London. But it was awarded to the abbay by King William II: [*Thorn, Chron. ap. Twyſden, col.* 1793] and indeed it is far beyond Yendal or Yenland, which has been the eaſtern boundary of the city's juriſdiction for many ages by-paſt.

About this time the city of Bergen was founded by Olaf the Peaceable, king of Norway. The ſafety and commodiouſneſs of its harbour have rendered it in all ſucceeding ages the principal emporium of that kingdom. [*Torfæi Hiſt. Norweg. V.* iv, *p.* 71.]

1077—At a time when Europe was only beginning to emerge from the darkeſt night of ignorance, the light of ſcience ſhone out in Aſia, even among the Turks, under the auſpices of the ſultan Gjelaleddin Melicſhah, who aſſembled the aſtronomers of the Eaſt in order to rectify the diſorder of the antient Perſian calendar. The reſult of their labours was a computation more correct than the Julian calendar, and nearly equal to the Gregorian. [*Hyde, Hiſt. relig. vet. Perſ. pp.* 196-211.]

1080—King William ſent an army againſt Scotland under the command of his ſon Robert, who, after paſſing the border, immediately retreated to the banks of the Tine, and founded a *new caſtle* at the antient village of Munekeceaſtre, which has given origin and name to the populous, active, and wealthy, trading town of Newcaſtle. [*Sim. Dunelm. ap. Twyſden. col.* 211.]

1082—William, deſirous of putting his kingdom in the moſt reſpectable ſtate of defence, and conſidering the caſtle of Dover as the key of England, gave the charge of the adjacent coaſt, with the ſhipping belonging to it, to the conſtable of Dover caſtle, with the title of *warden of the cinque ports;* an office reſembling that of count of the Saxon coaſt

* Men of ſervile condition, eſpecially ſuch as were in demeſne ('dominio'), were not law-worthy, or entitled to the protection of the general law, but were judged by their lords, as is obſerved by Doctor Brady [*Treatiſe of burghs, p.* 16] in his remarks on this charter, or protection as he chuſes to call it.

† In the laws aſcribed to King Edward the Confeſſor, the property of a perſon who died without a will is directed to be divided equally among his children, without a word of either the church or the over-lord. [*Leges Edw. c.* 24, *in Selden's edition of Eadmer, p.* 184.] But the inhabitants of moſt towns held their property at the will of an over-lord; and London was diſtinguiſhed by being exempted from that ſlaviſh condition.

(*comes littoris Saxonici*) in the decline of the Roman power in this iſland. The five ports, according to Bracton, an eminent lawyer in the reign of Henry III, were Haſtings, Hyth, Romney, Dover, and Sandwich, to which Winchelſea and Rye have afterwards been added as principals, together with ſome ſmaller ports as dependent members. Theſe towns were bound to furniſh and man ſhips for the defence of the kingdom upon forty days' notice, in proportion, as may be preſumed, to their opulence and commerce; but for the quotas we muſt wait for the more copious information of later times *.

1084—The Venetians were now ſo powerful in ſhipping, that their alliance (for there was no longer any pretenſion made to their allegiance) was earneſtly ſolicited by the Greek emperor to protect his weſtern coaſt from the invaſion of the formidable Norman chief, Robert Guiſcard; and their fleet (in the year 1081) poſtponed, though it could not prevent, the ſurrender of Durazzo. In 1084 the Venetian fleet, nine veſſels of which were remarkable for their great ſize and ſtrength, in conjunction with the emperor's own fleet, diſputed the command of the Adriatic ſea with Guiſcard: and in return the emperor beſtowed on the Venetians a number of warehouſes in Conſtantinople, with many commercial advantages over other nations in his ports, together with a ſolemn renunciation of his claim to the ſovereignty of Dalmatia and Croatia.

1086—King William, that he might know the exact value of his demeſne lands throughout all England, and alſo the value of every other eſtate, whether belonging to the church, to incorporated cities or burghs, or to private perſons, ordered a general ſurvey of the whole kingdom to be made. This great work, which was probably an imitation of the ſurvey made in the reign of Alfred, took up ſeveral years in the execution, and was not completed till the laſt year of his reign, if indeed it was at all completed, for the ſhires of Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmerland, Durham, with the greateſt part of Lancaſter, are omit-

* The date 1082 is here given upon the faith of Jeakes, the editor of *The Charters of the Cinque ports, with annotations*, &c. who ſays, that, when William the Conqueror deprived his maternal brother of the cuſtody of Dover caſtle, he inveſted John Fynes with the office of conſtable of Dover caſtle and warden of the Cinque ports. But as the oldeſt charter extant is that of Edward I in 1278, and hiſtorians afford no ſatisfactory information, it does not appear that the origin of the privileges of the Cinque ports can be traced with any degree of certainty. Edward's charter refers to liberties enjoyed by them in the reigns of Edward the Confeſſor, William I, William II, Henry II, Richard I, John, and Henry III, all whoſe charters are loſt. From Domeſday book we are ſure that Dover, and apparently Sandwich, furniſhed ſhips, and enjoyed privileges, in the time of the Confeſſor (See above, p. 293), though it is probable that the name of Cinque ports (evidently of Norman origin) was not then uſed. In the Saxon times we find aſſociations of five towns and ſeven towns under the collective names of fif-burgas and ſeofon-burgas. See *Chron. Sax. ad an.* 1015.

Lord Coke [*Inſtitutes, B.* iv, *ch.* 42] ſays, that Dover, Sandwich, and Romney, were the ports of ſpecial note before the conqueſt, that William the Conqueror added Haſtings and Hyth, and that the antient towns of Winchelſea and Rye were afterwards annexed. But a charter of the ſeventh year of King John refers to freedoms enjoyed by Hyth in the times of Edward, William I, William II, and Henry I. [See *Jeakes, pp.* 47, 121.]

ted. But of all the other parts of England there is an accurate and minute regiſter, excepting only the capital cities of London and Winchester *.

From this authentic record, known by the name of Domeſday book, I have already given the condition of ſeveral cities and towns, as they were in the reign of Edward the Confeſſor; and I ſhall now give a view of the ſame, as they were at the end of William's reign.

Dovere was burnt on the arrival of King William in England. It is however rated at £54. The ſhips are greatly incommoded by the agitation of the water, occaſioned by a mill at the entry of the harbour, which was not there in the time of King Edward.

The city of Cantuaria (*Canterbury*) contains 212 burgeſſes under the king's ſac and ſoc. The three mills pay 108 ſhillings, and 68 ſhillings of toll.

The burgh of Roveceſtre (*Rocheſter*) is valued at £20; but he who has it pays £40.

The burgh of Sanwic (*Sandwich*) pays £50 of firm (or farm), and forty thouſand herrings for the uſe of the monks. The houſes are increaſed to the number of 383 (or rather 393).

In the burgh of Pevenſel the earl of Moriton has ſixty burgeſſes, and ſeveral other ſuperiors have eight, two, one, &c.

The city of Ciceſtre is increaſed by 60 houſes, and it is now rated at £25, but pays £35.

The burgh of Lewes pays 38 ſhillings more than formerly. The coiners pay 20 ſhillings each, when the money is called in. One halfpenny is paid for every ox, and four pennies for every man (ſlave), ſold within the rape.

Gildeford is rated at £30, but pays £32.

In Sudwerche (*Southwark*) the king's income is rated at £16.

The burgh of Walingeford pays the ſame cuſtoms as formerly. The coiner has his tenement free while he is employed.

In Doreceſtre there are 88 houſes, beſides 100 which are totally deſtroyed.

In Brideport there are 100 houſes, beſides 20, ſo much damaged that the tenants pay no geld.

In Warham there are 135 houſes, and 150 totally deſtroyed.

In the burgh of Scepteſberie (*Shaftſbury*) there are 66 houſes remaining, and 38 deſtroyed in the king's demeſne. The abbeſs has 111

* This antient ſtatiſtical account of England, which well deſerves the character, given to it by ſome of our greateſt antiquaries, of the moſt antient and venerable record that this or any other country can boaſt of, [See *Spelman's Gloſſary, vo. Domeſdei.—Ayloffe's Calendar, p.* xviii] though intended chiefly as a ſtandard of taxation, contains a prodigious fund of information, not only upon the ſtate of the country and of the towns, but alſo upon the condition of the people, the manners and cuſtoms, to ſay nothing of authentic family hiſtory, and affords ample materials for the reflection and inveſtigation of thoſe who wiſh to dig in the copious mine of Engliſh antiquities.

houſes remaining, and 42 totally deſtroyed, in her diſtrict. She has alſo 151 burgeſſes; and ſhe has 20 unoccupied manſions.

The burgh of Bade (*Bath*) belongs to the king. (Some other notices concerning it are rather obſcure.)

Briſtow pays to the king 110 marks of ſilver, and to the biſhop 33 marks, with one mark of gold.

In the city of Exonia (*Exeter*) the king has 315 houſes paying cuſtom. There are 48 houſes laid waſte ſince the arrival of King William in England. The city pays £18.

The burgh of Totnais has 49 burgeſſes, 9 of whom live without the burgh. It pays £8 by tale.

The burgh of Barneſtaple has alſo 49 burgeſſes, and 9 of them without the burgh. They pay 40 ſhillings by weight to the king, and 20 ſhillings by tale to the biſhop of Conſtance. Since the king's arrival in England 23 houſes have been laid waſte.

The burgh of Lideford has 69 burgeſſes, 41 of whom are without the burgh. They pay 60 ſhillings by weight. There are 40 houſes laid waſte ſince the king's arrival in England.

Theſe three laſt burghs are bound to the ſame military ſervices by land or by ſea.

The burgh of Hertford, which paid geld as ten hides in the time of King Edward, does not now.

Bochingheham now pays £16 of white ſilver. In other reſpects it remains as before.

The burgh of Oxeneford (*Oxford*) pays £60. In this town there are 243 houſes paying geld, and 478 not in a condition to pay any. Many other payments are exacted from Oxeneford, moſt of which are paid along with the county.

The city of Gloweceſtre pays to the king £60 of twenty in the ora (' lx lib. de xx in ora')*; and he has alſo £20 in coined money (' moneta'), together with ſome other dues.

The burgh of Wincelcumbe, with three hundreds joined to it, pays £28.

In the city of Wireceſtre (*Worceſter*) the king has what formerly the king and the earl had. It pays £23 : 5 : 0 by weight, and many other dues. The king has alſo taken the ſalt-works which the earl had.

The city of Hereford is poſſeſſed by the king in demeſne. The Engliſh burgeſſes retain their former cuſtoms. The French burgeſſes for 12 pennies are free from all claims, except forfeitures for the breach of the peace, heinfare, and foreſtell †. The city pays to the king £60 of white money by tale. It and 18 manors, which pay their firms in it, are computed at £335 : 18 : 0.

* For the meaning of ora ſee *Spelman's Gloſſary, vo. Libra Anglo-Normannica.*

† Heinfare, *deſertion from the maſter's ſervice.*—Foreſtell, *foreſtalling.*

In the burgh of Grentebrige (*Cambridge*) 28 houſes were pulled down to build a caſtle. The cuſtoms are £7 annually, and the ground-rent ('landgablum') is ſomewhat above £7.

In the burgh of Huntedun there are now no coiners.

In Northanton there are 14 houſes now laid waſte, and there are 46 remaining. There are now alſo 40 burgeſſes in the king's demeſne in the new burgh.

The city of Ledeceſtre (*Leiceſter*) pays along with the ſhire £42 : 10 : 0 by weight; alſo £10 by tale for a hawk, and 20 ſhillings for a ſumpter horſe. The king has £20 from the coiners.

In the burgh of Warwic the king has 113 houſes in his demeſne, and the king's barons have 112, from all which the king draws geld.

In the city of Sciropeſberie (*Shrewſbury*) the Engliſh burgeſſes complain that they are compelled to pay the whole geld paid in King Edward's time, though there are 51 houſes ('maſuræ') deſtroyed for the earl's caſtle, 50 others lying waſte, 43 occupied by French burgeſſes, and 39 given by the earl to an abbay, being in all 183, which contribute nothing to the geld.

In the city of Ceſtre (*Cheſter*) there were 205 houſes lying waſte when it came into the poſſeſſion of Earl Hugh; and it was worth only £30. It has now recovered, and is farmed from the earl for £70 and one mark of gold.

The burgh of Snotingeham (*Nottingham*) now pays £30. The burgeſſes complain of being deprived of their right of fiſhing in the Trent.

The burgh of Derby has now only 10 mills. The burgh, the mills, and the village of Ludecherche, pay £30. The burgeſſes alſo pay at Martinmas 12 thraves ('trabes') of corn.

In the city of Eboracum (*York*) one of the diviſions, or wards, is laid waſte for building the caſtles. Of the houſes in other four wards, 400 are ſo much decayed as to pay only one penny each, or even leſs; 540 houſes, which are quite waſte, pay nothing; and 145 are occupied by Frenchmen. In the archbiſhop's ward 100 houſes, beſides his own court and the houſes of the canons, are occupied.

In the city of Lincol (*Lincoln*) there are 900 burgeſſes. 166 houſes are laid waſte for building the caſtle, and other 74 are lying waſte, not by the oppreſſion of the ſhirref, but by the misfortunes of poverty and fire.

The king's burgh of Stanford pays £50 of firm or farm. The whole of the king's cuſtoms amount to £28.

Torcheſey has now only 102 burgeſſes. It is rated at £30.

In Melduna (*Maldon*) the king has 180 houſes occupied by the burgeſſes, and 18 lying waſte. It pays £16 by weight.

At Raganeia in the hundred of Rochfort there is a vineyard containing ſix arpents, which, when it thrives, yields 20 *modii* of wine.

In Norwic there are 665 Engliſh burgeſſes paying cuſtoms, and 480 '*bordarii* *,' who are too poor to pay any thing. It pays £70 by weight to the king, and 100 ſhillings of gerſum to the queen, and a goſhawk † ('aſturconem') and £21 to the earl. In the new burgh there were 36 French and 6 Engliſh burgeſſes, each paying one penny of cuſtom yearly. There are now 41 French burgeſſes in the king's and earl's demeſnes. Roger Bigot has 50 burgeſſes, and ſome other ſuperiors have ſmaller numbers. The biſhop may have one coiner if he pleaſes.

Gernemua (*Yarmouth*) pays £17 : 16 : 4 of white money to the king, beſides payments to the earl, ſhirref, &c. Twenty-four fiſhermen living in this town belong to Gorleſton, a manor on the ſouth ſide of the River Yare.

In the burgh of Tetford there are 720 burgeſſes, and 224 empty houſes. It pays £50 by weight to the king, and £20 of white money with £6 by tale to the earl. The king has alſo £40 from the coinage.

In the burgh of Gipeſwiz (*Ipſwich*) there are 110 burgeſſes paying cuſtoms, and 100 poor burgeſſes unable to pay any geld to the king, except one penny each for their heads. There are 328 houſes now waſte, which yielded geld in the time of King Edward. The coiners are now rated at £20; but in the four laſt years they have only paid £27 in all.

Dunwic contains 236 burgeſſes and 178 poor men. It is rated upon the whole at £50, and ſixty thouſand herrings as a gift.

From theſe extracts, compared with thoſe of the reign of Edward, it appears, that, though the towns were generally reduced in their buildings and population, moſt of them were charged with rents, cuſtoms, and other payments, vaſtly higher than in the preceding period; and that the king was glaringly partial to his French ſubjects.

The king poſſeſſed 1,422 manors enumerated in Domeſday book, and many detached farms, beſides what he may have had in the northern ſhires, which are not inſerted in Domeſday book. From all theſe he received his rents in the real productions of the land. He had alſo quit-rents from his vaſſals, danegeld from the whole kingdom, rents, dues, and perquiſites of many denominations, from the towns, the cuſtoms upon trade, the caſualties of wards, reliefs, forfeitures, eſcheats, fines, fees in courts of juſtice, &c. which altogether made up a very ample revenue. Hence, notwithſtanding his wars in France, and his profuſe gifts to the clergy, abroad as well as in England, William left in his treaſury a quantity of ſilver, which, when taken poſſeſſion of by his ſon, was found to weigh ſixty thouſand pounds, beſides gold, gems, and very many other royal jewels. [*Ingulph, p.* 106, *ed. Gale.*]

The whole lands of England were divided into 60,215 knight's fees,

* The antiquaries are uncertain of the meaning of *bordarii*.

† See *Blount's antient tenures*, art. Peckham. It is elſewhere explained an Aſturian horſe.

whereof the clergy poſſeſſed 28,115, almoſt a half of the country; and as 1,422 belonged to the king, the whole of the barons had 30,678. There were 45,011 pariſh churches, and 62,080 villages, at this time in England *.

Of the acts of William for the benefit or the hurt of commerce we know very little with certainty. The numerous fleet brought over by him, when not engaged in ferrying himſelf and his armies to and from the continent, was probably employed in trading between his old and new territories and the adjacent coaſts of France and Flanders, which were all now connected with the new maſters of England. Hence it might be ſuppoſed, that, after the ſhock occaſioned by the conqueſt was got over, the trade of England muſt have been greatly enlarged in this reign: and we are told by William of Poictou, that he invited the reſort of foreign merchants by aſſurances of ſecurity and protection. But unleſs the trade was all in the port of London, concerning the ſtate of which in his time we have little or no information, we have juſt ſeen moſt unqueſtionable proof that almoſt all the other ports, and in general all the towns, in England had declined very much from the condition they were in previous to his uſurpation.

We may judge of the turbulent ſtate of the country from the law which directed that markets ſhould be held nowhere but within burghs, walled towns, caſtles, and ſafe places, where the king's cuſtoms and laws could be ſecured from violation, the caſtles, burghs, and cities, being founded for the defence of the kingdom and the protection of the people. And they were indeed a moſt valuable protection to one claſs of the people; for in England, as well as on the continent, a ſlave, if he eſcaped from his maſter, and lived unclaimed during a year and a day in any of the king's cities, burghs, or caſtles, thereby became a free man for ever. [*Leges Edw. et Will. cc.* 61, 66, *in Selden's ed. of Eadmer, pp.* 191, 193.] And the name of free-men, by which the members of thoſe corporations are diſtinguiſhed, appears to be a permanent memorial of the once-unfree condition, and ſubſequent emancipation, of a great proportion of their predeceſſors.

I might be charged with neglect if I were to ſay nothing of the firſt appearance of the word *ſterling*, as a diſtinguiſhing appellation of ſtandard money, which has been much conteſted, as has alſo the etymology of it. Inſtead of the money of England being firſt ſo called from an improvement made in the reign of Richard I or John upon the coinage by artificers from the Eaſt country, or Germany, called *Eſterlings*, as has been

* Theſe numbers are taken from Thomas Sprot, a monk of St. Auguſtine in Canterbury, as quoted by Spelman in his *Gloſſary, vo. Feodum.*

If we knew the value of the relief of a knight's fee, and the proportion between it and the annual value of the eſtate, we might aſcertain the rental of England in the reign of William I. But the opinions of our antiquaries upon both thoſe points are ſo very diſcordant, that I dare not pretend to adopt any one of them. They are collected and compared by Lord Lyttleton in his notes to the ſecond book of his *Hiſtory of Henry II.*

ſuppoſed, it is certain that it was called *ſterling* in the reign of the Conqueror, as appears from the unqueſtionable teſtimony of Ordericus Vitalis, an author contemporary with that king *.

In the year 1086 moſt of the principal ports of England were deſtroyed by fire. The greateſt and moſt pleaſant part of London was conſumed, together with the cathedral church of St. Paul's. In order to guard againſt ſuch misfortunes in time coming, Maurice, the biſhop of London, began to rebuild his cathedral upon arches with ſtones imported from Caen in Normandy, but upon ſo vaſt and magnificent a plan, that it was not completed when the Chronicle, which comes down to the end of the year 1199, under the name of John Bromton, was finiſhed. [*Chron. Sax. ad an.—W. Malmſb. Geſt. pont. f.* 134 b.—*Bromton, col.* 979.—*Stow's Survey, p.* 613, *ed.* 1618.]

1090—Sicily had now been above two centuries under the dominion of the Saracens, when, after a war of thirty years, it was completely ſubdued by Roger, a Norman knight, who became the father of a race of kings of Sicily. With a liberality, far above the general ſtandard of the age, he permitted the Saracens to enjoy their property and their religion, by which judicious conduct he retained as his willing ſubjects a race of people, who were capable of inſtructing his own followers in ſcience, manufactures, and commerce. [*Malaterra ap. Muratori Script. V.* v, *coll.* 574, 595.]

1091—The account of the poſſeſſions of the abbay of Croyland at this time preſents a pleaſing picture of the dawning of ſcience and literature in England. They conſiſted of a library of above three hundred original volumes, and above four hundred leſſer volumes (perhaps tranſlations): alſo a wonderful machine repreſenting the ſun and the planets, the zodiak, the colures, &c. all in appropriate metals. There was not ſuch another 'nader' in all England † as this one, which had been preſented by a king of France to a former abbat. Unfortunately all this ſtore of intellectual wealth was conſumed by a fire occaſioned by the careleſſneſs of ſome workmen: and without that diſaſter we ſhould, perhaps, never have known of its exiſtence. [*Ingulph, p.* 98, *ed. Gale.*]

1093—The commercial hiſtory of Scotland, whereof we ſee the firſt dawn in the reign of Macbeth, may be faintly traced during that of Malcolm Kenmore in the encouragement he gave to merchants to import many articles of rich dreſs of various colours, and other foreign luxuries hitherto unknown, which were bought by his courtiers, who

* See the learned Somner's *Gloſſary* to *Twyſden's Scriptores decem, vo. Eſterlingus*, where ſeveral inſtances of the uſe of the word *ſterling* before the age of Richard are produced. As for the etymologies, ſome of which are fooliſh enough, that which derives the name from the Eaſt-country or Eſterling coiners ſeems the moſt natural, though generally miſdated.

† Are we to ſuppoſe from this expreſſion, that there were many naders in England? 3

were refined and poliſhed by the example of Margaret his queen, the granddaughter of Edmund Ironſide king of England, who was born on the continent of Europe, and bred up, partly there, and partly in England. [*Vita Margaretæ in Bollandi Acta ſanctorum, Junii, V.* ii, *p.* 330.] The trade may be preſumed to have been entirely paſſive on the ſide of the Scots, who, however, muſt have had native produce ſufficient at leaſt to pay for the goods imported; as we cannot ſuppoſe, that the foreign importers were entirely paid from the annual ſum of ninety-ſix ounces of gold, received from the king of England agreeable to the treaty of 1091, [*Sim. Dun. col.* 216] which was probably never paid above once or twice *.

1095—The Chriſtians of the Weſt, enflamed by the frantic zeal of an enthuſiaſt called Peter the Hermit, and the artifices of the popes, now undertook to drive the Saracens, or rather the Turks, out of Jeruſalem and Paleſtine; and as they ſuppoſed themſelves engaged in the ſervice of God againſt *his enemies*, they dignified their enterpriſe with the name of the *holy war*. The tranſactions of it no further concern this work, than merely to obſerve occaſionally, how the population, wealth, and commerce, of Europe were affected by it. As no rank, ſex, nor age, was exempted from the perſuaſion that paradiſe was the certain reward of fighting againſt the *enemies of God*, the armies, or mobs, that emigrated from every part of Europe, were innumerable. The quantity of treaſure, which they exported from their own poor countries to add to the wealth of the richer countries they paſſed through, and of the Turks, was only limited by the utmoſt ſtretch of the abilities of the individuals; for all the princes and barons carried with them every penny they could poſſibly raiſe by any means, however oppreſſive to their vaſſals, or ruinous to their own fortunes and families; and their example was followed by the inferior adventurers. Thoſe who remained at home were no leſs eager to have the merit of contributing to the expenſe of the expedition.

From this wonderful perverſion of reaſon, wealth, and military enterpriſe, the over-ruling providence of God brought out ſuch advantages to the great body of the people, and particularly to the oppreſſed inhabitants of the cities and towns in moſt parts of Europe, as in a great meaſure made amends for the depopulation occaſioned by it.

The powers and prerogatives, uſurped, or claimed and exerciſed, by

* Robert de Brunne, in his poetical paraphraſe of *Langtoft's Chronicle*, [*p.* 88] reverſes the payment, and makes Malcolm pay to William no leſs than *forty thouſand pounds*, a ſum equal in efficacy to at leaſt five millions of modern money, which, if it were true, would give a very magnificent idea indeed of the commerce of Scotland. But, independent of its being in contradiction to a better author, the monſtrous greatneſs of the ſum would ſufficiently prove it to be utterly incredible. The ſum, found in the treaſury of William the Conqueror, which was thought wonderfully great to be accumulated from the revenues of *England*, during the whole of his oppreſſive reign, was but *ſixty thouſand pounds*. Great ſums are eaſily raiſed upon paper.

the nobles in every feudal kingdom of Europe, had reduced the authority of the ſovereign to a mere ſhadow, and the condition of the great body of the people to the moſt abject humiliation and miſery. Of the condition of the ſovereign, and thoſe claſſes of the people who lived in the country, it is not neceſſary at preſent to ſay any thing. Every city and town, or burgh, had a ſuperior lord, to whom the inhabitants were bound in fidelity or allegiance, and to whom they looked up for protection from the oppreſſions of other lords. But for that protection, which the weakneſs, or want, of government rendered neceſſary, they paid a ſtipulated rent, and performed many galling ſervices (of which every place mentioned in Domeſday book furniſhes an example) beſides ſubmitting to the privation of rights, which ought upon no account whatever to be alienable. They could not pretend to be maſters of their own property; nor could they even call their children their own, for without the conſent of their lord they durſt not diſpoſe of them in marriage, appoint guardians to them, or leave any thing to them at their death *. Such a conſtitution, by cruſhing, or annihilating, the native energy of the mind, effectually prevented any wiſh or attempt to make the ſmalleſt progreſs in ſcience or commerce: for the citizen, (if the name may be applied to ſuch abject characters) no more than the farmer, had any inducement to improve the property, which was entirely at the mercy of his lord. Such was the ſtate of almoſt all the cities and burghs of the Chriſtian part of Europe, a few in Italy excepted, when the frenzy of the holy war broke out. Then many of the princes and barons, in their eagerneſs to raiſe money for their equipment, ſold their ſuperiority over their vaſſal towns, ſome to other lords, ſome to the clergy, but moſt to the community of the inhabitants themſelves. By ſuch ſales the exorbitant power of the great lords was much lowered, while that of the ſovereign was proportionally exalted; and the inhabitants, freed from the ſlaviſh ſubjection to a ſubject, generally applied to the ſovereign for charters, which he gladly granted, em-

* In many places the ſuperiors were not ſatisfied with having a negative voice in the diſpoſal of their vaſſals' children in marriage, the moſt important event in the life of the individual, but actually beſtowed them according to their own intereſt or caprice, without paying any more attention to the wiſhes of the parents or the inclination of the parties to be married, than a farmer pays to thoſe of his cattle, when he couples them for propagation, or when he ſells, or ſlaughters, their calves or foals. Any relaxation of the rigour of the lord's prerogative was granted as a ſpontaneous favour (though generally well paid for) and by no means as the reſtoration of an inherent right. Thus Otto, Alienora, and her ſon John king of England, as princes of Aquitaine, granted to their men of Oleron the liberty of diſpoſing of their children, ſelling their wine and ſalt, and making their wills: [*Fœdera Angliæ, V.* i, *pp.* 105, 111, 112] and Richard earl of Cornwall, when acting as emperor of Germany, gratiouſly renounced in favour of the burgeſſes of Frankfort his prerogative of diſpoſing of their daughters without their conſent. [*Pfeffel Abregé de l'hiſt et droit d'Allemagne, p.* 373, *ed.* 1758.] And to come home to England, King John, in his charter to Dunwich, permits his burgeſſes of that town to diſpoſe of their children as they think proper, within his dominions, and to give or ſell their lands and houſes in the town. He alſo allows the widows to marry by the advice of their friends. For this charter, and renovations of it, the burgeſſes paid large ſums to King John. [*Chartæ in Brady on burghs, append. pp.* 10, 11.]

powering them to elect their own magiſtrates, and to make laws for their internal government; and alſo conferring on them ſeveral excluſive privileges with reſpect to their trade or manufactures, which might, perhaps, be proper at the time, but which the progreſs of knowlege and liberality has in many inſtances quietly ſuffered to ſink into oblivion, or at leaſt diſuſe. The inhabitants of cities and towns, reſtored to the condition of men, ventured to acquire property; their numbers were augmented by the acceſſion of many reſpectable perſons from the country; and in proceſs of time towns, inſtead of being deſpiſed, as the receptacle of the meaneſt and rudeſt claſſes of the people, were diſtinguiſhed from the upland, or landward, villages, as the ſeats of ſcience and urbanity, as well as of commerce.

In the trading cities of Italy navigation, and all the arts and manufactures connected with it, were already conſiderably improved. As it was from them that the warriors of the weſtern nations generally took their paſſage for the Holy land, they were greatly enriched by the ſums paid for the tranſportation of ſo many myriads of men, women, and children, horſes, and baggage, and for the ſupplies of proviſions and all kinds of military ſtores and neceſſaries, which they alone furniſhed to the cruſaders. By theſe profitable employments, which continued for about two centuries, a very conſiderable part of the treaſure of the cruſaders centered in thoſe cities, and invigorated their induſtry and commercial exertions: and by their example, together with the circulation of their wealth, the induſtry of the reſt of Italy was arouſed, and called into profitable employment. Such were the beneficial effects of the holy wars to thoſe cities, which continued to manage the greateſt part of the commerce of Europe, till the diſcovery of America and a direct route to India placed the weſtern nations, till then at the extremity of the world, in the moſt favourable poſition for the commerce of both hemiſpheres, and Italy, from being the center of the active commerce of the weſtern world, came to be almoſt in the ſituation of an inland country, unconnected with, and out of the track of, the moſt important navigation.

Even the countries which furniſhed the moſt numerous armies for the holy wars, and conſequently ſuffered moſt from depopulation and impoveriſhment, were, in time, rouſed from the lethargy, into which they had fallen almoſt immediately after their governments were eſtabliſhed upon the ſubverſion of the Roman dominion. The powers of the human mind, though ſunk into the loweſt abyſs of ignorance and bigotry, could not fail to be ſtimulated by the ſight of countries, comparatively enlightened, and enjoying many of the comforts derived from knowlege and induſtry. The weſtern pilgrims ſaw with ſurpriſe the refinements and opulence of the commercial cities of Italy, and were utterly aſtoniſhed, when they beheld the magnificence and ſplendour of Con-

ſtantinople, where they moreover ſaw manufactures unknown in the reſt of Europe, and a conſiderable commerce. Nor did the mutual averſion entirely prevent them from perceiving how much their Mohamedan enemies were ſuperior to their own countrymen in ſcience and manufactures. The few, who returned home with expanded minds and improved taſte, carried with them new arts and manufactures, and new plants and animals, which were naturalized in their own countries, where they wiſhed ſtill to enjoy the conveniencies and luxuries they had been accuſtomed to when abroad. By their example the taſte for ſuch enjoyments was communicated to their neighbours; and as it became neceſſary to improve and increaſe the native produce in order to anſwer the increaſed demand for foreign merchandize, the numbers of veſſels and ſeamen, and alſo of manufacturers and merchants, at leaſt in the free ſtates of Italy, were greatly augmented.

For all theſe, and many other improvements in the condition of mankind, the weſtern world is indebted to the moſt frantic enterpriſe that ever was undertaken by a number of independent nations in conjunction, and which was intended only to promote the intereſt of prieſtcraft and the deluſion and deſtruction of mankind *.

Before the practice of inſurance reduced the hazard of the ſea to arithmetical certainty, it was more neceſſary than now for the owners of veſſels to divide their riſk by holding ſhares of ſeverals, rather than embarking too much of their capital in one bottom. Accordingly about this time, when inſurance was certainly unknown in England, and perhaps even in the commercial ſtates bordering on the Mediterranean ſea, we find a half ſhare of one veſſel, and a quarter of another, belonging to Godric, a native of Walpole in Norfolk, who, after following the buſineſs of a merchant ſixteen years, became a famous ſaint, and was honoured with a viſit of the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene. [*M. Paris, pp.* 64, 117.]

1098—Magnus Berfœtta (the Barefooted), king of Norway, made ſome expeditions among the Britiſh iſlands, the moſt important of which ſeems to have been about this time. Landing in Orkney, he depoſed the two conjunct earls, and then proceeded to the Sudureyar (Weſtern iſlands), Mann, and Angleſey, plundering every one of them, except Hyona, the ſanctity of which he reſpected. Next directing his hoſtilities againſt Scotland, a peace was concluded upon condition that the king of Scotland ſhould reſign all pretenſions to every iſland, between which and the main land a veſſel could ſteer with a rudder. Magnus availed himſelf of the diſtinction, which ſeems to have been intended

* It muſt be acknowleged, that Silveſter II (or Gerbert) one of the moſt enlightened of the popes, ſowed the firſt ſeeds of this frenzy by a letter addreſſed to all Chriſtians in the name of the diſtreſſed church of Jeruſalem, the fruit of which was a little preliminary cruſade, undertaken in the year 999 by a fleet from the commercial city of Piſa. [*Vit. Pontif. ap. Muratori Script. V.* iii, *part* i, *p.* 400.]

to except the little pendicles of the ſhore inſulated only at high water, and got a light veſſel, wherein he ſat with the helm in his hand, dragged acroſs the narrow neck (Tarbat), which ſeparates Kentire from the main part of Argyle-ſhire: and the Scottiſh king, not finding it prudent to diſpute Magnus's logic, was thereby tricked out of that fine peninſula, which, Snorro properly obſerves, was more valuable than any of the iſlands, except Mann. Thus were almoſt all the leſſer Britiſh iſlands, with a part of the main land, completely detached from the ſovereignty of the country they naturally belong to, and made a province of a diſtant kingdom *.

In the laſt of his weſtern expeditions Magnus made himſelf maſter of Dublin, and loſt his life by a ſudden attack of the Iriſh. [*Snorro, Hiſt. Magni Berfœtta, cc.* 9-27.]

1099—On the firſt day of the new moon of November in the year 1099 the tide roſe ſo high, that it drowned ſome towns and villages, and ſwept away vaſt numbers of cattle and ſheep. [*Chron. Sax.* and *Flor. Wig. ad an.*] The part of the coaſt, where this inundation happened, is not told. But the ſhort account of it has apparently given riſe to the tradition of the origin of the Godwin ſands, which, we are told, compoſed a part of the eſtate of Earl Godwin on the main land of Kent. But it cannot be ſuppoſed, that the water continued at the extraordinary height to which the ſpring tide, with undoubtedly the concurrence of a high wind, raiſed it: and it is more rational to believe, that the Godwin ſands owed their formation, or rather their appearance above water, to the ſubſiding of the ſea, which is certainly known to have receded, or, in other words, become *ſhallower*, on the adjacent coaſts of Kent.

1101, Auguſt 15th—On the death of William II, his brother Henry, the youngeſt ſon of William the Conqueror, ſenſible that he could have no title to the crown, if his elder brother Robert, then abſent in the Holy land, was alive, and being very eager to recommend himſelf to the favour of both nations, made magnificent promiſes of redreſſing the grievances of the preceding reign, if he ſhould be king. But the

* The northern writers have not accurately diſtinguiſhed the two, or perhaps rather three, expeditions of Magnus. Snorro ſays, that the king of Scotland, with whom Magnus made the treaty, was Malcolm, which, if the firſt of his expeditions is rightly dated in 1096, is impoſſible; for no hiſtoric event is better aſcertained, than that Malcolm fell in battle on the 13th of November 1093. Leſly and Buchanan, late Scottiſh writers, improving upon a blundering interpolation of Bower's, have made a ſtory of Donald, the brother of Malcolm, bribing Magnus to aſſiſt him in uſurping the crown of Scotland, for which ſervice, they ſay, he gave him all the iſlands, which, they ſuppoſed, were till then ſubject to Scotland. But the Chronicles of Haly-rud, of Melros, and of Mann (a Norwegian colony), Fordun and Wyntown, the earlieſt general hiſtorians of Scotland, and even Boyſe, fond as he is of fable, have not a word of any ſuch agreement.

The Chronicle of Mann, Florence of Worceſter, William of Malmſbury, Simeon of Durham, and Wyntown, agree in placing the conqueſt of the iſlands by Magnus in the reign of Edgar; who ſeems to have been a weak prince, as he is compared by a writer of that age to the monkiſh king of England, Edward the Confeſſor. [*Ethelred, ap. Twyſden, col.* 367.]

clergy and people, knowing that his father and brother had paid no attention to their *verbal* promiſes, deſired him to expreſs his good intentions *in writing*. He accordingly executed a charter, wherein, in order to pleaſe his Engliſh ſubjects, he engaged to reſtore the Saxon laws of Edward the Confeſſor, as they had been amended by his father; and to his Norman ſubjects he promiſed an alleviation of ſome of the moſt galling of the feudal prerogatives of the crown. But, if this charter had been obſerved, as it was not, the only article of it, which could have meliorated the condition of the great body of the people, is a charge, or recommendation, to the barons to make a proportional alleviation in the feudal burthens of their vaſſals. No ſuch words as commerce or merchant are to be found in the charter *.

The city of London appears to have now riſen to ſuch conſequence, that the new king thought it proper to give a particular charter 'to 'his citizens † of London,' wherein he grants them the farm of the county of Middleſex to be held for an annual payment of £300, with power to appoint a ſhirref and a juſticiary out of their own body. The citizens are exempted from anſwering any ſuits beyond the walls of the city, and releaſed from the payment of ſchot, danegeld, and murder ‡, and from the trial by duel §. They are delivered from the oppreſſion of the king's retinue and others taking lodgings in their houſes by force. They and their property of every kind are exempted from paying toll, paſſage, laſtage, and other cuſtoms, throughout all England and in all the ſea-ports. The churches, the barons ‖, and citizens, are ſecured in

* This charter was the foundation and model of the more famous one extorted from King John by the barons. [*Mat. Paris, p.* 253.—*Spelmanni Gloſſ. vo. Magna charta.*] And it proves, that the privileges, which John was compelled to grant, were not *new* encroachments upon the royal prerogative, as ſome have pretended, but reſtorations of the rights of the barons (not of the people) which had been uſurped by the crown.

† The term *citizen* begins now to be uſed in England. In the charter of William I to London the inhabitants are called 'burhwaru', burghers, or burgeſſes. There is, I believe, no ſuch word as citizen in Domeſday book, the inhabitants of the places called *cities* being ſtiled 'burgenſes,' burgeſſes, as well as of thoſe called *burghs*.

‡ It may ſeem ſurpriſing that a king ſhould grant a general pardon for ſo atrocious a crime as murder. But the word 'murdrum' ſignifies not only murder, but alſo the fine payable for murder; for in thoſe days every man's price, or the fine to be paid for murdering him, was ſettled by law according to his rank. The community, in whoſe diſtrict the murder happened, were liable for the penalty, if the criminal could not be found: and it muſt be from this liability that the citizens of London were freed by the charter. See *Brady on burghs, append. p.* 25.

§ 'Nullus eorum faciat bellum.' In the Latin of the middle ages *bellum*, beſides *war*, its claſſical meaning, ſignifies more frequently *a battle*, and even *a combat between two individuals*, or *a duel*. That the later is the meaning here, appears from the word 'duellum' being ſubſtituted in the renewed charter granted by Henry II, for 'bellum' in this one.

‖ Spelman [*Gloſſ. vo. Baro*] underſtands '*barones*' in this charter as meaning the principal men of the community, who were empowered to hold courts, as diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the citizens ('cives'): and he adduces, as a ſimilar acceptation of the word, a brief of Henry I, directed to Fulcher (apparently the chief magiſtrate), Euſtace the ſhirref, and all the *barons* of London, deſiring that the abbat of Ramſay may hold his lands of the city of London. He obſerves, that the title of baron was alſo given to citizens of York and Cheſter, and burgeſſes of Warwick and Faverſham, and in France to the citizens of Bourges.—But Mathew Paris [*pp.* 749, 863, 974] appears to give the title to a much greater number, or rather to the whole, of the citizens; and particularly

the peaceable enjoyment of their juriſdictions with all their cuſtoms: and it is declared, that no citizen ſhall ever be amerced in any ſum above a hundred ſhillings, that being the amount of his *were* *. They are directed to hold the court called *huſting* † every Monday. And their right of hunting (a diſtinguiſhed and highly-valued privilege in thoſe times) in the Chiltern, Middleſex, and Surry, was confirmed to them as amply as their anceſtors had enjoyed it.—The charter alſo contains ſeveral other privileges very favourable to the citizens with reſpect to the recovery of their debts, and a power to recover tolls and cuſtoms unlawfully exacted from them in any burgh or town. [*Wilkins, Leg. Anglo-Sax. p.* 235.]

1102—In the beginning of the twelfth century (and how long, before we know not ‡) paper made of cotton was commonly uſed for books and other writings. A charter, dated in the year 1102, is expreſsly ſaid to have been written upon cotton paper (' charta cuttunea' §) in a renovation of it by Roger king of Sicily in the year 1145. This paper, which had now become common in the Eaſtern empire, in a great meaſure ſuperſeded, or rather made up for the want of, the Egyptian papyrus and parchment. It is perhaps to the invention of it that we owe the preſervation of ſuch of the authors of antiquity as have come down to us, as the ſcarcity and high price of parchment had been the deſtruction of many of them; for the monkiſh librarians never ſcrupled to eraſe the writing of the moſt valuable claſſic author, in order to cover the ſame parchment with the more pretious miracles of a favourite ſaint. The cotton paper, however, was found not ſufficiently ſtout and durable for important writings; and therefor the emperor Frederic II, in his Sicilian conſtitutions in the year 1221, ordered that public writings and ſecurities ſhould be written on parchment only. Still, however, the cotton paper maintained its ground for other purpoſes, till it was in its turn ſuperſeded by the invention of a better kind, made of linen rags. [*Montfaucon, Eſſai ſur le papyrus in Mem. de litterature, V.* vi, *p.* 605 ‖.—*Schwandneri Specimen lineæ chartæ antiquiſſimæ, p.* 6.]

cularly in the year 1258 he calls all the citizens, aſſembled in Gildhall, barons. The inſcription 'Sigillum baronium Londoniarum', on the city's ſeal, appended to a leaſe in the year 1373, [*Stow's ſurvey of London, p.* 586, *ed.* 1618] does not clear the doubt.

* *Were*, the price of a man, or ſum payable for killing him. See above, p. 314, note ‡.

† *Huſting* (not huſtings) is compounded of the Anglo-Saxon words hus, *houſe*, and thing, *legiſlative*, or *judicial*, *aſſembly*. The two words have the ſame meaning in the Icelandic language, and with little, or oftner no, variation of ſpelling, in all the other Gothic languages.

‡ The art of making paper has been known in China 1600 years ago, according to Raynal. [*Hiſt. philoſ. et polit. V.* iii, *p.* 146, *ed.* 1782.]

§ It was alſo called *charta bombycina*, the word *bombycina* being in thoſe ages extended to cotton, which is ſtill called *bambaccia* by the Italians, from whom we probably got the word *bombaſt* (now only known in its metaphorical ſenſe) for cotton, and *bombaſtine* for a ſtuff made of cotton, ſeemingly the ſame which was called afterwards *buſtine* and *fuſtian*.

‖ Montfaucon carries the uſe of cotton paper as high as the ninth century, and that of linen paper as high as the twelfth. For the later he quotes Petrus Mauricius (*Contra Judæos*) who wrote about the year 1140, and ſays, that books

The earlieſt certain notice of a gild, fraternity, company, or corporation, of tradeſmen in England occurs in the record of a payment of ſixteen pounds into the exchequer, made by Robert the ſon of Leueſtan for the gild of weavers of London in the reign of Henry I, the year uncertain. In the reign of Henry II they paid annually two marks (ſixteen ounces) of gold, or twelve pounds of ſilver, the value of the later being to the former as nine to one. [*Madox's Firma burgi, p.* 191, *for the authorities.*]

1108—King Henry I enacted ſevere laws againſt the frauds of coiners. And becauſe the money, which was bent or broken, was generally refuſed, he ordered, that no perſon ſhould refuſe any penny, or halfpenny (which he alſo ordered to be made round, inſtead of ſemicircular) or even a farthing, if it was entire. [*R. Hoveden, f.* 270 a *.] He alſo directed that the meaſure of the eln or yard ſhould be of uniform length throughout his kingdom; and he made the length of his own arm the ſtandard of it †. [*Knighton, col.* 2375.]

1111—A vaſt number of Flemings, driven out of their own country by an extraordinary encroachment of the ſea, had come to England in the reign of William the Conqueror, hoping for ſettlements and protection from the influence of the queen, who was of their country. William, glad of ſuch an acceſſion of foreigners, ſtationed great numbers of them upon the northern frontier, chiefly about Carlile, and others throughout the reſt of the country. King Henry, now finding that the Flemings did not well agree with his other ſubjects, tranſplanted the whole of them to a diſtrict taken from the Welſh, called Ros (now a part of Pembroke-ſhire) where their poſterity can be diſtinguiſhed from their Welſh neighbours to this day. They were a brave and hardy people, equally qualified to handle the plough and the ſword; and they were alſo ſkilful in the woollen manufacture, the great ſtaple

are made of the ſkins of various animals, of an Oriental plant (the papyrus), and of *ſcrapings of old cloth* ('ex raſuris veterum pannorum'), which, Montfaucon ſays, muſt *aſſuredly* mean paper made of linen rags; a concluſion, which does not ſeem neceſſarily to follow from the words of that author. Might not the rags of old cotton cloth be then employed in the manufacture of paper, as well as new cotton? The ſame words of Mauricius are alſo quoted by Muratori [*Antiq. V.* iii, *col.* 871] and others, and have led ſeveral writers to believe, that paper made of linen rags is as old as the twelfth century, of which, I believe, no ſatisfactory proof has yet appeared. See below at the year 1243.

* The older authors, Florence, Simeon, &c. as publiſhed, are unintelligible upon this ſubject, from the want of two words, to be found only in Hoveden. The penny, containing the two-hundred-and-fortieth part of a pound of ſilver, was for ſeveral centuries the largeſt ſilver coin in Britain, and was equivalent in real value to at leaſt ten ſhillings of modern money. (See the prices of corn, &c. about this time in the Appendix.) It had on one ſide a croſs ſo deeply indented, that it could thereby be eaſily broken into halves and quarters; and ſuch broken pieces appear to have been the only money ſmaller than pennies, till now that Henry coined halfpennies. The firſt coinage of round halfpennies and farthings of ſilver is aſcribed to Edward I; but we ſee the coinage of round halfpennies by Henry I related by Florence, Simeon, and Hoveden, who all flouriſhed before Edward was born. Copper coins were not introduced till ſeveral centuries after this time.

† The ſtandard muſt have been very uncertain, even though there had been a mark on the king's ſhoulder to aſcertain the point from which the meaſure ſhould commence.

of their country, and in general commerce: ſo that in every reſpect they were a moſt valuable colony, whether conſidered as a barrier againſt an enemy, or as the firſt founders of the manufacture of fine woollen goods in England*. [*Flor. Wig. p.* 655.—*W. Malmſb. f.* 89 b.—*Gir. Cambr. p.* 848, *ed. Camd.*]

May 22d—Henry V, emperor of Germany, being at Verona, gave the duke of Venice a charter, aſcertaining the dominions of the republic on the main land of Italy, and diſcriminating them from his own Italian territories, among which he reckons Luca, Piſa, and Genoa, though theſe cities had generally acted as independent ſovereign republics long before. He prohibits his ſubjects from diſtreſſing any Venetian veſſel ſtranded or wrecked on any part of his coaſts, or from harbouring fugitive ſlaves belonging to the Venetians. He gives them liberty of traveling by land or on the rivers in all his dominions, and in return requires for his own ſubjects only the liberty of the ſea and the *mouths* of the rivers in the Venetian territories. The charter (which is very long for that age) contains many other privileges granted to the Venetians, ſuch as the unmoleſted property of eſtates, liberty of paſturage, cutting wood, &c. in his dominions. [*Reſpub. Venet. p.* 440.]

1115—If we may believe the exaggerated ſlander (for ſuch he intended it) of Donizo, [*Vita Matildis comitiſſæ, c.* 20. *ap. Muratori Script. V.* iv] Piſa was now polluted by the reſort of Pagans, Turks, Libyans, Parthians, and Chaldæans. It is one of the few pleaſing circumſtances occurring in the hiſtory of mankind, that ſo much ſocial and beneficial intercourſe ſubſiſted at this time to offend this teſty monk.

The citizens of Piſa had their full ſhare of the advantages derived by the trading communities of Italy from the Holy war. Tancred prince of Antioch in the year 1108 engaged, in conſideration of the aſſiſtance furniſhed by the Piſans in ſubduing the Greeks of Laodicea, to give them a place in that city, and a ſtreet in Antioch, and to grant immunity from cuſtom to their ſhipping with liberty to come and go at their pleaſure. The ſucceeding princes of Antioch, the kings of Jeruſalem, and other Chriſtian princes who had acquired, or expected to acquire, territories in Aſia, gave many charters to the Piſans, between the years 1108 and 1216, containing ſimilar grants of very ample privileges and payments, made or promiſed. [*Original charters in Muratori's Antiq. V.* ii, *coll.* 905-918.]

1120—But the Piſans were not without their ſhare of the calamities of the times. Their city was laid in aſhes, and their iſlands of Sardinia and Corſica taken from them, by the Saracens. The iſlands were recovered by the aſſiſtance of the Genoeſe. But the diviſion of the conqueſt, with probably the exaſperation of commercial jealouſy, im-

* This was the laſt colony of any conſequence ſettled in Great Britain, till the bigotry of Louis XIV ſent over the colony of French proteſtant ſilk-weavers in the year 1685.

mediately kindled a war between the allies, in which the Genoeſe, with a fleet of eighty gallies and four great ſhips carrying warlike engines, beſieged the harbour of the Piſans, and obliged them to ſubmit to their pleaſure reſpecting Corſica (September 14th). The peace was almoſt immediately broken, and a ſanguinary war, ſometimes interrupted by inſincere pacifications or truces, continued to diſtreſs the two neighbouring and rival republics for almoſt two centuries. [*Stellæ Ann. Gen.* and *Chron. Piſan. ap. Muratori Script. V.* vi.]

1113—A cathedral church was founded near the north bank of the River Clyde by David, earl or prince of Cumberland, and afterwards king of Scotland *. The foundation of this church is entitled to notice in commercial hiſtory, becauſe it gave birth to the city of Glaſgow, which, after ſlumbering through ſeveral dull centuries of monkiſh ſloth as a biſhop's burgh, has in later times ſhone out as the center of the moſt vigorous commerce and the moſt extenſive manufactures in Scotland.

1120—The pearls found in ſeveral of the rivers of Scotland were at this time in great requeſt. King Alexander Ift is ſaid to have exceeded all men in that ſpecies of riches; and his pearls, on account of their large ſize and ſuperior brightneſs, were celebrated and coveted in diſtant countries. [*Nicolai Epiſt. in Anglia ſacra, V.* ii, *p.* 236.]

1121—Scotland muſt have had conſiderable intercourſe with foreigners, and alſo poſſeſſed ſome degree of opulence, when even the king of ſo remote a country could enjoy the foreign luxuries of an Arabian horſe, velvet furniture, and Turkiſh armour. All theſe articles, together with other valuable trinkets, and a large eſtate in land, were preſented by King Alexander to the church of St. Andrews. [*Regiſter of St. Andrews, a venerable contemporary record.—Wyntown's Chronicle, V.* i, *p.* 286.]

Henry king of England made a navigable canal of ſeven miles in length from the Trent at Torkſey to the Witham at Lincoln, into which he introduced the water of the Trent †. [*Sim. Dun. col.* 243.]

1126, September 9th—The popes were very eager to ſuppreſs the practice of lending money at an equitable rate of intereſt, which, like all other branches of trade, muſt naturally find its proper price in a fair and open competition, in order to engroſs to their own ſecret agents and creatures a moſt oppreſſive trade of lending money at exorbitant intereſt. In a council of the clergy of England, held at Weſtminſter un-

* The church muſt have been founded in the year 1113, if not earlier; for John biſhop of Glaſgow appears in the foundation charter of the abbay of Selkirk, which in that year was ſtocked with monks of Tyron. [*Dalrymple's Collect. p.* 404.—*Sim. Dun. col.* 236.]

† Doctor Stukely [*Account of Richard of Cirencester, p.* 25] ſuppoſes, that the Trent originally ran eaſt to the ſea (as it actually appears in Richard's very curious map of Roman Britain) and that it was carried northward into the Humber by Carauſius for the benefit of inland navigation. If Stukely is right, Henry's work was a reſtoration of the river to a part of its antient channel.

der the direction of the pope's legate, all clergymen were ordered to abſtain from intereſt and baſe lucre *, on pain of degradation. [*Sim. Dun. ap. Twyſden, col.* 254.] Under the operation of ſo injudicious a reſtriction, the clergy, who could not engage in trade themſelves †, were obliged to keep their money dead beſide them, as few would chuſe to run any riſk of loſs or inconvenience by lending it, when they could derive no emolument from it. But ſome laws are ſo prepoſterous, that they become void by a tacit general conſent without being formally repealed: and that ſuch was the fate of this one, may be inferred from a more rigid renovation of it in a ſubſequent council of the clergy held at Weſtminſter (13th December 1138) under the direction of another papal legate. [*Ric. Haguſtald. col.* 327.]

1130—The Venetians obtained a charter from Baldwin II, king of Jeruſalem, conveying to them the moſt ample powers, privileges, and immunities, in all cities ſubject to himſelf and his barons; together with the property of the third part of the cities of Tyre and Aſcalon, when he ſhould take them from the Saracens by their help. [*Chart. in Muratori Antiq. V.* ii, *col.* 919.] We have already ſeen ſimilar grants made to the Piſans, (*above, p.* 317) and many ſuch were obtained from time to time by the commercial ſtates of Italy, who, leaving to the weſtern nations the glory of being the principals in the frenzy of ruining themſelves for the aggrandizement of the popes, wiſely drew to themſelves the profits (neglected indeed by their weſtern allies) of trading under the protection of the armies of the croſs.

The melancholy conſequence of wooden buildings being crowded together was fatally experienced in the city of London in two dreadful conflagrations. In the firſt (a°. 1132) almoſt the whole of the city was burnt down. The ſecond (a°. 1135) began at London bridge, and extending weſtward as far as the church of the Danes (now St. Clement Danes), conſumed every thing in its progreſs, and among the reſt the cathedral church of St. Paul. [*Mat. Weſtm. pp.* 241, 242.]

King Henry about the later end of his reign was induced, by the complaints of the tenants of his demeſne lands, to convert the rents, formerly paid entirely, or almoſt entirely, in the real produce of the ſoil, to a fixed rate in money; whereby the tenants were relieved from the inconvenience, expenſe, and oppreſſion, they often ſuffered in con-

* 'Uſuram et turpe lucrum.'—As the contrivers of thoſe canons made no difference between the moſt moderate and the moſt exorbitant intereſt, the name of uſury (in modern language reſtricted, though rather improperly, to the later) was indiſcriminately applied to any allowance or compenſation given for the uſe (uſura) of money; and it is here joined with baſe or diſgraceful lucre in order to make it appear equally criminal.

† The council held at Weſtminſter in 1175, *following the inſtitutes of the fathers*, prohibited monks and clergymen, under the pain of anathema, from trading for profit. [*Spelman Concil. V.* ii, *p.* 103.] There are in the councils many other prohibitions againſt the clergy engaging in trade, one of the reaſons aſſigned being, *becauſe buying and ſelling cannot be tranſacted without ſin.* [*p.* 288.] They did not think it any ſin for idle drones to conſume the produce of other men's induſtry.

veying the king's part of their crops, animals, &c. to diſtant places; and the king obtained a revenue, more convenient, and more eaſily applicable to every purpoſe whatever. [*Dialog. de ſcaccario*, *L.* i, *c.* 7.]

1136, 1138—The commercial city of Amalfi, and four neighbouring cities, ſubject to, or allied with, it, were twice taken and deſtroyed, or pillaged, by the forces of the rival commercial city of Piſa, which for ſome years paſt had repeatedly triumphed over the Saracens of Africa, Spain, and the Balearic iſlands. [*Chron. Piſan.* and *Breviarium Hiſt. Piſan.* in *Muratori Script. V.* vi.] But Amalfi recovered in ſome meaſure from theſe diſaſters, and ſtill poſſeſſed ſome degree of commercial and nautical eminence.

The maritime laws of Amalfi were adopted in the kingdom of Naples, according to Freccia, a Neapolitan author of the ſixteenth century, who ſays, that in his time maritime controverſies continued to be determined by the *Table of Amalfi* in preference to the Rhodian law. [See *Brencman Diſſ. de rep. Amalphitana*, § 18.] I believe, the time when theſe laws were enacted cannot be accurately aſcertained.

An antient and authentic copy of Juſtinian's Pandects, diſcovered at Amalfi, when it was taken by the Piſans, has been generally ſuppoſed the original of all the copies now extant in Europe. Though the Pandects were undoubtedly known in France before this time (as appears by quotations taken from them by Ivo de Chartres, who died in the year 1117) the diſcovery of the Amalfitan copy, and the numerous tranſcripts made from it, gave a new ſpring to the ſtudy of the Roman civil law, which quickly ſpread from Italy over the reſt of Europe. [See *Brencman Hiſt. Pandect.*] The Pandects were known in England at leaſt as early as the year 1140, [*Selden ad Fletam*, *c.* 7] and in the courſe of the twelfth century, they were ſtudied in every part of Europe; and henceforth property became more ſecure, and the ſtate of ſociety was improved. [See *Robertſon's Hiſt. of Cha. V*, *V.* i, *p.* 381, *ed.* 1792, 8*vo.*]

1139—Though the commercial ſtates of Italy regulated their governments, elected their magiſtrates, made war and peace, and acted in all reſpects as independent ſovereigns, yet all of them, except Venice, acknowleged the ſupremacy of the king, or emperor, of Germany in his character of emperor of the Romans. In that character Conrad gave the Genoeſe a charter, empowering them to coin money of gold or other metals, having on one ſide the croſs, the ſtandard of Genoa, with the words '*Conradus rex Romanorum*,' and on the other ſide the word '*Janua*' for the name of the city. [*Stellæ An. Gen. ap. Muratori Script. V.* xvii, *col.* 974.]

About the year 1130 the Genoeſe, being proſperous and opulent, began to think of enlarging their territories, and obliged the people of ſeveral neighbouring towns, or little ſtates (for almoſt every town had a dependent diſtrict) to ſwear allegiance to them. Without enumerat-

ing the petty ſtates incorporated with Genoa by conqueſt or purchaſe, but moſt frequently by the later, it may be ſufficient to obſerve, that all the counts, marquiſes, lords of caſtles, and alſo many cities, which had acquired independence of the emperors or other ſuperiors by purchaſe, or by taking advantage of the convulſions of the times, throughout the whole extent of the Ligurian coaſt, became, one after another, ſubject to the powerful city of Genoa, upon ſuch terms as they could make for themſelves *. [*Caffari Ann. Gen. L.* i, *ap. Muratori Script. V.* vi.—*Muratori Antiq. V.* iv, *col.* 161.]

What is here ſaid of Genoa holds equally true, though on a ſmaller ſcale, with reſpect to Piſa, and the other chief cities of Italy.

1140—Adolphus earl of Nordalbing, having acquired the province of Wagreland, then almoſt depopulated by the expulſion and ſlaughter of the Slavi, and finding the ruins of a town on a peninſula formed by the junction of the rivers Trave and Wochniz, which he thought an excellent ſituation for a harbour, built a city there, and gave it the name of Lubeck. The adjacent country was ſoon occupied and cultivated by induſtrious people, whom he invited, and encouraged by grants of lands, to remove from Flanders, Holland, Friſeland, &c. and Lubeck, ſituated in a country naturally fertile and interſected by navigable rivers, ſoon became a celebrated emporium, having many veſſels belonging to the inhabitants. The trade of the neighbouring cities was ſo much eclipſed by it, that Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, who appears to have been over-lord of the country, demanded of Adolphus one half of his new city as a compenſation for the loſs he ſuſtained by the diminution of the trade of his city of Lunenburg, and, on his refuſal, prohibited the ſale of any kind of merchandize at Lubeck, except articles of food. He alſo ſhut up the fountains of ſalt at Thodeſlo, in order to promote the ſale of the ſalt of Lunenburg, and ordered the ſeat of the trade to be transferred to Bardwik. A conflagration, which happened in the year 1158, would have ruined the city irrecoverably, if Adolphus had not then reſigned it to Henry, who, to induce the citizens to rebuild their houſes, immediately revoked the prohibition of trade, eſtabliſhed a mint and a cuſtom-houſe, and ſent meſſengers to all the countries of the North to invite the merchants to trade with Lubeck. Thus ſupported, the city immediately ſprung up out of its aſhes, and the number of inhabitants dayly increaſing, it ſoon became more proſperous than before. [*Vita Adolphi ex Helmoldi Ann.—Bertii Rer. Germ. L.* iii, *p.* 177.]

1146—Greece, or rather the Roman empire in Europe (at this time nearly the ſame in extent with the modern European Turkey), even in its degenerate ſtate continued to excell all the reſt of Europe in the quality and variety of its manufactures, and in the ingenuity of its work-

* It has already been obſerved, that the Genoeſe and Piſans conteſted the ſovereignty of Sardinia and Corſica.

men and artiſts. That country alone, at leaſt of all the Chriſtian countries of Europe, poſſeſſed the valuable ſtock of ſilk-worms, which had been tranſplanted from the remoteſt extremities of the Eaſt about four hundred years before; and the Greeks were the only Chriſtians of Europe, who manufactured the ſtill pretious and coſtly articles of luxury fabricated from the ſpoils of the ſilk-worm. But now the time was arrived, when that manufacture was to be more widely diſperſed. Roger, the Norman king of Sicily, invaded Greece with a fleet of ſeventy gallies, and carried off the wealth of Athens, Thebes, and Corinth. But, what was infinitely the moſt valuable part of the prize, and what peculiarly diſtinguiſhed this war from all others, which have no other conſequences than the exaltation of one individual, the depreſſion of another, and the miſery of millions, was the capture of a great number of ſilk weavers, whom he carried off from thoſe cities, and ſettled in Palermo, his capital city. By the king's order the Grecian priſoners taught his Sicilian ſubjects to raiſe and feed ſilk-worms, and to weave all the varieties of ſilk ſtuffs. And ſo well did the Sicilian pupils profit by their inſtructions, that the ſilk fabrics of Sicily, about twenty years after the tranſplantation of the manufacture, are deſcribed as excelling in variety of patterns and colours; ſome with gold intermixed, and adorned with figures or pictures, and others embelliſhed with pearls. [*Otto Friſing. de geſt. Friderici, L.* i, *c.* 33, *ap. Muratori Script. V.* vi, *col.* 668.—*Falcandi Hiſt. Sicul. præf. ap. Muratori Script. V.* vii, *col.* 256.]

Though all the Chriſtian part of Europe, except Greece, had been ignorant till now of the art of managing the ſilk-worm and the produce of its induſtry, the Saracens had before this time obtained the knowlege of the various operations of the ſilk manufacture, and ſpread it over all their wide-extended dominions. Liſbon and Almeria, two Saracen cities of Spain, were particularly famous for their manufactures of ſilk: and the iſlands of Majorca and Ivica paid their tributes to the king of Aragon in ſilks of Almeria, or more probably in ſilks made in imitation of thoſe of Almeria. [*Otto Friſing. ap. Muratori Antiq. V.* ii, *col.* 408.—*Hoveden, f.* 382 a, b.]

By theſe means was the important manufacture of ſilk laid open to the ingenuity of the weſtern nations.

1147—Liſbon was taken from the Saracens by Alfonſo, the ſovereign of the newly-erected kingdom of Portugal, chiefly by the aſſiſtance of a company of about fourteen thouſand adventurers, conſiſting moſtly of Engliſh, with ſome Normans, Flemings, and others, bound to the Holy land*. [*Chron. Norm. ad an.—Vit. Pont. Rom. ap. Muratori Script. V.* iii, *part.* i, *p.* 438.—*Henr. Hunt. f.* 226 a.] The Saracens of Almeria

* The Netherlanders claim the *ſole* merit of this opportune aſſiſtance, in conſequence of which they enjoy certain privileges in Portugal, conferred upon them by the gratitude of the ſovereign. [*Linſchoten's Voyages, p.* 460, *Engl. tranſl.*]

being exceedingly troubleſome to the Chriſtians, the Genoeſe, at the requeſt of the pope, fitted out a fleet of 73 gallies and 163 other veſſels, wherewith they attacked that city, which, with the aſſiſtance of the count of Barcelona, and (according to our Engliſh hiſtorians) of the above-mentioned adventurers, they reduced. The Genoeſe, after paſſing the winter in Barcelona, in the enſuing ſummer aſſiſted the count in taking Tortoſa, for which they had one third of the plunder. [*Stellæ An. Gen. ap. Muratori Script. V.* xvii, *col.* 982.]

Norwich, which William of Malmſbury [*Geſta pontif. f.* 136 a] calls a populous village ('vicum') remarkable for its merchandize, was now rebuilt, made a corporation ('communitas'), and given by King Stephen as an appanage to his ſon William. [*Membran. ant. ap. Camd. Brit. p.* 422, *ed.* 1600.]

1153—The Scots loſt their good king David, under whoſe equitable and auſpicious government the commerce of the country had begun to flouriſh. He was the youngeſt of King Malcolm's ſix ſons by Queen Margaret; and he paſſed his early youth at the court of England under the eye of the queen his ſiſter, who was a patroneſs of learning and the arts. Having thereby acquired ſeveral branches of ſcience hitherto unknown in his own leſs civilized country, he made great improvements in the agriculture, horticulture, and architecture, of Scotland after his acceſſion to the crown. He alſo made foreign merchandize abound in his harbours, exchanging the produce of Scotland for the wealth of other kingdoms; and he gratiouſly attended to the applications of all perſons, whether clergy or laymen, ſtrangers, merchants, or farmers. [*Ailred* ap. Fordun, pp.* 465, 473 *ed. Hearne;* or *ed. Goodall, V.* ii, *pp.* 302, 305.] We have alſo very good reaſon to believe, that he introduced new manufactures in his kingdom: for, as we know, that about twenty years after his death the towns and burghs of Scotland were chiefly occupied by Engliſh inhabitants, [*W. Newbrig. L.* ii, *c.* 34] their ſettlement may with the greateſt probability be aſcribed to David, who would doubtleſs wiſh to eſtabliſh in his own country the arts and manufactures he ſaw practiſed in England in a comparatively-improved ſtate during his long reſidence in that kingdom. His laws, containing regulations for the manufacturers, dyers, and dreſſers, of woollen cloth, (referred to in the charter given by his grandſon William to Perth †) were apparently intended for the regulation and encouragement of thoſe va-

* It muſt be remembered, that Ailred, Elred, or Ethelred, the author of this information, though profeſſedly writing the praiſes of David in the work here quoted, was an eye witneſs of what he relates, and a writer of reſpectable authority.

† A tranſlation (apparently a very bad one) of the charter of Perth may be ſeen in *Cant's Muſes threnodie, V.* ii, *p.* 6. The neglect of my application for a copy of the original (and it is not long) by a perſon who had it in his power to oblige me with it, was one of three inſtances of ſuch conduct, I have met with in the courſe of collecting materials for this work.

luable new ſubjects, by whoſe inſtruction and example he hoped to render the natives of Scotland more induſtrious and civilized than they had hitherto been: and it is alſo probable that ſome of the new towns, erected by him, [*Ailred, ap. Fordun, p.* 473] were deſtined for the reception of thoſe new inhabitants. Several laws for the regulation of weights and meaſures were enacted by him. [*Acts, James I, c.* 80, or 70 *of Murray's ed.*] And, though the book, generally known by the name of *Regiam majeſtatem*, and profeſſing to contain the antient laws of Scotland, collected, as was ſuppoſed, by order of King David, is now generally abandoned as an ill-conducted forgery, there ſeems reaſon to believe, that *the laws and cuſtoms of the burghs of Scotland* were really collected and committed to writing, and moſt of them probably enacted, in his reign *. By theſe laws

c. 10) All goods brought by ſea were to be landed prior to their ſale, except ſalt and herrings, which might be ſold onboard the veſſels.

c. 17) The vaſſal of an earl or baron, who bought a burgage, and remained a year and a day in a burgh without being moleſted or claimed by his lord, was declared a free man for ever †.

c. 18) Foreign merchants were not permitted to buy wool, hides, or other goods from any but burgeſſes.

c. 22) None but burgeſſes were permitted to buy wool for dying or making into cloth, or to cut cloth for ſale. But the owners of ſheep were allowed the free uſe of their own wool.

From c. 48 it appears that ſome of the merchants of Scotland traded to foreign countries; and their lands were declared exempt from ſeizure for any claim whatever during their abſence, unleſs they appeared to abſent themſelves on purpoſe to evade juſtice.

c. 52) The burgeſſes were required to have their meaſures of length and capacity, and their weights, marked with the ſeal of the burgh.

A ſilver mine ('argentaria'), which King David worked in his province of Cumberland, [*J. Hagueſtald. col.* 280] is the earlieſt in Britain,

* It muſt be acknowleged that ſeveral chapters of the *Leges burgorum*, wherein provoſts and bailies appear as the only magiſtrates of the towns in Scotland, which long after David's reign were generally governed by aldermen, were evidently interpolated after the fourteenth century. Neither are the words 'ſtatuta burgorum,' which induced a late learned and worthy judge, and alſo a learned keeper of the records of Scotland, to ſay that thoſe laws are mentioned by Baldred (rather Ailred or Ethelred) a contemporary writer, any proof; for they are interpolated by Bowar in his continuation of Fordun, and are not in the works of Ailred or Fordun. But, though ſome parts of the laws of the burghs, as publiſhed by Skene along with his *Regiam majeſtatem*, have been inſerted in later ages, it is undeniable that other parts, probably the greateſt part of them, are as old as the reign of David I. A charter of his grandſon, King William, requires all perſons reſorting to the fair at Glaſgow to obſerve *the aſſiſe of his burghs*: [*Gibſon's Hiſt. of Glaſgow, p.* 301] and *the laws and cuſtoms of the burghs* undoubtedly conſtituted a part of the eſtabliſhed law of the land before the death of Alexander III, as appears from an antient record preſerved in *Ayloffe's Calendars, p.* 335, and in pleadings of the year 1291, publiſhed by Ryley. [*Plac. parl. p.* 147.] And no one can ſuppoſe that they were enacted in the turbulent period of the regency.

† This regulation, and ſome others in the Scottiſh burgh laws, are copied from the Engliſh laws aſcribed to King Edward the Confeſſor. See above, p. 307.

of which I have found any particular or certain notice ſince the time of the Romans, or at leaſt of Bede *.

It is of more importance to obſerve, that in his reign the Firth of Forth was frequently covered with boats manned by Engliſh, Scottiſh, and *Belgic*, fiſhermen, who were attracted by the great abundance of fiſh (moſt probably herrings) in the neighbourhood of the iſland of May. [*A contemporary writer, MS. Bib. Cott. Tit.* A, xix, *f.* 78 b.] This, if I miſtake not, is the very firſt authentic and poſitive notice of a fiſhery, having any claim to conſideration as a commercial object, upon the North-Britiſh coaſt †.

1135-1154—The miſeries of civil war were felt in the greateſt extremity in England during the unhappy reign of Stephen. The vaſt treaſures left by his predeceſſor were exhauſted in ſupporting the foreign mercenaries, whom he was obliged to employ to reſiſt the claim of the lawful heirs of Henry I, and to cruſh the diſcontents of the people: and he was driven to the wretched expedient of corrupting and diminiſhing the coin, which, however, was afterwards reſtored to its due purity and weight. In this diſaſtrous reign 1,115 new caſtles were built in England by the earls and barons; and there were as many petty tyrants, as there were caſtles, every one of whom exerciſed the powers of ſovereignty, carried on war, oppreſſed the people, and iſſued money of his own coinage. In a word, the miſerable people were utterly ruined. [*W. Malmſb. f.* 105 a.—*R. Diceto, col.* 528.—*W. Newbrig. L.* i, *c.* 22.]

From the general calamities of England the country north of the Teeſe was exempted by being under the mild and prudent adminiſtration of David king of Scotland. [*Bromton, col.* 1036.]

1154—Henry II, the new ſovereign of England, by his marriage with Eleanor ducheſs of Aquitaine (the divorced queen of Louis the Young, king of France) which took place about two years before his acceſſion, acquired the beſt wine country in France. By that addition to his hereditary dominions he became maſter of all the weſt ſide of that kingdom from the Pyrenæan mountains to Picardy: and conſequently, after

* There ſeems to have been at leaſt an expectation of finding gold in Fife: for King David gave a grant to the abbay of Dunfermline of all the tithes of gold which might accrue to him from Fife and Fothrif (or rather Forthrev, the upper part of the peninſula). [*Chart. qu. in Dalrymple's Annals, V.* i, *p.* 297.] But, that any gold was ever obtained from a mine in that part of the country, does not, I believe, anywhere appear.

† Quere, if it is not alſo the earlieſt notice of Engliſh fiſhermen going ſo far from their own ports on a fiſhing voyage, if they were, indeed, ſubjects of England; for in the age of the writer here quoted the Scottiſh ſubjects on the ſouth ſide of the Firth of Forth were called Engliſh, as I have made appear in *Geographical illuſtrations of Scottiſh hiſtory*, under the articles *Angli, Louthian, Northymbra-land, Scotland.*—Perhaps this almoſt-unknown paſſage may alſo give the people of the Netherlands the moſt antient authentic information of a diſtant fiſhery reſorted to by their Belgic anceſtors, the ſteady and prudent proſecution of which made them high and mighty among the nations of Europe.

An account of a Scottiſh fiſhery, apparently unfounded, has already been inſerted (*p.* 253) from Mr. Anderſon, whoſe author I have endeavoured to diſcover. A fiſhery in the reign of King Macbeth has alſo been preſumed (*p.* 284) upon probable grounds.

his acceſſion to the crown of England, the merchants of all the French ports on the Ocean, except Boulogne and Calais, were fellow-ſubjects with thoſe of England; a circumſtance, which muſt certainly have been very favourable to the commercial intereſts of both countries.

But Henry, far from being ſatisfied with the poſſeſſion of England and about a third part of France, very ſoon caſt his eyes upon Ireland as a convenient addition to his dominions. He had no pretext of a quarrel with the Iriſh: but he propoſed to reform their religion and their morals; and for ſuch a pious undertaking it was thought proper to ſolicit the approbation of the infallible head of the church. His ambaſſador was inſtructed to repreſent to the pope his zeal for enlarging the bounds of the church, inſtructing the ignorant, and extirpating vice, by bringing Ireland under his own dominion: and, as all iſlands belong to the holy ſee, he deſired to be adviſed and authorized by the pope; and he took care to promiſe an annual payment to St. Peter of one penny out of every houſe in Ireland, and engaged to ſupport the rights of the church in that iſland.

The chair of St. Peter was at this time filled by Adrian IV, the only Engliſhman who ever attained that ſummit of eccleſiaſtical ambition. But the partiality of the pope, if he had any, for the ſovereign of his native country, could be but one of his motives for promoting Henry's ambitious views. The king had acknowleged his right to the ſovereignty of all the iſlands of the ſea, (is Great Britain not an iſland?) and he had promiſed a large increaſe of the papal revenues. Moreover, the Iriſh were very undutiful ſons of the church: for, though it is well known, that, when the Engliſh (or Saxons) were ſunk in the groſſeſt ignorance, the Iriſh poſſeſſed ſo great a ſhare of what were eſteemed religion and ſcience in thoſe days, that their country was called *the iſland of ſaints*, and many parts of Britain were indebted to them for the firſt rudiments of religion and literature, they were afterwards far behind the reſt of Europe in conforming to the innovations, and ſubmitting to the encroachments of the ſee of Rome. They were accuſed of marrying within the degrees of conſanguinity, forbidden by the church of Rome, without purchaſing eccleſiaſtical diſpenſations; their clergymen, and even biſhops, were married; they ſcarcely ever admitted palls from Rome; they neglected the payment of tithes and firſt-fruits; and in ſome parts of the country they ate fleſh in lent. Theſe were crimes ſufficient to draw upon them the diſpleaſure of the pope, who ſent the king a bull encouraging him to proceed in the conqueſt and converſion of Ireland *, together with a gold ring, by which he appeared to aſſume the right of beſtowing the inveſtiture of the iſland as a vaſſal

* The pope's bull, or commiſſion, may be ſeen in *Rymer's Fœdera Angliæ, V.* i, *p.* 15, and in moſt of the Engliſh hiſtorians, particularly in *Giraldi Cambrens. Hib. expugnata*, which alſo contains the origin and progreſs of the conqueſt of Ireland.

kingdom. The bull and the ring were both laid up in the archives at Winchester, to be produced whenever a favourable opportunity should offer. And this was the first step towards the union of Great Britain and Ireland.

At this time Scherif al Edrissi, a Saracen subject of Roger king of Sicily, wrote his *Geographical amusements*, which he presented to that prince. He follows Ptolemy in connecting the south part of Africa with the east part of Asia; and, if we may judge from the Latin translation of his work, he knew little more of the north parts of Europe than that antient geographer did. He relates, that some of the Saracens of Spain had ventured out upon the Ocean, in order to discover the extremity of the world, and, after eleven days sailing, had turned to the southward, and landed in the Canaries, where they learned that a king of one of those islands had also been out on a voyage of discovery, and, after being a month at sea, had lately returned home *. [See *Mem. de l'academie, V.* xxviii, *p.* 524.]

1155—The arrival of the emperor Frederic in Italy struck such terror into the Genoese, that they fortified their city with unremitting exertion, and even the women and children laboured in constructing the walls. The remains of these walls, far within those erected in the years 1327 and 1347, show how small the city then was in comparison of the extent it afterwards attained. [*Stellæ An. Gen. ap. Muratori, Script. V.* xvii, *col.* 974.]

While the Genoese dreaded a contest with the military forces of the emperor of the West, whose dominions were invulnerable by their naval power, the emperor of the East, the successor of the Roman sovereigns of the world, was courting their friendship by a treaty, binding him to pay for ever an annual pension of two hundred perpers † and two palls (rich robes) to the community, and another of sixty perpers and one pall to the archbishop, of Genoa, and also to give them a factory or comptoir ('fundicum' ‡), and a church, in his capital city of Constantin-

* Can this be true? Had the Saracens the use of the compass? Could the Canary king, who surely had no compass, ever find his own island after being a month at sea? This curious information shows, however, that the notion of the existence of western lands prevailed in those ages in several countries: and to the same notion, probably, the land called Cokaigne, far in the sea be-west Spain, owes its imaginary existence, as it is described in an English poem of the twelfth century, preserved in Hicke's *Thesaurus linguarum septentrionalium.*

† *Perperi*, or *hyperperi*, were gold coins struck by the emperors of Constantinople in this age; [*Du Cange Gloss. Lat. vo. Hyperperus*] and they had also other coins called *byzantii, scyfati*, and *michalati*. But, though the value of the coins of antient Greece is known with tolerable certainty, that of the Grecian coins of these later dark ages is, I believe, totally unknown. From the payment of the arrears of a similar tribute to Pisa, in the year 1172 (which see), there seems reason to believe, that perperi and byzantii were the same.

‡ In the principal commercial cities, such as Constantinople and Alexandria, the merchants of each trading nation had their own appropriate *fundicus* (called by the Italians *fontechi*, and by the Catalans *alfondech*, the name being apparently Arabic), in which they lived and stored their goods, every individual paying a rent for his accommodation. Such, in England, were the Teutonic gild hall, and, in later times, the Steelyard, in London, occupied by the merchants of Germany; and, in Scotland, the Red hall in Berwick, occupied

ople, and to reduce the cuſtoms upon their merchandize, from a tenth to a twenty-fifth, or from ten to four per cent. William, king of Sicily, alſo endeavoured to gratify the commercial jealouſy of the Genoeſe by a treaty, engaging to expell the merchants of Provence and France from his territories (a°. 1156). Thus were the political events of the neighbouring nations made to promote the commercial intereſts of the Genoeſe. Neither did they confine their friendly intercourſe and connections to Chriſtian ſtates, nor were they ſuch bigots as to ſuppoſe that difference of belief in matters of religion had any concern with commercial connections, but entered into treaties of friendſhip and commerce with the Saracen kings of Spain and Morocco in the year 1161*. [*Caffari Annales Gen. ap. Muratori, Script. V.* vi, *coll.* 265-277.]

1156, January 6th—The maritime kingdom of Mann, founded by Ketil about the year 890, as already obſerved, comprehended Mann, and all the iſlands on the weſt ſide of Scotland, and flouriſhed in conſiderable power, being frequently formidable to the adjacent coaſts of England, Scotland, and Ireland. But King Godred, the ſon of Olaf, having loſt the affections of ſome of the chiefs by his tyranny, they ſet up Dugal, the ſon of Somerled, lord of Argyle, by a daughter of Olaf, as king againſt him; and after a bloody naval battle, the iſlands were now divided between the rivals by a treaty, which, the chronicler of Mann ſays, proved the ruin of the kingdom.

1156—From the conſiderable number of Engliſh hiſtorians who flouriſhed in the twelfth century, with ſome help from other writers, and from charters, &c. we have a pretty good account of ſeveral of the towns of England, and even of ſome of thoſe of Scotland, about this time.

London being now eſtabliſhed as the capital of the kingdom, moſt of the nobles and biſhops had handſome houſes† in or near the city: but the houſes of the citizens were generally built of wood, and thatched with ſtraw; and thence the city was liable to frequent fires. Fitz-Stephen, a writer of this age, ſays, that the citizens were remarkable for their politeneſs, the elegance of their dreſs, and the magnificence of their tables, and that their wives excelled in every virtue. The citizens

occupied by thoſe of Flanders. And they paid rents to communities or to individuals. The merchants of the Steelyard paid £70 : 3 : 4 ſterling to the city of London [*Stow's Survey of London, p.* 433, *ed.* 1618]; and the widow of Robert Guiſcard, duke of Apulia, gave the rents of a *fundicus* in Amalfi to the monaſtery of Monte Caſino. [*Chron. Caſin. L.* iii, *c.* 56.—See alſo *Hakluyt's Voiages, V.* ii, *p.* 199, where the *fontechi* at Alexandria is explained to be 'an houſe of trafique as the Stilyard.']

* I have not inquired, whether they thought it worth their while to purchaſe a licence from the pope for trading with infidels, as the Portugueſe repeatedly did in later times.

† The ſtone houſe of a citizen of London is mentioned by *Benedictus Abbas, V.* i, *p.* 197.—Geffrey Martel in the reign of Henry II ſold a piece of land with a ſtone houſe in London. [*Madox's Formulare, p.* 178.]—The houſes of ſome Jews in London, appear to have been of ſtone in the year 1215. [*Rad. Cogſhall, qu. in Stow's Annales, p.* 258.] Thence it may be preſumed, that the houſes of the nobles and biſhops were not of inferior materials, though thoſe of the middle and inferior ranks were of wood.

were diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of moſt of the ſmaller towns by the appellation of barons *. With a pardonable partiality, Fitz-Stephen ſays, that no city in the world exports its merchandize to ſuch a diſtance: but he has unluckily neglected to inform us of the ſpecies of goods exported, or the countries to which they were carried, none of which were very diſtant, according to our modern enlarged ideas of navigation. Among the imports he enumerates gold, ſpices, frankincenſe from Arabia; pretious ſtones from Egypt; purple drapery from India; palm-oil from Bagdad; all which he might, perhaps with more ſtrict propriety, have derived immediately from the trading cities of Italy. Furs of various kinds, he ſays, are brought from Norway and Ruſſia; arms from Scythia; and wine from France. The venders of the various commodities, and labourers of every kind, are dayly to be found in their appropriate and diſtinct places †; and every Friday a market is held in Smithfield for horſes, cows, hogs, &c. The city, with the ſuburbs, contains 13 large conventual churches, and 126 parochial ones. According to our author, no fewer than 60,000 foot and 20,000 horſe iſſued from the city in the reign of King Stephen ‡. The city is ſtrongly fortified with caſtles and turrets, and ſurrounded by a wall with ſeven gates, except on the ſouth ſide, where the river has undermined the antient wall, which the protection of the palatine tower at the eaſt end of the city now renders unneceſſary. The king's palace at Weſtminſter is two miles from the city §; and the intermediate ſpace is almoſt filled up with the houſes and gardens of the citizens ‖. On the north ſide are open fields of corn and graſs, and a lake ¶, with ſeveral ſtreams turning mills; and beyond theſe there is a foreſt, wherein the citizens take the diverſion of hunting. [*Stephanidis Vita Thomæ Cant.*]

William of Malmſbury, an author of the ſame age, ſays, London is a noble city, renowned for the opulence of its citizens, who, on account

* Whether all the citizens of London, or only thoſe who poſſeſſed ſome civic pre-eminence, were called *barons*, has been diſputed, and, I ſuppoſe, cannot be clearly determined by any ſufficient authority. See above, p. 314.

† The authority of Fitz-Stephen has been ſtrangely adduced to prove, that the Steelyard, Vintry, &c. were the appropriated wharfs of the various nations trading to London in his time. He ſays no ſuch thing. The eſtabliſhment of the Vintry in particular will be accounted for in the year 1300.

‡ The copy of our author, from which Leland made his excerpts, had only 40,000 foot. [*Collectanea, V.* iv, *p.* 241.] Either of the numbers is moſt enormouſly exaggerated, if it is meant that London alone furniſhed ſo many fighting men of its own inhabitants. Peter of Blois, arch-deacon of London, an author of the ſame age, [*Epiſt. ad Innocent. papam.*] ſtates the whole population of London, men, women, and children, to be only 40,000. But as it is now known from the ſubſidy roll of the year 1377, diſcovered by Mr. Topham, that the taxable perſons of both ſexes above fourteen years of age in London, were then only 23,314, it is not probable that the number of thoſe under fourteen, the clergy, and thoſe living on charity, would altogether bring the number even up to 40,000: and it may be preſumed, notwithſtanding the ravages of the peſtilence in the year 1348, that London was not more populous in the twelfth than in the fourteenth century.

§ Ludgate was then the weſtern boundary of the city.

‖ Theſe were the country villas of the citizens, to which they retired from the noiſe and crowd of the city. The ſame ground is now covered with ſtreets almoſt as much crowded as any of thoſe in the city.

¶ Now Moorfields, part of which has been lately adorned with the elegant buildings of Finſbury ſquare.

of the greatneſs of the city, are conſidered as people of the firſt quality and noblemen (' optimates et proceres') of the kingdom. It is filled with merchandize, brought by the merchants of all countries; but chiefly thoſe of Germany: and, in caſe of ſcarcity of corn in other parts of England, it is a granary, where it may be bought cheaper than anywhere elſe. [*Novell. f.* 107 a; *Geſta pontif. f.* 133 b.]

Another circumſtance, tending to ſhow that London was compartively an opulent and commercial city at this time, is, that it was the head-quarters of all the Jews in England; a people who have never failed to follow wealth and commerce, and who have generally contributed largely to the advancement of both wherever they ſettled. One of the many hardſhips, impoſed upon that race of people, was an obligation to carry their dead from all parts of England, to be interred in one general cemetery appointed for them in Red-croſs ſtreet in London, till the year 1177, when Henry II gave them permiſſion to purchaſe burying grounds in other parts of the kingdom. [*Bromton, col.* 1129.—*Stow's London, p.* 553, *ed.* 1618.]

Nothing particularly illuſtrative of the ſtate of the Cinque ports about this time has occurred to me.

William of Malmſbury [*Geſta regum, f.* 28 a] ſays, that Exeſter, which was fortified with towers and walls of hewn ſtone by King Athelſtan, though it was deſtroyed by the Danes in the year 1003, [*Chron. Sax. ad an.*] and though the country around it is ſtill in ſo poor a ſtate of cultivation, that it can ſcarcely produce a crop of the moſt indifferent kind of oats, has now become a magnificent city, filled with opulent citizens; and being the principal port for the mineral productions of the adjacent country, [*H. Huntind. f.* 171 a] it is ſo much reſorted to by foreign merchants, that every thing, that can be deſired, may be purchaſed there in abundance.

Briſtow, according to William of Malmſbury, [*Geſta pont. f.* 161 a] is a celebrated town, and a port for veſſels coming from Ireland, Norway, and other foreign countries. Henry II, in the eleventh year of his reign, gave the burgeſſes a charter, exempting them from tolls and ſome other impoſitions in England, Wales, and Normandy.

Glouceſter, according to William, [*f.* 161 a] is a city ſituated in a valley remarkably fertile, and particularly famous for abundance of excellent apples *, which keep good through the whole year. It alſo excells all England in the abundance and pleaſant taſte of its grapes; and the wine made from them is entirely free from harſhneſs and ſourneſs, and very little inferior to the wines of France.

* When praiſing the apples of Glouceſter-ſhire, he has not a word of cider, though it is mentioned as being provided long before his time along with wine, mead, ale, pigment, and morat, at Hereford (to this day the center of the cider country) for the uſe of King Edward the Confeſſor; [*H. Huntindon. f.* 210 a] and in his own time the farmer of Windſor was allowed ſix ſhillings and eight pennies for wine, perry, and cider, for the uſe of King Henry II. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the exchеq. c.* x, § 12.] Probably cider and perry were rare, and only uſed by people of the higheſt ranks.

Wincheſter, however, appears to have been conſidered by another author of this age, as the moſt famous place in England for wine *. [*H. Huntind. f.* 171 a.]

Cheſter is, according to William, [*f.* 164 b] ſituated in a poor country, producing ſcarcely any wheat: but there is abundance of cattle and fiſh: the poor live on milk and butter, the rich on fleſh; and bread made of barley or rye † is thought a dainty. Some trade with Ireland ſupplies the place with ſuch neceſſaries as Nature has denied to it.

A more flattering picture of Cheſter is drawn by a monk of the ſame age, called Lucian, who ſays, that it is enriched and adorned by its river, and that ſhips come to it from Aquitaine, Spain, Ireland, and Germany, whereby the citizens are furniſhed with all good things, and are enabled to drink wine frequently, plentifully, and profuſely. [*ap. Camd. Brit. p.* 459.]

Donewic (*Dunwich*) is called by William of Newburgh [*L.* ii, *c.* 30] a famous ſea-port town, ſtored with various kinds of riches ‡.

Norwic is called by William of Malmſbury [*f.* 136 a] a populous town, famous for its commerce.

Linn is deſcribed by William of Newburgh [*L.* iv, *c.* 7] as a city ('urbs') diſtinguiſhed for commerce and abundance, the reſidence of many wealthy Jews, and reſorted to by foreign veſſels.

Lincoln is celebrated by Alexander Necham, a poet of this century, [*ap. Camd. Brit. p.* 404] as the ſupport of the adjacent country, and ſtored with good things. The canal made by Henry I (ſee above, p. 318) made this city, though far from the ſea, acceſſible to foreign veſſels, and gave it the command of an extenſive inland navigation, whereby it became one of the moſt populous ſeats of home and foreign trade in England. [*W. Malmſb. Geſta pont. f.* 165 b.]

Grimſby is noted by the Norwegian (or Icelandic) writers as an emporium reſorted to by merchants from Norway, Scotland, Orkney, and the Weſtern iſlands. [*Orkneyinga ſaga, p.* 152.]

York had been repeatedly deſtroyed, by the furies of war, by the vengeance of William the Conqueror, and laſtly by a caſual conflagration

* Many proofs might be adduced to ſhow, that vines were cultivated to a greater extent in ſeveral parts of this country formerly than now, and that conſiderable quantities of wine were made from them. See the extract from Domeſday book, above, p. 305, and more inſtances from the ſame record, collected by Spelman. [*Gloſſ. vo. Arpennis.—Bedæ Hiſt. eccleſ. L.* i, *c.* 1.] In the reign of Henry III the biſhops of Lincoln and Bath had vineyards; and in that of Edward III the earl of Lancaſter had vineyards in the neighbourhood of Leiceſter. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the exchеq. c.* xi, § 2.—*Knyghton, col.* 2554.]

† In the original, *ſiligo*; a word not in the dictionaries or gloſſaries, and which Fleetwood [*Chron. precioſ. prices for* 1387] ſays, he knows not. But a former proprietor of my copy of Fleetwood obſerves, in a manuſcript note, that he finds *ſiligo* generally uſed by the writers of thoſe ages for *rye*.

‡ In the reign of King John, Dunwich paid about twice as much rent to the king as any other town upon the neighbouring coaſt. [*Brady on burghs, Append. p.* 11.] But it would be too raſh to infer from that circumſtance, that it was twice as opulent.

in the reign of Stephen. Yet it ſtill retained ſome marks of Roman elegance, and is deſcribed by William of Malmſbury, [*f.* 147 a] as a large metropolitan city, lying on both ſides of the Ouſe, and receiving in the middle of it veſſels from Germany and Ireland.

Whitby, Hartlepool, and ſome other towns on the eaſt coaſt, poſſeſſed veſſels and other property, of which they were robbed by Eſteyn king of Norway, about the year 1153. [*Snorro Hiſt. Magni Blinda, c.* 20.]

Berwik, a noble town at the mouth of the Tuid (*Tweed*), belonging to the king of Scotland, [*W. Newb. L.* v, *c.* 23] is at this time diſtinguiſhed as having more foreign commerce than any other port in Scotland, and many ſhips. One of them belonging to a citizen called Knut the Opulent, and having his wife onboard, being about this time taken by Erlend earl of Orkney, Knut hired fourteen veſſels, with a competent number of men, for one hundred marks of ſilver, and went in chaſe of the pirates, who had anchored for the night at one of the adjacent iſlands. [*Torfæi Orcades, L.* i, *c.* 32.]

Invyrlyth is merely noted as having a harbour beſide it, mentioned in a charter granted by King David to the abbay of Haly-rud. [*Hay's Vindication of Eliz. More.*] In later times it has been called Leith, and is the port of Edinburgh.

Strivelin (*Stirling*) had ſome veſſels and trade, part of the duty (' canum') of the veſſels, with a ſalt-work, and ſome other branches of the royal revenue, being given by the ſame king to the abbays of Cambuſkenneth and Dunfermline. [*Chart.* in *Nimmo's Hiſt. of Stirling, p.* 508; and in *Dalrymple's Collect. p.* 386.]

Part of the duties levied in the port of Perth were aſſigned in the ſame manner. [*Chart. in Dalrymple, p.* 386.] Necham, the Engliſh poet already quoted, ſays, ' that the kingdom is ſupported by the opu-' lence of this city:' [*ap. Camd. Brit. p.* 708] and it was at this time, properly ſpeaking, the capital of Scotland.

Abirdene was known in Norway as a trading town. Eſteyn, one of the joint kings of that country, being on a pirating cruiſe along the Britiſh coaſt about the year 1153, landed and pillaged it. [*Snorro, Hiſt. Magni Blinda, c.* 20.] But it ſoon recovered from that misfortune, and was a royal reſidence in a few years after.

Abirdon (*Old Aberdeen*) had a port, the tenth of the duties of the ſhips being granted by King David to its newly-erected biſhoprick. [*Chart.* in *Bib. topog. Brit. N°.* iii, *p.* 3.]

Duffeyras (perhaps *Bamf*) on the ſhore of the Moray firth, is merely mentioned as a commercial port and town. [*Orkneyinga ſaga, p.* 323.]*

* All the charters and books, quoted for this view of the trading towns of Britain, were written in the twelfth, or early in the thirteenth, century, except the works of Bromton and Torfæus; and they were careful compilers from authentic records.

I find no certain account of any trading ports on the weſt ſide of Scotland in this age; which is no wonder, as we know of but two on the weſt ſide of England †.

From ſeveral notices diſperſed through the authors quoted for this view of the chief commercial ports of Britain at this time, it is evident that the foreign trade was almoſt entirely conducted by foreign merchants.

Concerning the trade and ports of Ireland before the Engliſh conqueſt, little can be added to what has been already ſaid [*p.* 254] of the Oſtmen in that iſland, and of its intercourſe with ſome of the Engliſh harbours, juſt mentioned ‡. The Iriſh made ſome cloth from the wool of the black ſheep, that being the moſt general colour of their flocks, by which means they obtained a durable colour without the labour or expenſe of dying. They had alſo cloth of other colours, with which they made party-coloured ornaments for their hoods: and they uſed woollen ſtuffs (' phalingis laneis') for their cloaks or plaids, and alſo for their trowſers, and theſe were dyed. If to theſe we add lances, javelins, and battle-axes, excellently tempered, we complete the catalogue, as far as we have materials, of the manufactures of the Iriſh, who were a paſtoral people, not yet generally advanced into the ſtate of agricultors, and far leſs of manufacturers. Some foreign merchants brought gold to Ireland: but we are not told, what the Iriſh (who, Giraldus Cambrenſis ſays, thirſted for it like Spaniards) gave the foreigners in exchange for it; nor what the people of Wexford gave in return for the wheat and wine imported from Bretagne. [*Gir. Cambr. Topogr. Hib. diſt.* iii, *c.* 10; *Hib. expug. L.* i, *c.* 3.]

It appears, however, that there were greater ſtores of the pretious metals in Ireland than could well be ſuppoſed. Large ſums of gold and ſilver were frequently given for the ranſom of men of rank taken in battle: and duties or rents, paid in gold or ſilver to eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments, occur very often in the Iriſh annals. At the conſecration of a church in the year 1157 Murha O-Loghlin king of Ireland gave a town, 150 cows, and 60 ounces of gold, to God and the clergy; a chief called O-Carrol gave alſo 60 ounces of gold; and Tiernan O-Ruark's wife gave as much §; donations which would have been eſteemed very great in that age in England or upon the continent. What ſuperſti-

† Many other ports of England probably had ſome trade and ſhipping at this time; but, for want of particular and contemporary authority, they cannot be particularized.

‡ Though Giraldus Cambrenſis wrote a *Topography of Ireland* and a *Hiſtory of the conqueſt of Ireland*, he gives very little information of the ſtate of its trade, or of its ports. What William of Malmſbury ſays [*f.* 91 a] of the diſtreſs the Iriſh would ſuffer, if they were deprived of their trade with England, ſeems contradicted by what he himſelf ſays [*f.* 164 b] of the city of Cheſter depending upon Ireland for a ſupply of the neceſſaries of life.

§ Several inſtances of theſe ways of laying out money occur in the *Annals of Ulſter*, (never yet printed) particularly at the years 1004, 1029, 1106, 1157, 1161; and ſee *Ware's Antiq. Hibern. p.* 128, *ed.* 1654, for ſome inſtances belonging to years left blank in the manuſcript belonging to the Britiſh muſeum, from which I made my extracts.

tion ſo liberally gave, ſome ſpecies of induſtry muſt have acquired; and that was moſt probably the paſturage of cattle, an employment to which the ſoil and climate of Ireland have in all ages been extremely favourable, and which was moſt ſuitable to the unſettled ſtate of ſociety then exiſting in that country; unleſs we will ſuppoſe that the mines of Ireland, which, though unnoticed by any writer, ſeem to have been at ſome time very productive, were ſtill capable of ſupplying the ſums collected in the coffers of the chiefs and the clergy.

During the civil war between King Stephen and the empreſs, the current money of England had been very much debaſed, partly by the frauds of the coiners taking advantage of the convulſed ſtate of the kingdom, but chiefly by almoſt every baron uſurping the prerogative of iſſuing money coined by his own authority *. In order to put an effectual ſtop to ſo great an evil, King Henry made an entire new coinage of the money of the kingdom; and, as ſoon as it was completed (which was in two years) he prohibited the currency of any other than his own new money †. [*R. Hoveden, f.* 281 b.—*M. Paris, p.* 97.—*Ann. Waverl. ap. Gale, p.* 159.]

Several of the biſhops and abbats of England had a right to coin money. [*See above, pp.* 266, 271, 306.—*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 81; *V.* v, *p.* 755,—*and all the books upon Engliſh coins.*] I ſuppoſe, the king did not preſume to deprive them of any of their rights or privileges.

In Scotland, at leaſt the biſhop of St. Andrews had the right of coining money. [*Wyntown's Chronicle of Scotland, V.* i, *p.* 396.]

About this time the proportion of ſilver to gold was nine for one. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the exchеq. c.* 9, § 2.]

1157—Now, and alſo at other times, Henry raiſed money by requiring *gifts* from the ſhires, burghs, biſhops, barons, and others. The opulence of the city of London appears from the largeneſs of its gift on this occaſion, which was no leſs than £1,043 (equivalent to above £30,000 of modern money) and exceeded the joint contributions of the ſhires of Lincoln, Somerſet, Eſſex, and Kent, together with thoſe of the biſhop of Bath and the abbat of St. Albans. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the exchеq. c.* 17, § 2.]

Frederic emperor of Germany ſent ambaſſadors to the king of England with preſents, and a letter deſiring to have a treaty of friendſhip

* The great lords on the continent aſſumed, or were indulged in, the privilege of coining money. In France they could not coin gold or ſilver without the king's expreſs permiſſion, an inſtance of which we have in a diploma granted by Lewis XI in October 1465 to the quens (earl) of Bretagne, permitting him to coin money of gold. [*Du Cange, Gloſs. Lat. V.* iv, *col.* 871.]

† Henry of Huntingdon, who probably wrote ſoon after the reformation of the money, ſays in the beginning of his Hiſtory, that the money of England was made of *pure* ſilver: but he muſt be underſtood to mean ſilver of the legal ſtandard, as oppoſed to the adulterated ſilver of the preceding reign, and perhaps alſo to the coins of other countries, ſome of which were now made of ſilver much inferior to the Engliſh ſtandard. The money of France, in particular, was ſo much debaſed about this time, that only a half of it was ſilver. [*Le Blanc, Traitè des monoyes, p.* xviii.]

with him. Henry made a ſuitable return of preſents, and in his anſwer thankfully accepted the emperor's alliance, which, he hoped, among other benefits, would promote the ſecurity and freedom of commerce between their territories. [*Radevic. Friſing. Geſta Friderici, L.* i, *c.* 7.]

1160—The friendſhip of Henry was courted, not only by the Chriſtian princes of Europe *, but alſo by the Mohamedans. The king of Valencia and Murcia in Spain ſoon after ſent him an embaſſy with magnificent preſents, conſiſting of the rare and rich productions of the Eaſt; and a proper return was made by Henry. [*Chron. Norm. p.* 998.] But whether any commercial arrangements were produced by this firſt friendly intercourſe of a king of England with a diſciple of Mohamed, we are not informed. If there were any, they moſt probably concerned only Henry's ſubjects in the ſouthern provinces of France.

The following hints are collected from the narrative of Benjamin, a Jew of Tudela in Spain, whoſe travels over a great part of the known world, begun in the year 1160 and continued to the year 1173, afford more information concerning the ſtate of the commercial part of the world, than can eaſily be collected from all the other writers of the age.

Barchinona (*Barcelona* in Spain) is an emporium frequented by the Greeks, Piſans, Genoeſe, Sicilians, Egyptians of Alexandria, and the people of the land of Iſrael (Paleſtine).—Montpelier is a place of great trade, whither, by means of the Genoeſe and Piſans, people of all nations, Saracens and Chriſtians, and among the reſt, the Engliſh †, reſort for traffick.—Genoa, an independent city, governed by magiſtrates choſen by the citizens.—In Thebes there are 2,000 Jews, workers in ſcarlet and purple.—Conſtantinople is a city abounding in wealth, and ſuperior to all others in the world, except Bagdad. The people are enervated by luxury and diſſipation, and too lazy to carry on an active commerce; and therefor merchants from every part of the world reſort to it by land and by ſea ‡. About 2,000 Jewiſh merchants, manufacturers of ſilk, &c. and tradeſmen, many of them very opulent, live in the ſuburb called Pera, not being permitted to reſide in the city.—In Antioch the houſes of the nobles are ſerved with water conveyed in wooden

* The ambaſſadors of Manuel emperor of Conſtantinople, Frederic emperor of Germany, the archbiſhop of Triers, the duke of Saxony, and the earl of Flanders, and alſo the advocates or ambaſſadors of the kings of Caſtile and Navarre, who came to ſubmit a controverſy between their ſovereigns to the arbitration of King Henry, were all at Weſtminſter in November 1177. [*M. Paris, p.* 132.] As in thoſe ages ambaſſadors were never ſent but upon extraordinary occaſions, the aſſemblage of ſo many in one court muſt have had a wonderful effect in impreſſing the Engliſh with high ideas of the wiſdom and power of their own ſovereign, and, by increaſing his reputation, make a real increaſe of his power.

† We ſhould certainly deceive ourſelves, if we were to ſuppoſe that Engliſh traders got to Montpelier by ſailing through the Straits of Gibraltar. The nature of their traffic is perhaps ſufficiently deſcribed by ſaying, it was conducted by means of the Genoeſe and Piſans.

‡ Not to interrupt Benjamin's narrative, I here obſerve [from *Guntheri Hiſt. Conſt. c.* 8] that the fiſhing veſſels (they are called ſhips) belonging to Conſtantinople were no fewer than ſixteen hundred; and the multitude of warlike and mercantile veſſels, aſſembled in its moſt ſecure harbour, was innumerable. There is reaſon to believe that very few of the mercantile veſſels belonged to citizens of Conſtantinople.

pipes from a mountain in the neighbourhood *.—Damaſcus is alſo ſupplied with water by pipes.—New Tyre, a place of conſiderable traffick, with a moſt commodious and ſecure harbour, ſtills keeps up its moſt antient pre-eminence in manufactures of glaſs-ware, and is alſo famous for excellent ſugar †.—The iſland of Nikrokis ‡ in the Perſian gulf is a ſtore-houſe for Indian goods and the produce of Perſia, Sinaar, Arabia, &c. the inhabitants being factors for the variety of ſtrangers concerned in the extenſive commerce of which it is the center.

'Some of the countries beyond Nikrokis, viſited by Benjamin, are not very eaſily to be aſcertained. In the iſland of Cheverag he was informed that Sin (ſuppoſed to be China) was at the diſtance of forty days ſailing in the Eaſt; and that beyond it there was a frozen ſea, and ſuch as ventured upon it were killed by the cold. In Egypt he remarks the abundant population, but has ſcarcely a word of the trade of Alexandria. Paſſing over into Europe, he traveled as far as Ruſſia, a country covered with woods, and producing animals called weiwerges and zeblinatz, ſuppoſed to be grey foxes or grey ſquirrels, and ſables §.

The city of Keſſin being deſtroyed by Henry the Lion duke of Saxony, the materials of its ruins were employed by Pribiſlaus, the laſt king of the Heruli, to incloſe a neighbouring village called Roſtock, the foundation of which is carried up by tradition to the year 329. Being thereby rendered more ſecure, it ſoon aſſumed the appearance of a city, and became a place of conſiderable commercial importance.

1162, June 5th—The Genoeſe, having come to an agreement with the emperor Frederic, received from him a diploma, which, in a pompous preamble, ſets forth his deſire of cheriſhing and protecting all his faithful ſubjects, eſpecially thoſe from whom he expects the moſt valuable ſervices and devotion to the empire. And therefor, becauſe he had heard that the Genoeſe from the firſt foundation of their city had raiſed there heads above all other maritime ſtates, and he ſhould have occaſion to make uſe of their ſervice, eſpecially in naval war, he makes known to all the ſubjects of the empire, that he grants to the conſuls and community of Genoa, as a fief, the power of levying military forces between Monaco and Porto Venere, whenever they ſhould have occaſion to raiſe any, ſaving, however, their fealty to the empire. He grants

* Ebn Haukal, an author at leaſt a century earlier than Benjamin, obſerves that 'the water flows through the ſtreets and amidſt the chief buildings' of Antakiah, or Antioch. [*Sir William Ouſeley's tranſlation, p.* 44.] He alſo notices the ſame accommodation in many other towns of Aſia.

† Sugar was, however, one of the articles *brought to* Paleſtine from Babylon by the caravan plundered by King Richard.

‡ This ſeems the ſame iſland, which is called Kiſ-ben-Omira by Abulfeda, and Chiſi (or Kiſi) by Marco Polo. It ſeems to have ſucceeded to the trade on the decline of Siraf, which was the chief emporium in the ninth century: and it, in its turn, was eclipſed by Ormuz. [See *Mem. de litterature V.* xxxvii, *pp.* 476, 508.]

§ The veracity of Benjamin has been much queſtioned; and in hiſtory he certainly wanders widely from the truth: but what, he ſays, he ſaw, ſeems to be worthy of credit. Perhaps his greateſt fault is being a Jew. He is very careful in noting the number of Jews in every place viſited by him; and it is obſervable, that a great proportion of them were dyers of wool.

them the power of chuſing their conſuls, diſpenſing juſtice, and puniſhing crimes, within their diſtrict. He confirms to them all their poſſeſſions at home and beyond ſea, particularly Syracuſe with a tract of land adjacent to it. He moreover grants them a ſtreet convenient for their merchants, together with a church, a bath, a factory (' fundicus'), and a bake-houſe, in every maritime city, which he may hereafter ſubdue, and alſo an exemption from duties and ſeveral charges in every country, which they ſhall aſſiſt him to conquer. He alſo grants them one half of the gold, ſilver money, and ſilk, which they ſhall take, the other half being for himſelf; and a quarter of all the gold and jewels, which ſhall be ſurrendered to him. He gives them the power of appointing one or more of their citizens to reſide in every country to which they trade, in order to diſpenſe juſtice according to *his* laws and good cuſtoms. And (what was perhaps the moſt agreeable of the whole, if indeed he had the right, or the power, to make it effectual) he authorizes them to prevent the French from ſailing to Sicily and the coaſt of Calabria; and he ſubjects the Venetians to the ſame reſtrictions, unleſs they ſhall conciliate his favour. [*Diploma ap. Muratori Antiq. V.* iv, *col.* 253.]

The delegation of the command of the ſea by a prince, who, with a ſounding title, poſſeſſed no maritime power himſelf, probably encouraged the Genoeſe in their pretenſions to a ſovereign juriſdiction upon the ſea, which they already exerciſed by granting licences to the merchants of other nations for trading by ſea, whereof their encomiaſtic hiſtorian, Baptiſta Burgus, has adduced ſeveral examples which ſeem to reſt upon very ſlender authority, and alſo ſome which appear to be more authentic, viz. In the year

1154—the citizens of Luca were permitted to trade upon the Genoeſe ſea with merchandize allowed by the laws of Genoa;

1156—Azolino of Placentia was permitted to ſend a veſſel annually to any port he thought proper with merchandize to the value of £150;

1184—Drogo de Conſilio and his brothers were permitted to ſend a veſſel annually to any port with a cargo of the value of £400, as citizens of Genoa;

1189—Cenſio Romano was permitted to go in, or to ſend, a veſſel anywhere upon the ſea of Genoa, free of any exaction, and carrying a cargo amounting to £200, whether belonging to himſelf or to others.

For theſe his authorities are the records of the city: and his being able to find ſo few in the courſe of ſo many years ſhows, that they were but ſeldom applied for.

1165—Axel (or Abſolon) biſhop of Lunden, having conſtructed a fort at an excellent harbour on the eaſt ſide of Zeland (or Seeland) in order to protect the merchant ſhips from pirates, ſome fiſhermen built a few cottages beſide it; and an inn being alſo built for the accommodation of ſtrangers, the name of the place was changed from Axel-hus to

Kiopmans haven (the merchants' harbour, which we, after the Germans, call Copenhagen), and it grew up in time to be a conſiderable commercial city and the capital of Denmark. [*Bertii Rer. Germ. L.* iii. *p.* 139.]

We have ſeen the herring fiſhery on the coaſt of Norway an object of conſiderable importance in the tenth century: and it is probable, though we have no certain information of it, that they then proceeded up the Baltic, and were taken by the nations bordering upon that ſea. About this time we have the firſt expreſs notice of a fiſhery for herrings within the Baltic, which was at the iſland of Rugen, and ſo conſiderable, when the ſtormy winds of November * drove them out of the Ocean to take ſhelter in the narrow channels of the Baltic, that great numbers of veſſels from various foreign countries uſed to repair thither to load with herrings. [*Helmoldi Chron. Slav. L.* ii, *c.* 12.]

About the ſame time the Dutch date the commencement of the herring fiſhery on their coaſt. The people of Ziriczee caught herrings on the coaſt of Briel (or Voorn), an iſland at the mouth of the Maeſe (or Meuſe); and their example was followed by thoſe of Zeland, Holland, and Weſt Friſeland, who fitted out ſmall veſſels called *ſabards* †, with which they repaired to the ſame fiſhing ground in the proper ſeaſon. Thoſe of Ziriczee are alſo ſaid to have been the firſt (of the Low-country people) who packed herrings in barrels; but they were very deficient in the manner of curing them. [*J. F. Petit, Chron. de Hollande, &c. V.* i, *p.* 184.] The Netherland writers have loſt ſight of their earlier fiſhery in the Firth of Forth. (See above, p. 325.)

The city of Lubeck, though founded ſo late as the year 1140 [*Bertii Rer. Germ. L.* iii, *p.* 177], had already, by means of its happy ſituation near the entrance of the Baltic ſea, attained ſo much commercial conſequence, as to attract the notice of the powerful commercial republic of Genoa, who courted the citizens of Lubeck to confederate with them againſt the Piſans, by a promiſe of carrying them upon the ſea on terms of equality with their own citizens, together with a gift of two houſes in Porto Venere and the tower of Motrone. In conſequence of this alliance we ſoon after find merchants of Lubeck trading in the Mediterranean onboard Genoeſe veſſels, one of which was taken on her return from Sicily by the Piſans in the year 1171. [*Brev. Hiſt. Piſ. ap. Muratori Script. V.* vi, *coll.* 179, 182.]

At this time the ſultan of Egypt granted the Chriſtians of Jeruſalem a free trade in his dominions; but that ſubſtantial advantage was almoſt

* The movements of the herrings are very capricious, both with reſpect to time and place. About the year 1500 they uſed to ſet in upon the coaſts of Gothland and Schonen in the beginning of harveſt, as we learn from Olaus Magnus, *L.* xx. In the year 1752, after having long deſerted thoſe coaſts, they appeared upon them in July and Auguſt. Since that time their arrival has gradually been later and later; and in the year 1780 it was in November, as in the age of Helmold. [*Anderſon's Account of the Hebrides (Weſtern iſlands) p.* 451.]

† Martin Schook calls them *Slabbaerts*. [*Differt. de harengis*, § 34.]

immediately loſt by the inordinate luſt for dominion of Amalric king of Jeruſalem. [*Gul. Tyr. Ll.* xix, xx.]

Dermit king of Leinſter in Ireland, being driven out of his dominions for his wickedneſs and tyranny, implored the aid of Henry king of England to reſtore him to his kingdom, which he offered to hold of him as his vaſſal. Henry, ſeeing ſo favourable an opportunity of availing himſelf of the pope's commiſſion for the conqueſt of Ireland, which he had hitherto allowed to lie dormant, very willingly received Dermit's oath of fealty. But declining to take upon himſelf the trouble and expenſe of the war, he put into Dermit's hands his letters patent, authoriſing his ſubjects to aſſiſt in reſtoring him as his vaſſal king of Leinſter, by means of which, and the promiſe of great rewards, Dermit prevailed on the earl of Pembroke and ſome others to engage in his cauſe. About the beginning of May 1169 the firſt detachment of the Engliſh adventurers landed in Ireland, and ſoon re-eſtabliſhed Dermit in his kingdom, a large portion of which was immediately allotted to them for their good ſervices. In the following year Dermit, according to agreement, gave his daughter in marriage, together with the right of ſucceſſion to his kingdom, to the earl of Pembroke.

The king of England, now finding that his ſubjects were making more progreſs in the conqueſt of Ireland than he expected or wiſhed, thought it was time for him to interfere. He iſſued an edict, prohibiting all his ſubjects from ſailing, or carrying any thing whatever, to Ireland, and ſtrictly enjoining all who were in that iſland to return before the enſuing Eaſter, under penalty of forfeiture. But being ſoothed by a letter of the earl of Pembroke, ſubmitting all his acquiſitions, as made under the royal auſpices, to his pleaſure, he allowed him and his aſſociates to retain all the lands they had acquired in Ireland, except Dublin and the other maritime towns, which he reſerved to be kept in his own hands.

1171—In order more fully to ſecure to himſelf the advantages of the conqueſt, he went over to Ireland with a ſufficient force; and ſoon after his arrival he received the homage of moſt of the inferior kings, and alſo of Roderic, the ſupreme king of Ireland. [*Gir. Cambr. Hib. exp. L.* i.—*Annales Hib. ap. Camd.*—*&c.*]

Thus was that great and fertile iſland apparently ſubjected to the crown of England. But it is eaſier to effect a rapid conqueſt of a country than to retain it. Henry's attention being immediately called to his continental territories, and all the ſucceeding kings of England being almoſt conſtantly engaged in foreign wars or civil commotions, the iſland was ſcarcely ever completely ſubjected to the Engliſh power, till the deliverance from continental dominions, and the union of the Britiſh crowns, enabled the government to act with more vigour than before.

During the invaſion of Ireland many of the principal citizens of Dub-

lin, who were Oſtmen, left the place with their moſt valuable effects, and, after ineffectual attempts to recover it by the aſſiſtance of ſhips and men obtained from their countrymen of Orkney and Mann, the greateſt number of them retired to thoſe iſlands. [*Hib. exp. L.* i, *c.* 17, *et ſeqq.*] The city being thus deprived of its moſt valuable inhabitants, King Henry, by a charter, now extant in the archives of Dublin, dated in the year 1272, gave his city of Divelin (*Dublin*) to be inhabited by his *men* of Briſtow (*Briſtol*), who had long carried on a commerce with Ireland. Though no notice is taken by the authors of that age of any colonies going over in conſequence of the king's grant, it may be preſumed that Dublin was ſoon repeopled, and in a flouriſhing condition; for William of Newburgh, a contemporary writer, [*L.* ii, *c.* 26] calls Divelin a noble maritime city, the metropolis of Ireland, and almoſt the rival of London for the commerce and abundance in its port. A ſubſequent charter of the ſame king to his *burgeſſes* of Dublin (not Divelin) grants them a free trade, with exemption from tolls, pontage, &c. in England, Normandy, Wales, and Ireland. [*Chart. in Append. n*. 1, 2 *of Lyttleton's Henry II, B.* v.] Camden ſays, that from that time Dublin continued in a flouriſhing condition, and that the citizens gave ſignal proofs of their attachment to the kings of England on many trying occaſions; [*Brit. p.* 571] whence it may be preſumed that they were moſtly Engliſh *.

About this time the diſcovery and population of America by the Welſh is ſuppoſed by ſome late writers to have taken place. According to Doctor Powel, [*Hiſt. of Wales, p.* 227] a Welſh prince called Madoc 'left the land in contention between his brethren, and prepared 'certain ſhips with men and munition, and ſought adventures by ſea, 'ſailing weſt, and leaving the coaſt of Ireland ſo far to the north, that 'he came to a land unknown, where he ſaw many ſtrange things,' in the year 1170. He 'left moſt of his people there, and returning back 'for more of his own nation, acquaintance, and friends, to inhabit that 'fair and large country, went thither again with ten ſails:' and he adds, '*as I find it noted by Gutryn Owen.*'

Much has been written upon this Welſh colony, which was ſuppoſed to confer upon Britain an unqueſtionable right to the ſovereignty of America. But, independent of the phyſical impoſſibility of copper-coloured Indians being deſcended from white Britons, and of the moral impoſſibility of Madoc returning from any country lying ſouth-weſt from Ireland, and finding his way to Britain by ſteering a courſe, without a compaſs, acroſs the broadeſt part of the Atlantic ocean, even ſuppoſing his new country to have been to the northward of the trade

* It appears that conſiderable numbers of Oſtmen remained in the other principal ports of Ireland in ſubjection to the Engliſh government, and it is probable that there were many of them alſo in Dublin. [See *Ware's Antiq. Hib. p.* 126, *ed.* 1654.]

winds, it is pretty evident that the ſtory muſt have been invented after voyages to and from America, and ſettlements of colonies in that continent, were common, and had become uſual ſubjects of converſation, even in the uncommercial country of Wales *.

The Grecian emperor Manuel, having quarreled with the republic of Venice, ſeized the perſons and effects of all the Venetian merchants he could find in his dominions. But Venetian merchants were not to be inſulted with impunity. The outrage was immediately chaſtiſed by a Venetian fleet of a hundred gallies, which compelled Manuel to ſubmit to terms of peace very humiliating to the pride of empire. This event, the ſecond within a few years which exhibits the Roman-Grecian empire inferior in military force and political importance to the commercial ſtates of Italy, is introduced here, chiefly on account of its being connected with the origin of the BANK OF VENICE. For the republic being oppreſſed by the charges of the war againſt the emperor of the Eaſt, and at the ſame time involved in hoſtilities with the emperor of the Weſt, the duke, Vitale Michel II, after having exhauſted every other financial reſource, was obliged to have recourſe to a forced loan from the moſt opulent citizens, each being required to contribute according to his ability. On this occaſion, and by the determination of the great council, *the chamber of loans* (' la camera degl' impreſtiti') was eſtabliſhed ; and the contributors to the loan were made creditors of the chamber, from which they were to receive an annual intereſt of four per cent †. [*Sanuto, Vite de duche di Venezia, ap. Muratori Script. V.* xxii, *col.* 502.] It may be preſumed that the rate of intereſt, ſo very far below the uſual ſtandard of the age, was compulſive, as well as the loan itſelf, and eſteemed a hardſhip upon the creditors.

* Gutryn Owen, the alleged author of the ſtory of Madoc's voyages and colony, is ſaid to have lived in the reign of Edward IV; and the authority of a manuſcript, *really written before the diſcovery of America by Columbus*, would be ſtrong indeed. But as Gutryn's manuſcript does not appear, nor even Lluyd's tranſlation of it into Engliſh, except as edited *with additions, corrections, and improvements*, by Powel in the year 1584, he muſt, for ought we ſee to the contrary, ſtand for the original author. Giraldus Cambrenſis, a Welſh author, who wrote an account of Wales about the end of the twelfth century (edited by the ſame Powel), has not a word of the ſtory, though ſufficiently fond of the marvelous. But the Britiſh origin of the Americans has obtained ſome imaginary ſupport from the caſual, perhaps ſtrained, reſemblance of ſome American words to the Welſh, remarked by Wafer in his voyage to Darien, and by ſome others in other parts of America: and, as fables, like ſnowballs, increaſe by rolling along, the author of the Turkiſh ſpy [*V.* viii, *p.* 159] *diſcovered*, that the tomb of Madoc is ſtill to be ſeen in the country of the Tuſcoraras and Doegs, two American tribes very remote from each-other. So the childiſh ſtory of Whittington and his cat may be *verified* by a ſtone, actually inſcribed with his name, ſtanding at the ſide of the road between Iſlington and Highgate, and ſet up, one would think, with an intention to ſtamp the appearance of veracity upon fable.—Colonel Vallancey [*Collectanea, n°.* x, *p.* 168] has found a way of accounting for the identity of names and cuſtoms in America (even as far ſouth as Peru) with thoſe of Ireland, founded on a conjecture of Varenius that the north part of America once adhered to Ireland, and the diſcovery of a bank extending from Ireland to Newfoundland. And ſo the population of America, that perplexing ſubject of diſquiſition, appears to have been from Ireland.—I have ſeen an account of the population of Ireland *from* America.

† ' A raggione del quattro per cento di prò.'—If it was ſo expreſſed in the original record from which Sanuto extracted his account, it is an earlier inſtance of the calculation *per cent* than that found in the Venetian laws, to be noticed under the year 1242.

It is preſumable (for no authentic documents, capable of aſcertaining the facts with indiſputable certainty, are, I believe, anywhere to be found) that the creditors, after continuing for ſome time no other way connected than by the ſimilarity of their ſituation with reſpect to the republic, were incorporated as a company, in order to manage their joint concerns, and that ſucceſſive improvements upon their ſyſtem of management, and new ideas ſuggeſted by the vaſt increaſe of the Venetian commerce, gradually produced the bank of Venice, which is generally acknowleged to be the moſt antient eſtabliſhment of the kind in the world *, and to have been, in a greater or leſs degree, the model of all the banks, which were ſet up, firſt in ſome other commercial cities on the coaſt of the Mediterranean ſea, and in proceſs of time in almoſt every city and town in Europe. This bank was eſtabliſhed on ſuch judicious principles, and has been conducted through the revolution of many centuries with ſuch prudence, that, though the government have twice, ſince its eſtabliſhment, made free with its funds, its credit has remained inviolate and unimpeached. Payments are made in it by transfers, or writing off the ſum to be paid from the account of the payer to that of the receiver, without having the trouble of weighing gold or ſilver. If I miſtake not, this bank is alſo the moſt antient eſtabliſhment of a permanent national debt, or the funding ſyſtem, which is now carried to ſuch a height in almoſt every country of Europe.

1172—The Piſans ſent ambaſſadors to the emperor of Conſtantinople, who renewed the alliance made with the emperor's father, and obtained from him the reſtoration of the wharfs or landing places † they had formerly poſſeſſed in Conſtantinople, permiſſion for the Piſans, whom he had baniſhed, to return, and payment of the arrears for fifteen years of the annual ſum of 500 byzants and two palls (rich robes or cloaks) due to the republic, and 50 byzants and one pall to the archbiſhop, the whole being 8,040 byzants and 45 palls. Three ambaſſadors from the emperor, with three imperial gallies, went to Piſa, where the treaty was confirmed in full parliament (' in publico parlamento'). [*Brev. Hiſt. Piſ. ap. Muratori Script. V.* vi, *col.* 186.] Thus was the humiliation of the Greek empire diſplayed in tranſactions with each of the three principal commercial ſtates of Italy.

King Henry revived a law of his grandfather's, aboliſhing the right, formerly aſſumed by ſovereigns and proprietors of the land, of ſeizing the property of veſſels wrecked upon their ſhores, and declaring, that,

* Under the year 1401 we ſhall ſee that Barcelona claims the honour of having eſtabliſhed the firſt bank of exchange and depoſit.

† 'Scalas.'—I am not certain of having rightly tranſlated the word. The French, and other nations bordering on the Mediterranean, give the name of *eſchelle* or *ſcala* to any port in the Levant where a conſul is eſtabliſhed. But ſuch a meaning cannot be applied here, eſpecially as the word is in the plural.

whenever any veſſel ſhould be wrecked upon the coaſt of England, Poictou, Gaſcoigne, or the iſland of Oleron, if any one human creature, or even a beaſt, belonging to her, were found alive, the property ſhould be preſerved for the owners, who ſhould be allowed three months to make their claim; failing which, the wreck ſhould belong to the king. [*Fœdera Angliæ*, *V.* i, *p.* 36.]

It is not unworthy of remark, that in this equitable proceeding, which was a revival of the Rhodian law and the law of the good Roman emperor Antoninus, Henry ſet an example, which was followed by the Greek emperor Andronicus and the Roman pontiff Alexander III.

1175—About this time William king of Scotland made the village adjacent to the cathedral church of Glaſgow a burgh ſubject to the biſhop. In the charter there is no mention of a gild, or any mercantile privileges, or of any trade whatever, except the liberty of having a market on the Thurſdays. A ſubſequent charter of the ſame king grants the biſhop the privilege of holding an annual fair. [*Chart. in Gibſon's Hiſt. of Glaſgow*, *pp.* 299, 302.] Such was the infant ſtate of the great and flouriſhing commercial city of Glaſgow.

1176—A new bridge of ſtone was begun on the weſt ſide of the old wooden bridge of London *. It appears to have had a wooden draw-bridge † at each end for allowing veſſels to paſs up the river to Edred's hithe, or Queen-hithe, which was then, and long after, a principal landing-place, where the veſſels of the Cinque ports and others diſcharged their cargoes of corn, fiſh, ſalt, fuel, &c. and to the other wharfs or landing-places above the bridge. In thoſe days the art of conſtructing piers in the water was not known, and therefor the river was turned into a new channel, ſuppoſed to have been drawn between Batterſea and Redriffe, during the building, which was not finiſhed till the year 1209. [*An. Waverl. ap. Gale*, *p.* 161.—*Stow's Survey*, *pp.* 50, 52, 682, *ed.* 1618.]

1177—The vanity of Venice and the arrogance of the church of Rome were gratified by the duke accepting a ring from Pope Alexander III, whom the republic had aſſiſted in his war againſt the emperor and the rival popes, as an emblem of the marriage of the republic to the Adriatic ſea, which his holineſs, in imitation of his predeceſſors (who had lately made gifts of the iſlands of Sardinia, Corſica, Sicily,

* Fabyan [*Cronycle*, *f.* xv b] ſays, the wooden bridge was under the management of a fraternity or college of prieſts, and the ſtone building was undertaken by the great aid of the citizens and others paſſing the bridge. He dates the commencement of the building in 1210. But the authority of annals, apparently contemporary, is ſurely preferable, unleſs contradicted by any record remaining in the archives of the city. Mr. Mylne, in his Report to the committee for regulating the port of London, ſays, that the *preſent* bridge ſtands on the original bottom, though it was very unſcientifically conſtructed. [*Third Report of the committee*, *&c. p.* 29.]

† The draw-bridge was cut down in the year 1553 to prevent Wyat from entering the city. But it was rebuilt; and Stow deſcribes it as exiſting in his own time. [*Annales*, *p.* 1046; *Survey*, *p.* 53.]

and Ireland), gave to the republic, as a wife to be under the dominion and protection of her huſband *. From that time the dukes of Venice have annually renewed the ceremony of the marriage, by throwing a gold ring into the boſom of their ſpouſe from the deck of a ſuperb veſſel called the Bucentaur.

1180—Notwithſtanding the attention of Henry II to the ſtate of the current money in the beginning of his reign, it was now again ſo much debaſed, that he was under the neceſſity of making another entire new coinage of round money. Though the goldſmiths and ſilverſmiths of England were famous throughout Europe, Henry on this occaſion choſe to bring an artiſt, called Philip Aymari, from Tours (a city in his paternal territories on the continent, which gives its name to the current money of France) to execute his coinage. But Aymari, being found guilty of debaſing the ſtandard of the coin, was diſmiſſed with diſgrace; and the Engliſh coiners, whoſe frauds had produced the neceſſity of the recoinage, were puniſhed. [*R. de Diceto, col.* 611.—*Gerv. Dorob. col.* 1457.—*Hoveden, f.* 341 a.]

1181—King Henry, in his *Aſſiſe of arms*, ſtrictly commanded that no one ſhould buy or ſell any ſhip to be carried out of England, or engage any ſeaman (' maireman') to go into foreign ſervice. [*Hoveden, f.* 350 b.] As the order was merely a military precaution, it ſeems going too far to infer from it that Engliſh-built veſſels were eſteemed ſuperior to thoſe of other nations, or were coveted by foreigners. England needs not claim any doubtful naval renown. But Henry's attention to that beſt ſafeguard of his kingdom muſt alſo, though unintentionally, have been beneficial to the commerce of England.

1189—There is good reaſon to believe that England was in a proſperous condition, and that its manufactures and commerce were in a progreſſive ſtate of improvement during the long reign of Henry II. Henry of Huntingdon, who wrote in the early part of his reign, begins his Hiſtory with a florid deſcription of Britain, or England, (for with him theſe names are ſynonymous) wherein he ſays, that mines of copper, iron, tin, and lead, are abundant, and that there are ſome, though but few, mines of ſilver †. Silver, however, is brought from Germany by way of the River Rhine for our wonderful plenty of fleſh and fiſh (the abundance of herrings and oyſters is particularly noted), our moſt pretious wool, our milk (probably converted into butter and cheeſe),

* His holineſs made a ſad blunder with reſpect to the ſexes of the parties. An antient poet would have married the god Hadria, the ſon of Neptune, to the nymph Venetia, the daughter of the river god Medoacus. In claſſical or poetical language Hadria, the name of that ſea, is maſculine, and all republics are of the feminine gender.

† This aſſertion of Henry may be alleged againſt thoſe writers who affirm that there were no mines of ſilver in England. But it would be much more important and ſatisfactory, were there not reaſon to apprehend that he writes, not from his own knowlege, but from Bede. At this time there was a rich ſilver mine in Wales between Lanelwy (*St. David's*) and Baſingwerk. [*Gir. Cambr. Itin. Cambriæ, L.* ii, *c.* 10.] I have already, under the year 1153, noticed a ſilver mine in Cumberland, belonging to David king of Scotland.

and cattle innumerable; ſo that ſilver is even more plenty in England than in Germany; and all the money of England is made of pure ſilver.

In this brief enumeration of goods exported there is no mention of corn; and indeed there is no reaſon to believe that the agriculture of the country was ſo far advanced as often to produce more than was neceſſary for the home conſumption. Some exportation of corn, however, there was; for in the year 1181 a fine was paid to the king for licence to ſhip corn from Norfolk and Suffolk for Norway: but without a licence and payment for it, which ſeems equivalent to a cuſtom duty, it appears that it could not be exported. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the exchequer, c.* 13, § 3, *note k; c.* 14, § 7, *note r*, § 15, *notes o, p.*]

Lead was exported in great quantities to all parts of Europe, the roofs of the principal churches, palaces, and caſtles, being generally covered with it. [*Madox, c.* 14, § 15.—*Hiſt. lit. del a France, V.* ix, *p.* 221.] The exportation of tin was alſo very conſiderable, the mines of Cornwall and Devon-ſhire, which for many ages ſupplied all Europe, affording a large proportion of the royal revenue. [*M. Paris, p.* 570.—*Fœdera, V.* i, *p.* 243.]

It has been preſumed, with a probability approaching very near to certainty, that wool was a principal article of the exports of this country before the Norman conqueſt: (See above, p. 288) and the exportation of it appears to have been ſtill very conſiderable, though the home manufacture undoubtedly worked up large quantities of it; for, according to an hyperbolical account of the commerce of the country, introduced by Mathew of Weſtminſter in his Hiſtory, [*p.* 396, *ed.* 1601] all the nations of the world uſed to be kept warm by the wool of England, which was made into cloth by the Flemiſh manufacturers.

Though I have found no expreſs mention in any Engliſh author of the exportation of woollen cloth in this age, there can be little doubt that the Flemings ſettled in Wales, who are ſaid to have poſſeſſed the knowlege of commerce as well as manufactures, exported ſome of the cloths they made. The hiſtorian of the Orkneys informs us, that two merchant ſhips from England bound for Dublin, loaded with *Engliſh cloths* (probably the manufacture of the Flemings) and other goods of great value, were taken near Dublin, before the conqueſt of Ireland by the Engliſh, by an Orkney pirate called Swein *, who on his return home covered his ſails with the ſcarlet cloths, and therefor called that his ſcarlet cruiſe. [*Torfæi Orcades, L.* i, *c.* 37.]

The exportation of ſlaves, notwithſtanding ſeveral laws or canons

* That man wanted only a more extenſive field of action, and to have his exploits recorded by authors more generally known, to be as illuſtrious a ruffian as ever figured in hiſtory. In ſtratagem and cunning he was fully equal to Ulyſſes; in wickedneſs and ingratitude ſcarcely inferior to Auguſtus; and in ſetting up, and depoſing, his liege lords, the earls of Orkney, he may be compared to the celebrated king-maker, the earl of Warwick.

made againſt it, particularly in the council of Weſtminſter in the year 1102, [*Eadmer, p.* 68] was not entirely given up in the reign of Henry II. Merchants, but apparently more frequently robbers and pirates, exported ſlaves, who were partly trepanned, and were partly children bought of wretched parents, who were in great want. In the year 1172 the reſolution of the Iriſh, who had hitherto been great purchaſers of Engliſh ſlaves, to buy no more, and to ſet at liberty thoſe they had, [*Giraldi Cambr. Hib. exp. L.* i, *c.* 18] gave a great check to that inhuman trade. After that time, though there occur frequent notices of ſlaves transferred from one proprietor to another *, and of the prices paid for them, we do not, I believe, find them any longer mentioned as articles of foreign trade.

The other articles exported from England at this time, ſuch as honey, wax, cheeſe, ſalmon, &c. were apparently trifling in quantity and value.

Of the imports of England at this time, wine, produced in the king's French dominions, formed a very conſiderable part. Some woad for dying, together with ſpiceries, jewels, ſilks, furs, and other luxuries †, conſtituted the remainder. In years of ſcarcity corn was alſo imported; and the ſtores of it collected in London made that city be called the granary of the whole kingdom. [*W. Malmſb. Geſta pont. f.* 133 b.]

All the goods imported into England, except wine, woad, and occaſionally corn, were in demand only among the ſuperior ranks; and, though they were ſold at very high prices, they amounted to but an inconſiderable ſum upon the whole. On the other hand, the goods exported, being adapted to the wants of all the claſſes of mankind, were in great and general demand: and thence there was a large balance in favour of England, which produced the abundance of ſilver remarked by Henry of Huntingdon. But there is reaſon to apprehend that much of the money brought in by the commerce of the country was ſoon taken out of the circulation of productive induſtry, and locked up in the dead hoards of the great clergy and ſome of the nobles. Roger archbiſhop of York died in 1181, poſſeſſed of 11,000 pounds of ſilver and 300 pieces of gold ('aurei'), beſides a gold cup and a conſiderable quantity of ſilver plate. [*M. Paris, p.* 140.]

The great wealth of the kingdom, though perhaps very ill divided, together with the policy of converting the king's ſhare of the produce of the crown lands, formerly paid in kind, into money rents, and the great length of his reign, enabled Henry II to amaſs ſo much treaſure, that he could bequeath above forty thouſand marks of ſilver, and five

* In the year 1195 the archbiſhop of Canterbury gave ten ſlaves, as part of the price of the manor of Lambeth, to the prior of Rocheſter. [*Fœdera, V.* i, *p.* 89.]

† Of theſe ſome ſpecification may be found in Fitz-Stephen's deſcription of London in this reign. See above, p. 329.

hundred marks of gold to, what he ſuppoſed, religious and charitable purpoſes *.

At this time the woollen manufacture was very widely extended over the country: for, beſides the colony of Flemiſh weavers in Wales, who were probably the inſtructors of all the reſt, and the company, or gild, of weavers eſtabliſhed in London, it appears, that there were ſimilar companies of the ſame trade in Oxford, York, Nottingham, Huntingdon, Lincoln, and Wincheſter; and all of them, agreeable to the policy of the age, paid fines to the king for the privilege of carrying on their manufacture excluſive of all others in their towns. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the exchеq. c.* 10, § 5.] But there were alſo dealers in Bedford, Beverley and other towns of York-ſhire, Norwich, Huntingdon, Northampton, Glouceſter, Nottingham, Newcaſtle upon Tine, Lincoln, Stanford, Grimſby, Barton, Lafford, S^t. Albans, Baldock, Berkhamſtead, and Cheſterfield, who paid fines to the king, that they might freely buy and ſell *dyed* cloths; ſome of their licences alſo containing a permiſſion to ſell cloths of any breadth whatever. As the Engliſh had not yet attained any conſiderable degree of proficiency in the art of dying, and as foreigners were not bound by the Engliſh regulations for the breadth of cloths, it may be apprehended, that the cloths ſold by thoſe woollen drapers were the fine coloured goods of the manufacture of Flanders: and the red, ſcarlet, and green, cloths, enumerated among the articles in the wardrobe of King Henry II, were moſt probably of the ſame foreign manufacture. [See *Madox's Hiſt. of the exchеq. c.* 10, § 12; *c.* 13, § 3.]

Henry II, in the 31^ſt year of his reign, gave the weavers of London a confirmation of their gild with all the freedoms they enjoyed in the reign of Henry I; and in the patent he directed, that, if any weaver mixed Spaniſh wool with Engliſh in making cloth, the chief magiſtrate of London ſhould burn it. [*Stow's Survey of London, p.* 515, *ed.* 1618.] From ſuch a regulation it ſeems probable, that Engliſh wool was then ſuperior to that of Spain, which in later times has obtained the firſt character †.

The Engliſh goldſmiths ſtill preſerved the reputation acquired by

* The 500 marks of gold were to make marriage portions for women of free (or genteel) condition, who were in need of aſſiſtance; a laudable and noble bequeſt. All the reſt was for the ſupport of the holy war, and the maintenance of drones of both ſexes in convents. [See the will in *Fœdera, V.* i, *p.* 37.] The whole amount of his treaſure is ſtated by Hoveden [*f.* 374 a] at *above a hundred thouſand marks*, which is increaſed by Mathew Paris [*p.* 152, *ed.* 1640] to *above nine hundred thouſand pounds*, beſides valuable utenſils, jewels, and pretious ſtones. But the later ſum being incredibly great (in fact not leſs in real value than fourteen or fifteen millions of modern money), I ſuſpect that *nongenta* (nine hundred) has crept into the text for *nonaginta* (ninety), the number according to Benedictus Abbas; and poſſibly pounds have alſo been inadvertently ſubſtituted for marks.

† The 'lanæ pretioſiſſimæ' (moſt pretious wool) of Henry of Huntingdon, [*f.* 170 a] an author of this age, if we may give full credit to his ſuperlative language, ſeems to countenance the belief of the ſuperiority of Engliſh wool, which will be further illuſtrated by facts, to be narrated in the ſubſequent part of this work.

their predeceſſors. Anketil, a monk of S^t. Albans, about the beginning of the twelfth century, was ſo famous for his works in gold, ſilver, gilding, and jewelery, that he was invited by the king of Denmark to ſuperintend his works in gold, and to be his banker, or money-changer. A pair of candleſticks made of ſilver and gold, and preſented by Robert, abbat of S^t. Albans, to Pope Adrian IV, were ſo much eſteemed for their exquiſite workmanſhip, that they were conſecrated to S^t. Peter, and were the principal means of obtaining high eccleſiaſtical diſtinctions for the abbay. Neither were the Engliſh ladies of this age leſs famous for their works in embroidery than thoſe of the Anglo-Saxon race. The ſame abbat alſo ſent the pope a preſent of mitres and ſandals moſt *wonderfully* embroidered by the hands of Chriſtina, prioreſs of Margate. [*M. Paris, Vitæ, pp.* 59, 71, 73.] More examples of the ſuperiority of the Engliſh male and female artiſts in thoſe branches might be produced, if it were neceſſary.

As flax and hemp are enumerated by the council of Weſtminſter in the year 1175, along with corn, wine, the increaſe of animals, wool, cheeſe, and all other things annually reproduced, as ſubject to the payment of tithes, it appears that ſome flax and hemp were cultivated, which could only be for the purpoſe of making cloth and cordage. [*Gervas. Dorob. col.* 1431.] The cultivation of them was probably introduced, or at leaſt became ſo general as to attract the notice of the clergy, after the conqueſt; for they are not included in the liſt of tithable articles made out in the fourth year of William the Conqueror: but, on the other hand, the profits made by mills and by merchandize (' negotiationibus'), which are charged then, [*Knyghton, col.* 2356] are now omitted.

May 7^th—Frederic emperor of Germany, at the requeſt of Adolphus earl of Schowenborch, gave a charter to his (Adolphus's) citizens of Hamborch, granting them a free paſſage for their ſhips and men from the ſea to their city, without paying any toll or ungelt, or any impoſition whatever in coming or returning; but with a condition, that the goods of ſtrangers, brought in their veſſels, ſhould pay duty to the emperor at his city of Stade *. He grants them an exemption from all exactions in the whole diſtrict belonging to the earl, and the right of preventing any perſon from building a caſtle within two miles of their city, with the right of fiſhing in the Elbe two miles above, and two miles below, the city. Alſo any perſon, deſirous of exchanging money in the city, might do it in any place moſt convenient, except before the money-houſe: and the community had authority to examine the weight and ſtandard of the money iſſued by the coiners †. The charter alſo exempts the

* Stade is ſituated at the mouth of a ſmall river running into the ſouth-weſt ſide of the Elbe, below Hamburgh. About the year 1000, the Daniſh pirates plundered the banks of the Elbe as high as this town. [*Helmoldi Chr. Slavorum, L.* i, *c.* 15.]

† That I may not be accuſed of neglecting ſo important an object in commercial hiſtory as *the firſt*

citizens from expeditions, and beſtows ſeveral other privileges agreeable to the manners of the age. [*Charta in Lambecii Orig. Hamb. p.* 83.]

After the Norman conqueſt London appears to have been governed for ſome time by a portgeref and a provoſt conjunctly *. The empreſs Matilda, as queen of England, appointed Godfrey Magnaville to be portgeref and ſhirref of London and Middleſex. In the reign of her ſon, King Henry II, we ſee no more provoſts, but find the names of ſeveral portgerefs, or portgraves, who ſeem to have remained in office many years, perhaps for life. In ſome records the principal magiſtrates of London are alſo called ſhirrefs (vicecomites), domeſmen, and aldermen: but it is not, I believe, known, whether thoſe titles ſucceeded each other as belonging to the ſame office of magiſtracy, or belonged to co-exiſting offices. In the firſt year of King Richard, the oldeſt ſurviving ſon of Henry II, the city began to have two ſhirrefs, or bailifs, and a mayor, who was the chief magiſtrate. This year, at Michaelmas, Henry Fitz-Alwin was appointed by the king to be the firſt mayor, and he retained the office above twenty-four years. [*Stow's Survey of London, pp.* 914, 915.]

Immediately after the commencement of Fitz-Alwin's mayorality, an excellent regulation for the ſafety of the lives and properties of the inhabitants of London took place. The houſes being built of timber, with roofs of ſtraw or reeds, fires were very frequent: and, in order to prevent ſuch calamities, it was ordered, that the houſes in the city ſhould thenceforth be built of ſtone up to a certain height, and covered with ſlate or tile. That ſafe and ſubſtantial mode of building was generally perſevered in for about two hundred years, after which timber buildings again came in uſe. [*Manuſcripts quoted by Stow, Survey, pp.* 131, 533.]

In the reign of Henry II the Jews had met with ſome relaxation of the rigorous treatment to which they had formerly been ſubjected. Deſirous of conciliating the favour of the new king by valuable gifts, ſome of the chief men among them, aſſembled from various parts of the kingdom, went to preſent their offerings on the day of the coronation (September 3[d]), but were rudely repulſed by the guards, who alleged the king's order for excluding them. The rabble ſomehow got a notion

firſt notice of bills of exchange, I muſt here give a part of the charter in the original words.—'Argentum quoque in ipſa civitate ſi quis cambiare 'voluerit, in quocunque loco fuerit opportunum, 'cambiat, niſi fuerit ante domum monetæ. Po- 'teſtatem etiam habeant examinandi denarios mo- 'netariorum in pondere et puritate.' From theſe words Mr. Anderſon, by a ſtrange inadvertency, concludes, that the emperor gave the Hamburghers 'liberty to negociate money by exchange, &c. 'which laſt privilege ſhews, that *Hamburg* muſt 'have been a conſiderable place of commerce, ſince 'bills of exchange, or moneys remitted by exchange, 'were very *new* at this time in *Europe*, and were 'then in uſe only in the moſt conſiderable cities 'of commerce.'—*Domus monetæ*, which I have cloſely tranſlated *the money-houſe*, ſeems to be the *mint*.

* Some hints concerning the magiſtracy, &c. of London before the conqueſt, may be ſeen in p. 297.

that the king had given orders to kill the Jews, and being eager to imitate the zeal of their ſovereign, and to ſerve God by deſtroying that devoted race, whom, as well as the Saracens, they called *God's enemies*, a dreadful carnage enſued, which was continued through the whole day in defiance of the king's command for the mob to diſperſe, ſent by ſome of his principal courtiers, and was followed by a conflagration of the houſes, and pillage of the property, of all the Jews in London.

1190—The king's wrath for the diſgrace brought upon the ſolemnity of his coronation feſtival, and the contempt of his authority, together with his protection publicly granted to the ſurviving Jews, reſtrained the malice of the people againſt them, while he remained in England. But, as ſoon as he left the kingdom, the fury broke out anew after his departure; and the maſſacres and enormities of London were repeated upon the Jews of Lynne, Norwich, Stanford, Lincoln, S^t^. Edmundſbury, and York.

At the later city the tragedy was begun by burning the houſe, which contained the widow and children of one of the principal martyrs to the fury of the London mob. Thereupon about five hundred Jews ſhut themſelves up in the caſtle, by the permiſſion of the governor, with their families and their moſt valuable and portable effects *, and there ſuſtained a ſiege, till their proviſions were expended, and they were driven to the ſhocking extremity of murdering with their own hands their wives and children, and then themſelves, after ſetting fire to the buildings in order to deſtroy their property as much as poſſible, and to involve ſome timid apoſtates in the general deſtruction †. After this dreadful cataſtrophe, the beſiegers, in order to deprive the unhappy heirs of the victims, if any remained, of their property, went to the cathedral, where the bonds for their debts were preſerved, which they forced from the keepers, and ſolemnly committed to the flames in the middle of the church: and then many of them, who had engaged themſelves to go to the holy war, deliberately ſet out upon their expedition. Such was the event of the perſecution which the Jews ſuffered, not for their religion, but for their wealth, to which the mob were ſpurred on, as confeſſed by William of Newburgh, a contemporary writer, by the debtors of the Jews, and alſo by ſome of the clergy, and a hot-headed hermit. [*W. Newbrig. L.* iv, *cc.* 1, 7-11.—*M. Paris*, *p.* 157.] But theſe horrid deeds afford a me-

* The governor thought it his duty to protect the Jews, or at leaſt their property, 'tanquam 'gazas regias.'—'Fiſco enim competit, quicquid 'Judæi, quos fœneratores conſtat eſſe regios, in 'bonis habere videntur.' [*W. Newbrig. L.* iv, *cc.* 9, 11.]

† After the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, Eleazar and his aſſociates, who had defended the caſtle of Maſſada againſt the Romans, in the like manner determined, when they found they could hold out no longer, to put their wives, their children, and themſelves, to death, and to ſet fire to the fort, which they actually executed: and only two women and a few children, who had ſhrunk from the general carnage and hid themſelves, were left to give the Romans an account of the ſacrifice of the ſelf-devoted garriſon. [*Joſephi Bell. Jud. L.* vii, *c.* 28.]

lancholy proof of the proſperity of the towns wherein they were perpetrated; for Jews are never found but in opulent places.

Richard, almoſt immediately after he was crowned king of England, reſolved to deſert his kingdom in order to accompany the king of France on an expedition for the recovery of the Holy land from the Mohamedans: and he was perhaps the moſt ardently-zealous champion, that ever religious frenzy tranſported to Aſia. To that holy warfare the great treaſures left by his father, amounting by the moſt moderate account to about a hundred thouſand marks, were conſecrated, and alſo all the money he could ſcrew out of his ſubjects, and all that he could ſcrape together by the ſale of every thing that he could poſſibly ſell* [*W. Newbrig. L.* iv, *c.* 5.—*Hoveden, f.* 376 a, 377 b, 378 b.] One happy effect to both the Britiſh kingdoms of his eagerneſs for amaſſing money was the reſtoration of the caſtles of Rokeſburgh and Berwick to William king of Scotland, together with a reſignation of the acknowlegement of ſuperiority extorted from him by Henry II, in conſequence of his being ſurpriſed and made priſoner by the barons of York-ſhire; for which recovery of his own rights William paid him ten thouſand marks, [*Fœdera, V.* i, *p.* 64] a ſum greatly exceeding in real value a million of modern money†. This large ſum‡ was raiſed by William from his ſubjects, not without an exertion of royal authority; and even the clergy were not exempted from the contribution. [*W. Newbrig, L.* iv, *c.* 5.—*Chart. Scon. quoted in Dalrymple's Annals of Scotland, V.* 1, *p.* 132.]

As Richard's expedition to the Holy land is unconnected with commercial hiſtory, it will be ſufficient to notice his fleet and his naval operations. His ſhips, collected from all the ports of England and the weſt coaſt of France, which was entirely ſubject to him and his mother, formed the fineſt fleet, that had ever been under the command of a king of England. The number is variouſly ſtated by the different authors, and Geffrey de Viniſauf §, who was in the expedition, only ſays, that the people of Meſſana in Sicily, at which port the Engliſh and French fleets had their rendezvous, never ſaw, nor ever will ſee, on their coaſt ſo great and ſo fine a fleet as that of England. According to other authors of good credit, there were 13 veſſels, larger than the reſt, called buſſes‖,

* An author of that age remarks, that, if all the obligations exacted by Richard within four months were diſcharged in the following year, he ſurpaſſed all his predeceſſors in wealth. [*R. de Diceto, col.* 650.]

† The value of money has fluctuated ſo much, or rather been ſo much depreſſed, in the courſe of compoſing this work, that I may have uſed different ſtandards in converting antient money into modern. The ſtandard, fixed by Lord Lyttleton in his Life of Henry II, of ten modern pounds for one mark of the age of Henry (or fifteen for one) was certainly much too low, even when he wrote.

‡ The much larger ſum of £100,000, ſaid to have been paid by William to Henry II for his ranſom, appears to have been advanced by Hector Boyſe out of the inexhauſtible treaſury of his own invention.

§ From his very copious account of Richard's expedition [*ap. Gale, Script. Angl. V.* ii.] I have extracted all the naval information of this period, except that for which other authors are particularly quoted.

‖ Viniſauf calls the largeſt of Richard's veſſels *dromons* (or dromunds), and ſays, he appointed one of them to carry his bride and his ſiſter, the queen dowager

ſailed with a triple ſpread of ſails *, about 50 armed gallies, and 100 tranſports or veſſels of burthen. Beſides theſe, there were 106 veſſels, which had aſſembled at Liſbon, coaſted round Spain as far as Marſeille, and thence took a departure for Syria, without touching at any other land. [*Hoveden, f.* 382 a.]

All theſe veſſels rowed and alſo ſailed. The gallies were adorned with innumerable pencils (or pennants) waving in the wind, and banners, or ſtandards, ('ſignis') fixed in graceful order on the tops of the ſpears. The *roſtra*, or beaks, were diſtinguiſhed by the variety of their paintings or figures; and the prows of the veſſels ſhone with the light reflected from the ſhields fixed upon them. Modern veſſels, ſays Viniſauf, have greatly fallen off from the magnificence of antient times, when the gallies carried three, four, five, and even ſix, tires of oars, whereas now they rarely exceed two tires. The gallies, antiently called *Liburnæ*, are long, ſlender, and low, with a beam of wood fortified with iron, commonly called a ſpur, projecting from the head, for piercing the ſides of the enemy. There are alſo ſmall gallies, called galeons, which being ſhorter and lighter, ſteer better, and are fitter for throwing fire.

Ships ſometimes ventured, at leaſt in the Mediterranean, to loſe ſight of land; but gallies never left the ſhore †. [*Hoveden, f.* 382 b, 404 a.—*Bromton, col.* 1217.] In order to keep the fleet from diſperſing in the night-time, a lantern was carried aloft by the king's veſſel, which led the way to the whole fleet.

dowager of Sicily. The ſame veſſel he elſewhere calls a *buſs* ('buza'): ſo *buſs* and *dromon*, or *dromund*, appear, at leaſt ſometimes, to have been uſed promiſcuouſly. [Compare *Viniſauf, pp.* 316, 320—*R. de Diceto, col.* 661.—*M. Paris, p.* 162.—*Bromton, col.* 1201.]

The commentators, carried away by Greek etymology, tell us that the *dromund* was a light faſt-ſailing veſſel, ſo called from δρομος, a *race*. It is more than probable, that the word is Arabic: and the examples quoted by Spelman, [*Archæol. vo. Dromunda*] who has therein condeſcended to copy Iſidore, are rather at variance with his definition and etymology. Viniſauf repeatedly characterizes the *dromons* as heavy and dull-ſailing veſſels.

* 'Triplici velorum expanſione velificatas.' [*M. Paris, p.* 162.] They ſeem to have had three maſts, each carrying only one ſail. We are not told, I believe, how many maſts the gallies had. In eighty years after we find ſome of the veſſels belonging to an aſſociation of cruſading kings, which are remarked as very large, carrying two ſails each. [*Hemingford, L.* iii, *c.* 34.]

† Viniſauf expreſsly ſays [*p.* 274] that the kind of veſſel, which the antients called a *liburna*, was in his time (the twelfth century) called a *galley*, in Latin *galea*, which word is uſed on every occaſion of mentioning ſuch veſſels by *all* the writers of the middle ages. Yet Stella, a Genoeſe chronicler of the fifteenth century, is very angry with his contemporaries for uſing the word *galea*, which he takes every opportunity of ſtigmatizing as a corruption of language *lately* introduced by *idiots*. See particularly his Chronicle at A. D. 1146, 1416, *ap. Muratori Script. V.* xvii.

Flying fiſhes, which the pilgrims had ſeen near Sardinia, were now firſt heard of in England: and Hoveden [*f.* 383 a] ſeems apprehenſive, that he ſhould ſcarcely obtain credit for the exiſtence of ſuch wonderful animals. I find flying fiſhes appropriated to the tropical ſeas of the weſtern hemiſphere by ſome writers of the preſent age, e. g. Mrs. Piozzi; and, what is more ſurpriſing, Mr. Edwards, the hiſtorian of the Weſt-Indies, ſuppoſes [*V.* i, *p.* 12, *note*] that Columbus, a Mediterranean navigator, had never ſeen a flying fiſh, till he was on the voyage wherein he diſcovered the Weſtern world. The flying fiſh is deſcribed, but very briefly, by Pliny [*L.* ix, *c.* 26] under the name of hirundo, or ſwallow-fiſh; and its flight, or leap, has certainly ſome reſemblance to the ſkimming flight of the ſwallow. Flying fiſhes are common in the Atlantic ocean as far north as the coaſt of Portugal; and we learn from Mr. Pennant [*Brit. Zoology, V.* iii, *p.* 292, 4^to *edit.*] that at leaſt one has been found on the coaſt of South-Wales.

In ſea engagements they ſtill preſerved the antient ſemicircular line of battle, ſtationing the ſtrongeſt veſſels in the wings, or points, with a view to incloſe the enemy as in a net. The ſoldiers, ſtationed on the upper deck, (or on the raiſed platform or forecaſtle, 'ſuperioribus tabulatis') made a cloſe bulwark of their ſhields; and, to give them free room to fight, the rowers ſat together below. When the hoſtile fleets approached, the ſound of the trumpets and the ſhouts of the men gave the ſignal for the engagement, which commenced with a diſcharge of miſſile weapons on both ſides: the ſharp beaks, or ſpurs, were forcibly daſhed againſt the enemy's ſides: the oars were entangled: and the hoſtile veſſels being grappled together, a cloſe fight enſued, while the engineers endeavoured to burn their enemy's ſhips with the Greek fire, which was now in common uſe with the Turks and Saracens, as well as the Chriſtians.

1191—During the ſiege of Acon a battle was fought between the Chriſtians and the Turks upon the ſea. In one galley the Turks got poſſeſſion of the upper tire of oars, and the Chriſtians retaining the lower tire, they pulled the veſſel different ways *.

While Richard was on his paſſage from Cyprus to Paleſtine, he fell in with a very large ſhip loaded with warlike ſtores and proviſions, and having onboard, according to the moſt moderate and probable account, eight hundred ſoldiers for the relief of the garriſon of Acon. She carried three very lofty maſts; but her ſails were of little avail to her, for it was almoſt calm, and ſhe was too heavy to make much way with her oars. Richard's light gallies, by the uſe of their oars, moved round her with the greateſt agility, and attacked her furiouſly in every direction: but the great ſtrength and loftineſs of her ſides gave her ſuch a ſuperiority over them, that ſhe baffled all their efforts, till Richard in a rage threatened to crucify every man in the fleet, if ſhe ſhould eſcape. Then

* This curious circumſtance, which affords a clear demonſtration that the antient gallies carried their oars in tires above each-other in the manner deſcribed in the early part of this work, has not been ſo much obſerved by writers, as it ought to be; and it is the more worthy of attention, if it be, as I believe it is, the lateſt certain notice of veſſels carrying more than one tire of oars. Viniſauf's deſcription of the gallies gives room to believe, that there were ſome even with three tires; but I find no particular mention of any one ſuch veſſel in his very circumſtantial work, and indeed none, which can be depended on, in any other; though ſeveral writers of that and the ſucceeding ages, in their affectation of claſſical latinity, have obſcured their narratives by applying the term *triremes* to gallies of every kind, and alſo to the great ſhips of the Saracens. [e. g. *W. Newbrig. L.* i, *c.* 20.—*R. de Diceto, col.* 661.—*M. Paris, p.* 162.—*Ottonis Friſing. Geſt. Frid. ap. Muratori Script. V.* vi, *col.* 668.] Donatus Jannotius [*Reſp. Venet. p.* 257] ſays, there are *biremes*, *triremes*, and *quinqueremes* in the arſenal at Venice: but unleſs he means gallies with two, three, and five, men to an oar, I ſuſpect he has ſacrificed accuracy of deſcription, to, what he ſuppoſes, fine language; and ſome judicious travelers, who have viſited the arſenal, tell me that my ſuſpicion is well founded. The ſame miſapplication of the word appears on ſome of the medals of Louis XIV.—Baptiſta Burgus, who publiſhed his panegyrical hiſtory of Genoa in the year 1641, evidently uſes *biremes* and *triremes* to denote the different ſizes of gallies; and he denies that there can poſſibly be any more than one tire of oars.—A manuſcript of the Cotton library [*Titus*, A, xxvi, 3] promiſes, according to the catalogue, ſome information, illuſtrated with drawings, concerning *triremes* and other naval affairs. But the drawings, which are very bad, have no gallies with more than one tire of oars.

ſome of the Engliſh ſeamen, diving under the bottom of the great ſhip, hampered her rudders, (or whatever ſhe uſed for ſteering, 'gubernacula') with ropes, ſo that ſhe could ſcarcely move, while the reſt attempted to board her, which they effected, but were repulſed by the Turks with prodigious ſlaughter. At length they drove the iron beaks of the gallies furiouſly againſt her, and opened ſeveral breaches in her ſides, ſo that ſhe filled with water. The Turks, finding their ſhip going down, leaped onboard their enemies to ſave their lives: but all the crew were deliberately butchered or drowned by the orders of Richard, except ſeven officers of high rank, and twenty-eight engineers, whom he reſerved for the value of their ranſom, or their ſkill in conſtructing warlike machines, and to be a trophy of his great achievement *. [*Viniſauf, p.* 328.]

A ſimilar great ſhip was taken by the French fleet near Tyre. [*P. Æmyl. p.* 177.]†

The Germans and Danes, while they were lying before Acon, probably ſeeing that they would need but few veſſels to carry them home, broke up their ſhips for fire-wood. About the ſame time five hundred ſhips and buſſes, with ſome gallies and other veſſels, returned to Italy to take in freſh cargoes of men and proviſions to be conſumed in Paleſtine. Theſe, I ſuppoſe, belonged to the people of the free ſtates of Italy, who knew better what to do with their ſhips than the Germans and Danes, and turned the enthuſiaſm of their weſtern neighbours to the advantage of their commerce and navigation. [*Hoveden, f.* 376 b.]

The enumeration of the articles, belonging to one of the caravans traveling from Babylon to Paleſtine, which was plundered by King Richard, gives us ſome idea of the nature of the Oriental trade, as conducted at that time by the way of the Perſian gulf. They conſiſted of a great quantity of gold and ſilver (which muſt have been bullion, as money is alſo mentioned) robes of ſilk, purple, round gowns ('ciclades'), purple dye, a variety of ornaments for dreſs, arms and weapons of various kinds, ſewed coats of mail of the kind called *gaſinganz*, embroidered cuſhions, ſumptuous pavilions and tents, biſcuit, wheat, barley, and flour, electuaries and other medicines, baſins, bottles, bags or perhaps purſes ('ſcaccaria'), ſilver pots and candleſticks, pepper, cinnamon, and other choice ſpices of various kinds, ſugar and wax, with a prodigious quantity of money. The whole value of the plunder was ſaid to be much

* The later writers ſay, that a diver bored a hole in her bottom, which ſunk her; and that King Richard ſaved 200 priſoners, and drowned 1300.

† Another great *dromund* was taken many years before by a company of pilgrims in nine ſhips under the command of Rognvald earl of Orkney. One of the Orkney veſſels creeping cloſe in to her ſide under the range of the engines, they opened a port with their axes, through which they boarded her, and after a dreadful carnage got poſſeſſion of her, and found her a very rich prize. They then murdered all the people, except the commander, and burnt the ſhip, by which they loſt much of the treaſure. Such were the laws and practices of that holy warfare. [*Snorro, Hiſt. Sigurdi, &c. c.* 17.—*Torfæi Orcades, L.* i, *c.* 31.]

beyond what had ever been taken in any one battle: and we may form ſome judgement of it from the number of cattle employed to carry the merchandize, when, beſides very many that eſcaped, the camels and dromedaries taken were eſtimated at 4,700, and the mules and aſſes taken were ſaid to be innumerable. [*Viniſauf, p.* 400.] We may here remark, that ſuch articles as ſilver pots and candleſticks and ſome kinds of drapery uſed to be carried from Egypt *to* the Eaſt in the firſt century, and alſo money, the balance of trade being then very great in favour of the Oriental merchants; whereas now a large balance in money and bullion appears to have been brought *from* the Eaſt.

We have already ſeen the citizens of London have a principal ſhare in the election of King Edmund Ironſide and Harold the ſon of Cnut; and other ſimilar inſtances might be adduced, if neceſſary. We now find them joined with John the brother of the abſent king, the biſhops, earls, and barons, in depoſing one viceroy, and appointing another, who, together with his aſſociates in the adminiſtration, gave the citizens a new charter of their incorporation or communty ('communa') *, [*Hoveden, f.* 399 b.]

1192—King Richard, whoſe prodigies of perſonal valour in Paleſtine have ranked him among the heroes of romance, had the misfortune to be trepanned in his way home by the duke of Auſtria, who ſold him to the emperor of Germany: and he was accordingly tranſported by his new proprietor from Vienna to Mentz and other places, where he was generally kept in a rigorous confinement, till a treaty was concluded, whereby the emperor extorted from him, or rather from the people of England, one hundred thouſand marks of ſilver of the weight of Cologne, to be paid in advance, together with an obligation, to be ſecured by the delivery of ſixty-ſeven hoſtages, for fifty thouſand marks, to be paid, if ſome ſecret engagements concerning the duke of Saxony were not performed: and the emperor, in return for ſo much ſolid treaſure, made him a preſent of an imaginary kingdom of Provence. The king thereupon wrote to his mother and the juſticiaries of England (April 19th), deſiring them to collect as much money as poſſible by contributions and loans, and alſo to receive all the gold and ſilver belonging to the churches, and to give their oaths to the clergy for the reſtoration of them. The king ſeems to have expected, that the money might be raiſed by voluntary contributions and loans; but ſo heavy a demand, coming before the country had recovered from the effects of the drain

* The learned Somner [*Gloſſ. ad Script. decem*] conſiders *communa* on this occaſion as ſignifying a covenant of confederacy with the biſhops, earls, and barons, for their joint ſecurity. But, that the word expreſſed the rights or privileges of an incorporated community, appears evidently from ſeveral charters of King John, granting to his towns in Normandy their *communa*. See *Madox's Hiſt. of the exchеq. c.* 13, § 13; and *Firma burgi, p.* 35.

made by the preparations for his late expedition, was found ſo diſtreſſful, that the moſt rigorous exertions throughout all England and his continental territories were inſufficient to raiſe the ſum required, though all exemptions claimed in conſequence of privileges, dignities, or eccleſiaſtical orders, were diſregarded, though even the plate and other treaſures of the churches were taken, and the Ciſtercian monks, who had never before been ſubjected to any royal exaction, were compelled to give the wool of their ſheep, which was almoſt their only income; and a ſecond, and even a third, collection was made before the whole ſum could be completed. William, king of Scotland, contributed two thouſand marks, which, I preſume, was the ſcutage due from his eſtates in England. At laſt, the money being raiſed and tranſported to Germany at the expenſe and riſk of England, the ſordid and rapacious emperor diſmiſſed his captive (4th February, 1194)*. [*Fœdera, V.* i, *pp.* 80-84.—*Chron. Melros, ad an.* 1193.—*W. Newbrig. L.* iv, *cc.* 38, 41.—*Hoveden, f.* 416 b.—*Madox's Hiſt. of the excheq. c.* 15, § 4.]

As only the noblemen (*magnates*) and the churches are particularly mentioned in the king's letter, as expected to contribute to his ranſom, it has been concluded, that the great maſs of the people were too poor to bear any part in the contribution. But we ought to remember, that the ranſom of the ſuperior from captivity was one of the chief duties incumbent upon every perſon who held land by the terms of the feudal ſyſtem: and therefor it was not the duty of ſuch citizens and burgeſſes as had no lands to pay any thing for the ſovereign's ranſom. Thence, though the citizens of London contributed on this occaſion a gift and aid ('dono' 'et auxilio') of 1,500 marks, [*Madox's Hiſt. of the excheq. c.* 15, § 4] we may account for the envied diſplay of opulence made by them in their zeal to do honour to their admired ſovereign in his proceſſion through the city, which ſo dazzled the eyes of ſome German noblemen, who were with him, and who ſuppoſed that there could be nothing valuable remaining in England, that one of them ſaid to him, 'Truely, if the emperor had known how rich England is, he would 'have made you pay a much larger ſum for your ranſom.' [*W. Newbrig. L.* iv, *c.* 42.]

1195—King William made a new coinage of the money of Scotland, which was debaſed, apparently in conſequence of the great drain of the payments he had made to King Richard. [*Chron. Melros, ad an.* 1195.—*Wyntown's Chronykil, V.* i, *p.* 342.]

* In the preſent day the national debt, and its neceſſary conſequence, the depretiation of the real value of money, have accuſtomed us to talk ſo familiarly of millions, that we are apt to think hundreds of thouſands mere trifles in a national account. But, independent of a compariſon of the ſum with the price of proviſions at the time, we may judge of the greatneſs of Richard's ranſom in the opinion of foreigners from Otto de St. Blas, who ſays in his Chronicle, [*ap. Muratori Script. V.* vi, *p.* 895] that he muſt not venture to mention the ſum, as he ſhould not expect to be believed.

1196, July 14th—It was uſual to make kidels, or wears, in the River Thames for catching fiſh, and the keeper of the Tower drew an annual rent from them, apparently for account of the king. But the citizens of London having repreſented to King Richard, that ſuch obſtructions in the river were great nuiſances to the city and the whole kingdom, he ordered that they ſhould be all removed *. [*Chart. in Brady on burghs, App. p.* 29.]

1197, November 20th—King Richard paſſed a law for the uniformity of weights and meaſures throughout the kingdom, ordering the meaſures of length to be made of iron, and thoſe of capacity to have rims of the ſame metal, and that ſtandard weights and meaſures of every kind ſhould be kept by the ſhirrefs and magiſtrates of towns. It was alſo enacted, that, wherever woollen cloths were made, they ſhould meaſure two ells in breadth within the lifts †, and ſhould be equally good in the middle and at the ſides. All cloths made contrary to law were to be immediately burnt, and all artifices to impoſe upon the buyer in the ſale of cloths were ſtrictly prohibited. Dye-ſtuffs, except black, were to be ſold only in the cities and capital burghs, to which alſo the buſineſs of dying, except in black, was reſtricted. To the great relief of the people, who had been diſtreſſed by the variety of coins, he ordered, that only one kind of money ſhould be current. Chriſtians were not allowed to take any intereſt for the uſe of money. He prohibited ſecret bargains between Chriſtians and Jews, and ordered that three copies ſhould be made of every agreement, one of which ſhould be preſerved in a public repoſitory ‡. He ordered the juſticiaries to do impartial juſtice to all perſons. But theſe regulations were obſerved only during the ſhort remainder of his reign §. [*Hoveden, f.* 440 b.—*M. Paris, p.* 191, *ed.* 1640.—*Triveti Annal. p.* 127.—*Bromton, col.* 1258.]

Another law of King Richard (in the year 1194) againſt the exportation of corn, 'that England might not ſuffer from the want of its own 'abundance,' was probably only temporary during the time of ſcarcity. Richard, having found ſome veſſels in St. Valeray, a French port, which were loaded with corn for the king of France in defiance of this law, he burnt the town and the veſſels, hanged the ſeamen, deſtroyed the

* The prohibition of the kidels was little attended to, as appears from the frequent renewals of it by ſucceeding kings.

† The licences granted by Henry II to ſell cloths of any breadth whatever, as an exception from a general rule, ſhow that this was only a renewal of an older law. See above, p. 347. It was alſo renewed by John and Henry III.

‡ From the account of the infamous riot and maſſacre at York in the beginning of Richard's reign, it appears, that the bonds belonging to the Jews were preſerved in the cathedral of that city in the reign of Henry II.

§ The aſſiſe of King Richard is dated by Trivet and Bromton in the year 1194. But Mathew Paris, an earlier, and a faithful and well-informed hiſtorian, is ſo particular in the date, St. Edmund's day in 1197 at Weſtminſter, that there can be no doubt of his ſuperior accuracy. Theſe regulations, together with many other well-authenticated facts, already noticed, ſhow how groſsly they miſtake, who ſuppoſe the colony of weavers, introduced from the Netherlands by Edward III, the original founders of the woollen manufactures of England.

monks concerned in the buſineſs, and gave the corn to the poor. [*M. Paris, p.* 191.]

The famous maritime laws of Oleron (which is an iſland adjacent to the coaſt of France) are uſually aſcribed to Richard I, though none of the many writers, who have had occaſion to mention them, have been able to find any contemporary authority, or even any antient ſatisfactory warrant for affixing his name to them *. They conſiſt of forty-ſeven ſhort regulations for average, ſalvage, wreck, &c. copied from the antient Rhodian maritime laws, or perhaps more immediately from thoſe of Barcelona.

1198.—In the laſt year of Richard there occurs an inſtance of a landed eſtate being mortgaged to a Jew for the payment of one hundred marks with intereſt (or uſury as the payment for the uſe of money was then called) at the rate of *ten per cent* annually. [*Madox, Formulare Anglic. p.* 77.] It may be preſumed that the tranſaction was conſidered as legal, the canons againſt taking intereſt not extending to the Jews, and that *ten per cent* was below the cuſtomary rate of intereſt.

From the earlieſt mention I have found of Hull †, it ſeems to have been a ſhipping port for the wool of the neighbouring country, whereof

* The beſt warrant, that could be found by the keen reſearch of Selden, when writing under royal authority, was a bundle of papers upon the ſovereignty of the ſea, preſerved in the Tower, and apparently written in the time of Edward III, the firſt king of England who claimed the crown of France; wherein it is ſaid, that 'The laws and 'ſtatutes were corrected, interpreted, and declar-'ed, by the lord Richard, *formerly* king of Eng-'land, on his return from the Holy land, and 'made public in the iſland of Oleron.' [*Mare clauſum, L.* ii, *c.* 24.] But Selden very ſoon after obſerves, that ſome printed copies of thoſe laws date them in 1266; and Camden, without ſaying a word of Richard, dates them in that year. [*Britannia, p.* 859, *ed.* 1607.] As no point in hiſtory is better aſcertained, than that Richard never went near Oleron *on his return from the Holy land*, it is poſſible, that his order for the regulation of his fleet when at ſea, or his renewal of the law of Henry I and Henry II reſpecting wrecks, when he was at Meſſana in Sicily *on his way to the Holy land*, [*Hoveden, f.* 379 b, 386 b] may have been the foundation of the belief that he was the author of the maritime laws of Oleron.

Cleirac, an advocate of Bourdeaux, in a work, intitled *Us et couſtumes de la mer*, publiſhed in 1621, aſcribes the laws of Oleron to Eleonora ducheſs of Guienne and queen of England, who, he ſays, enacted them in the year 1266 on her return from the Holy land, to which ſhe had accompanied her huſband. It ſeems, a return from the Holy land muſt be connected with thoſe laws. But this author ſeems to confound Eleonora ducheſs of Aquitaine (of which Guienne is a part) the queen of Henry II, with Eleonora of Caſtile, the wife of Edward prince of England, who, indeed, accompanied her huſband to the Holy land; but they did not ſet out till the year 1269. The ſame author, with rather more probability, ſuppoſes the laws of Oleron were copied from the maritime code of Barcelona.

There are charters of Otho duke of Aquitaine, of Eleonora ducheſs of Aquitaine and queen dowager of England, and of John king of England dated in 1198 and 1199, and alſo of Henry III king of England dated in 1230, confirming to the men of Oleron their former privileges, and further giving them liberty to ſell their wine and ſalt, to diſpoſe of their children in marriage, and to make their wills: but not a word of any maritime laws. [*Fœdera, V.* i, *pp.* 105, 111, 112, 314.]

It may be thought that I have beſtowed more attention upon theſe laws than they deſerve. But the commercial importance, which has been aſcribed to them, and their fame, whether well or ill founded, ſeemed to require ſome diſcuſſion of their ſuppoſed connection with England.

Godolphin has publiſhed them, 'rendered into 'Engliſh out of Garſias, alias Ferrand,' in the appendix to his *View of the admiral juriſdiction*. The conveyance of laws, aſcribed to an Engliſh king, to Engliſh readers by means of a Spaniſh writer, is one of the ſtrange circumſtances attending the laws of Oleron. They have alſo been publiſhed by Poſtlethwayt and others.

† The generally-received belief, that the town of Hull did not exiſt till the year 1296, will be noticed under the year 1298.

forty-five ſacks were this year ſeized for being ſhipped without licence, and ſold on account of the king for 225 marks, or £3 : 6 : 8 each. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the exchеq. c.* 18, § 4.]

The forty-five ſacks ſeized at Hull may be preſumed to have been but a very ſmall part of the wool ſhipped at that port; and ſimilar ſeizures made at other ports (as appears by the ſame record) ſhow, that the exportation of wool was very conſiderable. And as an order of King Henry II, mentioned above, [p. 347] gives reaſon to believe, that the wool of England was at this time ſuperior to that of Spain, the avidity, wherewith it was bought up for the Flemiſh fine manufactures, need not ſurpriſe us. Indeed it was not only the principal article of Engliſh exports in point of magnitude, but alſo the moſt commanding one for a ſure and ready ſale. Accordingly, when King Richard was at Sluys in Flanders on his return from captivity, and wanted to raiſe money, he found wool the moſt acceptable thing he could offer, and he actually received a ſum of money from the merchants on his promiſe of delivering to them the wool of the enſuing year's growth belonging to the Ciſtercian monks of England, with whoſe property he made free on the occaſion. [*Hemingford, L.* ii, *c.* 72.] We have ſeen [*above, p.* 345] an Engliſh writer go ſo far as to ſay, that about this time all the nations in the world were clothed with Engliſh wool made into cloth in Flanders: but, independent of rhetorical flouriſh, we know from the ſober and undeniable authority of the records of the exchequer, that wool, woolfells (ſheep-ſkins with the wool on them), and woollen yarn (filetum), were exported, on paying for licences, which mode of raiſing money upon the exportation of merchandize ſeems to have been equivalent to the cuſtom duties of modern times. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the exchеq. c.* 18, § 4.]

In the ſeventh and eighth years of Richard's reign the fines and diſmes (or tenths) paid on tin and other merchandize in London, apparently exported, amounted to £379 : 1 : 6; and in the ſame years the duties upon woad imported in London amounted to £96 : 6 : 8. [*Madox, c.* 18, § 4.] If London alone imported woad to an extent, that could bear ſuch a payment, (and it will afterwards appear that but a ſmall part of the whole woad imported arrived in London) the woollen manufacture, in which it was apparently moſtly conſumed, muſt have been ſomewhat conſiderable.

But there is reaſon to believe, that but few *fine* woollen goods were made in England, and that the Flemings, who were famous at this time for their ſuperior ſkill in the woollen manufacture, as is evident from the teſtimony of ſeveral of the Engliſh hiſtorians of this age *, continued

* See them adduced in a note in p. 270, and add to them Mathew Paris, [*p.* 886] a reſpectable hiſtorian, who flouriſhed in the reign of Henry III.

for a ſeries of ages to ſupply moſt of the weſtern parts of Europe, and even ſome of the Mediterranean countries, with fine cloths, which the Italians called French cloths, either as reckoning Flanders a part of France (as indeed, in feudal language, it was) or becauſe they received them from the ports of the ſouth coaſt of that country.

1199—King John in the beginning of his reign addreſſed a letter to the mayor and community of London, whereby he promiſed, that foreign merchants of every country ſhould have ſafe conduct for themſelves and their merchandize in coming into, and going out of, England, agreeable to the due, right, and uſual, cuſtoms, and ſhould meet with the ſame treatment ('eandem habeant pacem') in England, that the Engliſh merchants met with in the countries they came from.

Similar letters were at the ſame time ſent to the ſhirref of Suſſex, the mayor and community of Wincheſter, the bailif of Southampton, the bailif of Lynne, the bailif (or ſhirref) of Kent, the ſhirref of Norfolk and Suffolk, the ſhirref of Dorſet and Somerſet, the barons of the Cinque ports, the ſhirref of Hampſhire, the ſhirref of Hertford and Eſſex, and the ſhirref of Cornwall and Devon *; whence it appears that the ſouth coaſt, and the eaſt coaſt only as far north as Norfolk, were eſteemed the whole, or at leaſt the chief, of the commercial part of the country, though we ſhall ſoon ſee that Boſton, beyond theſe limits, was little inferior to London in commercial importance, and ſome ports ſtill farther north had their ſhare of the trade of the country.

1200—The buſineſs of lending money at intereſt, however moderate, being prohibited to the Chriſtians by law, the Jews, who in all ages, ſince the abolition of their government as a diſtinct nation by the Romans, have eſtabliſhed themſelves as brokers and dealers in money in every country, wherein there was any commerce or money, were thereby put in poſſeſſion of a monopoly of the trade of lending money upon intereſt. It is ſeldom that monopoliſts are ſatisfied with a reaſonable profit; and the Jews in England appear to have ſometimes carried their extortions to a moſt ſcandalous height. Such conduct was ſufficient, independent of the violent religious prejudices of the age, to render them odious to the people, who were continually crying out to the kings for the puniſhment and expulſion, or rather extermination, of the Jews. The kings, who did not think it for their intereſt to expell them, took a method, very convenient for themſelves, of puniſhing them by heavy fines. This proceeding proved to the Jews, that their extortions would be not only tolerated, but even encouraged, if they were well paid for: and it at the ſame time compelled them to riſe in their demands upon

* This ſafe conduct is publiſhed from the records in the Tower by Hakluyt [*Voiages, V.* i, *p.* 129] and, I believe, by no other. It is dated the 5th day of April, which was the laſt day of the firſt year of his reign: but the *figure* ſeems erroneous, for ſuch an act of favour would probably take place very ſoon after his acceſſion.

the unfortunate people, who were obliged to apply to them for the uſe of money, that they might be enabled to ſatisfy the king and his miniſters. And thus a ſyſtem of uſurious oppreſſion was at the ſame time prohibited by law, and ſanctioned by the practice of the ſovereign, who uſed the Jews as his inſtruments to fleece the people, in order to fill his own coffers. The kings even went ſo far as to claim the whole property of the Jews, as belonging to themſelves, thus extending to that unfortunate race the principle of the laws of ſlavery, which declare, that a ſlave can have no property, all his poſſeſſions of every kind belonging to his maſter*. And ſo great was the revenue extorted by the kings from thoſe people, that there was a particular office eſtabliſhed for the management of it, called *the exchequer of the Jews*, under the direction of officers called the *keepers*, or *juſtices, of the Jews*, who in the more antient times were Chriſtians and Jews joined together, but afterwards for the moſt part Chriſtians only. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the excheq. c.* 7.]

The Engliſh writers are full of complaints againſt William II for his favours to the Jews. Henry I, and his grandſon Henry II, conferred ſeveral privileges on them, and permitted them to be owners of land: but the later extorted from them a fourth part of their property; notwithſtanding which, the Jews appear to have thought themſelves favourably treated in his reign. This year King John, for the ſum of four thouſand marks, gave the Jews of England and Normandy a charter confirming to them the privileges granted by his predeceſſors, and permitting them to live freely and honourably in his dominions, and to hold property in lands, &c. and authorizing them to purchaſe every thing brought to them, except what belonged to the church, and bloody cloth†; and to ſell every thing pledged or pawned with them, if not redeemed within a year and a day. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the excheq. c.* 7, § 8, *note* (*e*).]

The MAGNET or LODESTONE, the moſt pretious of all ſtones (except the flint which kindles our dayly fire) and infinitely more valuable than all the diamonds in the world, was known to the philoſophers of antient Greece for its quality of attracting iron; and in later ages the few, who underſtood the ſecret, were enabled to perform a number of ingenious

* In the laws aſcribed to Edward the Confeſſor, [*c.* 29] the Jews and all their goods are declared to be the property of the king. William of Newburgh [*L.* iv, *c.* 11] ſays that King Richard was greatly enraged at the ſlaughter of the Jews, on account of the affront to his royal majeſty by the contempt of his protection, and alſo for the great loſs to his exchequer; 'for whatever property is found in poſſeſſion of the Jews, 'who are well known to be the royal uſurers, belongs to the exchequer.'—Was not that the true reaſon that Chriſtians were prohibited from lending money upon intereſt?

† 'Panno ſanguinolento,' which Tovey [*Anglia Judaica, p.* 62] believes to be deep red or crimſon cloth: and he quotes *Kennet's Parochial antiquities, p.* 576, for the abbat of Burceſter clothing his ſervants 'blodeo panno,' which to-be-ſure could not be cloth ſtained with blood, but muſt have been cloth of a blood-red colour. See alſo 'blodio velvet' and, blodio panno' in *Fœdera, V.* ix, *p.* 276. But why the Jews ſhould have been particularly debarred from buying either red cloth or bloody cloth, I ſuppoſe, nobody can now tell.

tricks with it, to the great amazement of the ignorant, who aſcribed the wonders they ſaw to the power of magic. But till about the end of the twelfth century we find no good authority to ſhow, that the more valuable property of the magnet, its polarity, or that power, (I had almoſt ſaid inſtinct) by which one point of it, or even of a needle or bar of iron or ſteel touched with it, turns to the north pole, and the oppoſite point to the ſouth, was known, at leaſt in the weſtern parts of the world.

About the concluſion of the twelfth century the earlieſt notice, I believe, to be found of the polarity of the magnet appears in the poetical works of Hugues de Bercy, called alſo Guiot de Provins, who ſays, 'This (polar) ſtar does not move. They (the ſeamen) have an art, 'which cannot deceive, by virtue of the *manete*, an ill-looking browniſh 'ſtone, to which iron ſpontaneouſly adheres. They ſearch for the right 'point, and when they have touched a needle on it, and fixed it on a 'bit of ſtraw, they lay it on the water, and the ſtraw keeps it afloat. 'Then the point infallibly turns toward the ſtar; and when the night 'is dark and gloomy, and neither ſtar nor moon is viſible, they ſet a 'light beſide the needle, and they can be aſſured, that the ſtar is op-'poſite to the point; and *thereby the mariner is directed in his courſe.* 'This is an art, which cannot deceive *.' [*Guiot, ap. Fauchet, Recueil de la langue et poeſie Françaiſe, p.* 555.]

Jacques de Vitry (or Jacobus de Vitriaco) who alſo flouriſhed at this time, and was biſhop of Acon in Paleſtine, wrote three books of the hiſtory of the Eaſt and the Weſt, wherein he employs ten chapters [*L.* i, *cc.* 84-93] in giving an account of the natural productions of the Holy land and other Oriental countries; and his deſcriptions, compared with thoſe of Pliny, exhibit a deplorable proof of the decay of ſcience in Europe during the courſe of eleven centuries. In his account of the pretious ſtones of the Eaſt [*L.* i, *c.* 91] he confounds the adamant or diamond with the magnet as follows. 'The adamant is of a light iron 'colour, about as big as the kernel of a filbert nut; and though it is 'ſo hard as to reſiſt the force of any metal, it may be broken by the 'freſh blood of a ram-goat. Fire does not make it hot. It attracts 'iron to it by ſome hidden quality. An iron needle, after it has touch-'ed the adamant, conſtantly turns to the north ſtar, which, as the axis 'of the firmament, remains immoveable while all the others revolve 'around it; *and thence it is indiſpenſibly neceſſary to all thoſe who ſail on 'the ſea.* If placed near a magnet, which has attracted a piece of iron,

* The old French of the original is variouſly corrupted in the manuſcripts and the edition. The beſt literal tranſlation, which I have nearly followed, is that, which was made by a native of Provence for my late worthy friend Doctor Lorimer, and is inſerted in his *Conciſe eſſay on magnetiſm*, a work publiſhed after his death.

'it ſnatches the iron from it *. It is moreover ſaid to be an antidote 'againſt poiſon, and a charm againſt magic arts. It drives away noc- 'turnal apparitions and vain dreams; and the touch of it is of great 'ſervice to the inſane. The magnet is alſo an Indian ſtone of an iron 'colour, which attracts iron ſo as to form ſeveral rings into a chain. 'The magicians uſe it in their tricks; and it is good againſt the dropſy 'and burnings.'

Theſe two deſcriptions, which, I thought, deſerved to be given in the words of their authors, are exceedingly curious and valuable: for, while they prove that the polarity of the magnet was known in the age of thoſe two French writers, they alſo prove that the knowlege of it was only in its infancy, at leaſt among the Chriſtians of Europe: and I have not been able to diſcover that it was known to the Chineſe or the Saracens ſooner than to the Chriſtians, as ſome learned men have ſuppoſed †.

In defiance of the above unqueſtionable authorities, the Italian writ-

* The power of the adamant in attracting iron was believed after this time. Mathew Paris ſays, [*p.* 723] that the papal legate, ſent to Scotland in the year 1247, drew the money of the Scots to himſelf as ſtrongly as the adamant does iron.

† Several authors ſtrenuouſly aſſert, that the Chineſe have known the polarity of the magnet, and had the uſe of the compaſs a great many centuries before it was known in Europe.

Duhalde, in his *Hiſtory of China*, mentions a chariot of the emperor Hoangti, which ſhowed the four cardinal points. He alſo ſays, that Tcheou Kong gave ſome foreign ambaſſadors an inſtrument, which pointed to the north and the ſouth, that they might be directed on their way home better than they had been in coming to China. This inſtrument was called *Tchi Nan*, which is the very ſame name by which the Chineſe now call the compaſs: and thence it is inferred, that the Chineſe had the uſe of the compaſs in the reign of Tcheou Kong, which is placed 1040 years before the commencement of the Chriſtian æra. As this is a point, which is likely to remain for ever in the province of conjecture, it may be ſufficient to remark, that, if the Chineſe had the compaſs, they appear from the relation of Soliman, an Arabian merchant (See above, p. 256) not to have known its moſt valuable uſe in conducting a ſhip acroſs the ocean; as in his time (A. D. 851) they crept along the coaſt as timorouſly as the Roman or Grecian navigators of antiquity uſed to do. And even at this day, with the uſe of the compaſs, which, according to Sir George Staunton, they call *tin-nan-ching*, (not *tchi-nan*) they are not willing to loſe ſight of land, if by a longer coaſting circuit they can avoid it. [*Staunton's Embaſſy to China, V.* i, *p.* 445, 8*vo ed.*]

Iſaac Voſſius [*Obſervationes generales, c.* 14] aſſerts, that the Seres (or *Chineſe*) have known the polarity of the magnet about 2,800 years; and that the Saracens had undoubtedly learned it from them, when they met them at Taprobanè (*Ceylon*), and had uſed it 500 years, as is teſtified by Jacobus de Vitriaco (or Vitry); and that the Chriſtians had learned the uſe of it from them about 300 years ago, i. e. about the year 1385.

If it can be proved, that the Chineſe had the compaſs in antient times, the conveyance of it to the Chriſtians by the Saracens is extremely probable: but probabilities are often very different from facts. I have traveled not only through the two books of Vitry's Hiſtory publiſhed by themſelves, but alſo through his third book, and his epiſtles, as publiſhed by Martenne in his great *Theſaurus anecdotorum*, and by Bongarſius in his collection intitled *Geſta Dei per Francos*; and I have not diſcovered any other paſſage concerning the magnet, but the one I have tranſlated in the text, which has not a word concerning the Saracens, but clearly proves that the Chriſtians have known the polarity of the magnet about two centuries before the date aſſigned by Voſſius, who quotes no other authority for the nautical uſe of the magnet among the Chineſe.

I ſhould be accuſed of omiſſion, if in this place I ſhould take no notice of Marco Polo, the celebrated Venetian traveler, who, according to ſome authors, firſt brought the compaſs from China in the year 1295, or, according to others, carried the knowlege of it from Europe to China. Of theſe contradictory opinions, or aſſertions, the firſt is evidently erroneous, and the ſecond has very little probability.

I do not pretend to any knowlege of the authorities, upon which the antediluvians are ſaid to have poſſeſſed the compaſs.

ers claim the honour of the invention of the compaſs for John Goia, or Flavio Gioia, a citizen of the commercial city of Amalfi, who, they ſay, firſt uſed it in the year 1302, or 1320: and, as a proof, they adduce a line of Antony of Palermo, a Sicilian poet, wherein he ſays,

'Prima dedit nautis uſum magnetis Amalfi.'
(Amalfi firſt to ſeamen did impart
The ſkill to ſteer by the magnetic art.)

But this line, perhaps a poetical flouriſh, gives us no date: and we have already ſeen from better authority, that the inventor, or importer of the invention from the Eaſt, whether he lived in Amalfi or elſewhere, muſt have lived above a century before the age aſſigned to Goia or Gioia.

From the ſimple contrivance of laying the magnetic needle on a floating ſtraw, as deſcribed by Guiot, navigators, by gradual improvements in the courſe of time, came to add the uſe of a circular card affixed to the needle, and traverſing with it, on which were drawn lines repreſenting the various winds. It is probable, (and in this caſe we can have no better than probability) that Gioia of Amalfi was the firſt, who thought of uſing a card, and that only *eight* winds, or points, were drawn upon it *.

The French, the Venetians, the Germans, and the Scandinavians (or people of Norway and Denmark), have all diſputed with the Amalfitans, and with each-other, the honour of being the original diſcoverers of this moſt noble inſtrument. It would be too tedious to adduce the arguments of each; and we may ſatisfy ourſelves with ſuppoſing, that ſome praiſe is due to every one of them, and, as is generally allowed, alſo to the Engliſh, for improvements made upon the original invention. It may, however, be obſerved, that the two French writers, from whom we have the earlieſt knowlege of the application of the magnet to the ſervice of navigation, have not a ſingle word to ſupport their countrymen, or indeed any other nation, in pretending to the honour of the diſcovery.

In the year 1263 the compaſs, fitted into a box ('pyxis nautica') as now, though probably without a card, was in common uſe among the

* 'Circa annum 1320 rem pulcherrimam utiliſſimamque navigantibus invenit quidam Flavius Gioia civis Amalphitanus, nempe uſum pyxidis nauticæ *chartæque* ad navigandum.' [*Brencman, Diſſertatio prima de rep. Amalph. § 22, ad calcem Hiſt. pandectarum.*]

A compaſs with *eight* points and *eight* wings, ſuppoſed to repreſent *the eight* winds, and having a ſtar beſide it, is the armorial bearing of the Principato citra, in which Amalfi is ſituated. [See the deſcription in *Brencman*, or the delineation in *Blaeu's Atlas, part* iii, *f.* 101.] The value of this proof may be eſtimated by thoſe, who have had occaſion to examine the cauſe and origin of the particular parts of armorial bearings.

If it be neceſſary to give further proof, that the compaſs was known in Europe before the beginning of the fourteenth century, the writings of Vincent of Beauvais, Albertus Magnus, and Peter Adſiger (for whom ſee *Cavallo on magnetiſm, ſecond edition*) may be conſulted, who all flouriſhed in the *thirteenth* century, and all knew the polarity of the magnet.

Norwegians, who had ſo juſt an idea of its great importance, that they made it the device of an order of knighthood, to be conferred on men of the higheſt rank. [*Torfæi Hiſt. Norweg. L.* iv, *p.* 345.]

In 1306 Robert king of Scotland, when croſſing from Arran to the coaſt of Carrick in the night-time, ſteered by a fire upon the ſhore,

'For thay nà nedil had nor ſtàne,'

as is obſerved by Barber, his poetical biographer. Hence it appears, that the uſe of the compaſs was well known in Scotland, at leaſt in the year 1375 *, when Barber wrote, and very probably alſo before 1306.

Though I have not found any earlier notice of the uſe of the compaſs among the Engliſh †, they muſt unqueſtionably have known it ſooner than the Scots: and we may be aſſured, that it was well known to all the ſouthern maritime nations, before ſuch remote countries as Norway and Scotland had the uſe of it.

In proceſs of time navigators, or experimental philoſophers, diſcovered, that the polarity of the magnetic needle was not perfectly true, and that it diverged, or varied, ſomewhat from the real north point. Succeeding experiments ſhowed, that the *Variation* was not everywhere the ſame; that there was a line on the ſurface of the globe, on which there was no variation; that on one ſide of that line the north point of the compaſs varied to the eaſtward, and on the other to the weſtward, of the true north; and that the quantity of the variation increaſed in an unknown proportion to the diſtance from the line of no variation. This irregularity was known in, or before, the year 1269, when Peter Adſiger wrote upon the various properties of the magnet, the conſtruction of the azimuth compaſs, and the variation of the magnetic needle. The diſcovery of the variation has, however, been attributed by ſome to Chriſtopher Columbus in the year 1492, and by others to Sebaſtian Cabot in 1500, who may have obtained the reputation of it, becauſe in their voyages, wherein they made more difference of longitude than former navigators, they had more ample opportunities of making experiments upon the variation.

It was afterwards diſcovered, that the variation not only differed as it receded eaſt or weſt from the line of no variation, but that that line itſelf, which was found to be an oblique waving curve, had alſo in the northern hemiſphere ſhifted to the eaſtward of its former ſtation. The nice obſervations of the eighteenth century have demonſtrated, that the variation is in a progreſſive and perpetual ſtate of alteration; and

* I ſay nothing of the Orkney fiſhermen, who about that time made voyages on the coaſt of America with the compaſs, according to Ramuſio's narrative of Zeno's voyage, with Doctor Forſter's explanation; becauſe the geography of that voyage is ſtill ſomewhat doubtful. See below under the year 1360.

† Chaucer ſays in his *Aſtrolabie*, written in the year 1391, that the ſhipmen reckon thirty-two parts of the horizon, which plainly refers to the compaſs with its moſt improved diviſion; a diviſion of which the people of Bruges in Flanders claim the honour of being the authors.

alſo, that it is ſo far affected by heat and cold, as to differ conſiderably in ſummer and winter, and even in the courſe of the ſame day.

Another property of the magnet is the *Dip*, or inclination of the north end of the needle towards the horizon, as if heavier than the ſouth end, which is therefor in fact made a little heavier in order to counterpoiſe the dip. As the knowlege of the variation has been found aſſiſtant to navigators in aſcertaining their longitude in ſome parts of the world; ſo, it is probable, that the theory of the dip of the needle may, when better underſtood, be alſo applied to ſome valuable purpoſe; for Nature does nothing in vain.

All the properties of the magnet are admirable and incomprehenſible; and philoſophers, in attempting to account for them, have only involved themſelves in a labyrinth of ingenious, but fruitleſs, conjectures. But though the Almighty Author of nature has not condeſcended to let us into the knowlege of the ſecret laws, which govern the magnet, the knowlege, which he has permitted us to acquire of the methods of applying its wonderful powers to our ſervice, has enabled us to become acquainted with the whole of the globe, which was given us to inhabit, and thereby to make prodigious improvements in the important ſciences of geography and natural hiſtory. The compaſs has given birth to a new æra in the hiſtory of commerce and navigation. The former it has extended to every ſhore of the globe, and increaſed and multiplied its operations and beneficial effects in a degree, which was not conceivable by thoſe, who lived in the earlier ages. The later it has rendered expeditious and comparatively ſafe by enabling the navigator to launch out upon the Ocean, free from the dangers of rocks and ſhoals. By the uſe of this noble inſtrument the whole world has become one vaſt commercial commonwealth; the moſt diſtant inhabitants of the Earth are brought together for their mutual advantage; antient prejudices are obliterated, and mankind are civilized and enlightened. And, by the compaſs Great Britain has acquired that naval preeminence, which ſhe confeſſedly poſſeſſes over all the maritime nations of the world.

1201—It appears from a diploma of Henry duke of Lorain, that Antwerp, deſtined to make ſo great a figure in the commerce of ſucceeding ages, was now firſt incloſed by a wall: and Guicciardini, the hiſtorian of the Netherlands, adds, that from this time money of gold and ſilver was coined in that city.

The town adjacent to the New-caſtle, built by Robert the ſon of William the Conqueror on the north bank of the Tine, appears to have very ſoon riſen into ſome degree of importance, as we may judge from a pretty long liſt, made up in the reign of Henry I, of articles paying toll or duty there; among which the moſt worthy of notice are herrings, as an indication of that valuable fiſh being then caught in the

adjacent ſea, and ſeveral foreign furs, which infer ſome trade with the northern nations of Europe. [*Brand's Hiſt. of Newcaſtle, V.* ii, *p.* 131.] It muſt have been a thriving place in the reign of Henry II to be able to pay an annual rent of fifty pounds to the crown, as we find it did, in terms of a charter of that king. The annual rent was now raiſed to ſixty pounds; and the inhabitants, moreover, gave King John one hundred marks and two palfreys for the renewal of their charter with the confirmation of the liberties granted to them by Henry II. [*Madox's Firma burgi, p.* 54.]

The king charged the abbat of Muckelney three marks of gold, or thirty marks of ſilver, for giving him ſeiſine of his abbay. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the excheq. c.* 13 § 8.] We thereby learn, that ſilver was now valued in proportion to gold as *ten* to *one*.

1202, January 6th—King John, having occaſion to ſend two agents to Rome, where no buſineſs could be forwarded without money, furniſhed them with a letter addreſſed *to all merchants*, whereby he bound himſelf to repay the ſums advanced to his agents to the amount of five hundred marks, at ſuch time as ſhould be agreed upon, to any perſon preſenting his letter together with the acknowlegement of his agents for the ſum received by them. And we find, that he repeatedly practiſed the ſame method of borrowing money abroad in order to feed the inſatiable avarice of the nephews and other courtiers of the popes. [*Prynne's Hiſt. of K. John, &c. pp.* 5, 11.] In the preceding reign a company of merchants of Placentia had advanced 2,125 marks to the biſhops of Anjou and Bangor, upon the faith of a ſimilar letter of King Richard, for the ſervice of his nephew Otho king of the Romans (or of Germany), which ſum King John promiſed (25th Auguſt, 1199) to repay them in four inſtallments in the courſe of two years. [*Fœdera, V.* i, *p.* 115.] As there is no mention of intereſt in any of thoſe letters, it muſt have been diſcounted, when the money was advanced. This tranſaction, the preciſe date of which is not expreſſed, affords the earlieſt notice I have found in any Engliſh records of *letters of credit*, for ſuch they were to all intents and purpoſes: and the tranſition from them to *bills of exchange* is ſo natural and obvious, that we may believe they were in uſe about the ſame time, or very ſoon after, eſpecially in Italy, where there was more commerce than in any other part of Europe, and, moreover, a prodigious ſuction of money from every Chriſtian country in Europe, except the Greek empire, into the eccleſiaſtical coffers of Rome.

The fourth cruſade, wherein the nobles of France were the principal leaders, furniſhes ſome facts illuſtrative of the maritime power of the Venetians. The warriors of France, who had no ſhipping of their own, applied to Venice, Genoa, and Piſa, for tranſports ſufficient to convey to the Holy land 4,500 knights, 9,000 ſquires, 20,000 foot ſoldiers, and

4,500 horſes: but they ſucceeded only with Venice. That republic got ready 110 large veſſels, 60 of a long conſtruction, and 60 other tranſports, which veſſels, averaging the whole fleet, muſt have been capable of carrying at leaſt 200 men each. To theſe they added 50 warlike gallies intended for the protection of the tranſports on the paſſage, and moreover laid in proviſions for all the ſeamen, paſſengers, and horſes, in the whole fleet of 280 veſſels for nine months. One of the ſhips called the Mondo *(World)* is ſaid to have been the largeſt veſſel that ever floated upon the boſom of the Adriatic ſince the great triumphal ſhip, or rather houſe, as Pliny [*L.* iii, *c.* 16] calls it, of the Roman emperor Claudius *: but we have no information concerning the dimenſions of the Mondo, or how many men ſhe carried. [*Danduli Chron. col.* 323 *ap. Muratori Script. V.* xii.—*Formaleoni, Eſſai ſur la marine des Venitiens, trad. Françoiſe, p.* 29.]

When the Venetians had got every thing ready for the expedition, the cruſaders found themſelves unable to pay the whole ſum ſtipulated for the equipment of their fleet; and they agreed, as an equivalent for a deficiency of 34,000 marks, to employ their forces againſt the citizens of Zara, who had revolted from the ſovereignty of Venice. The rebellious city was taken after a ſiege of five days. But, in turning the arms deſtined for the extermination of *Goa's enemies* againſt their Chriſtian brethren, they committed a crime deſerving the ſevereſt penalties of eccleſiaſtical indignation, in the judgement of the pope, who failed not to launch the thunder of his excommunication againſt them. The weſtern pilgrims devoutly purchaſed his pardon and abſolution. But the Venetians, whoſe views were more enlarged and judgements leſs fettered, ſpurned his pardon, and diſclaimed his authority and interference in their temporal affairs. Such were the different effects upon the human mind, of having not a thought but what was inſtilled by intereſted prieſtcraft, and of acquiring knowlege from obſervations made upon mankind in an extenſive intercourſe with a variety of nations. That noble diſtinction was the gift of commerce to the Venetians. [*Katona, Hiſt. reg. Hung. V.* iv, *p.* 536.—*Geſta Innoc. III, cc.* 86 *et ſeqq. ap. Muratori Script. V.* iii.]

1203—The forces collected for the conqueſt of the Holy land were a ſecond time drawn off from their original deſtination by the earneſt entreaties and liberal promiſes of Alexius, the ſon of the depoſed emperor of Conſtantinople. The weſtern warriors and their Venetian allies were perſuaded, that the reſtoration of that prince was a proper preparatory ſtep to their holy warfare. They embarked in the fleet furniſhed by Venice; they undertook the ſiege of Conſtantinople; and after a ſhow of reſiſtance, wherein a handful of Engliſh and Daniſh

* It is almoſt needleſs to obſerve, that the compariſon of the Mondo to Claudius's great ſhip is arbitrarily aſſumed, and conveys no clear idea of its magnitude.

guards alone performed the duty of ſoldiers (for the Roman-Greeks had long ago given up all pretenſions to courage) the uſurper fled with his treaſure, and abandoned his wife and his empire to the mercy of the conquerors.

July 19th—The blind depoſed emperor was immediately tranſported from a priſon to a throne; and he and his ſon were proclaimed joint emperors. Jealous of their own ſubjects, the emperors begged, and bribed, the foreign warriors, who had created them, to continue their preſence and formidable protection for a year. An outrage produced by the intolerant bigotry of the Latins, or Franks *, and a delay in the payment of the ſtipulated ſubſidy, were the ſignals for hoſtilities. The young prince was murdered by a new uſurper, who in vain attempted to expell the ſtrangers from the land. The city was ſtormed, the uſurper fled, and the rapacity of the cruſaders was ſatiated with the accumulated wealth of the capital of the Roman world (April, 1204). Thus fell, almoſt without reſiſtance, the Roman empire, once the ſcourge and the terror of mankind, a prey to a handful of military fanatics (moſtly French and Italians) and the naval forces of a commercial republic, nearly in the ſame manner, as its antient Britiſh provincials in the fifth century fell under the dominion of their German auxiliaries †.

The conquerors, who now forgot the Holy land, placed Baldwin earl of Flanders upon the throne of the Eaſtern Roman empire, and appropriated one fourth part of the countries yet ſubject to that empire for the ſupport of his dignity. Three eighths were divided among the other chiefs; and three eighths were the portion of the republic of Venice. In the partition the Venetians took care to obtain for themſelves a part of the maritime province of Peloponneſus, the ſeat of a rich manufacture of ſilks, together with a chain of iſlands and maritime poſts, which extended their territories from the head of the Adriatic ſea to Conſtantinople; and in that city itſelf they poſſeſſed three of the eight regions or wards. They, moreover, purchaſed the iſland of Crete, or Candia, for ten thouſand marks, from the marquis of Montferrat, to whoſe ſhare it had fallen. But theſe extenſive and disjointed territories, though apparently ſo well adapted for commercial eſtabliſhments, being

* To ſome readers it may not be ſuperfluous to be informed, that the nations, who acknowleged the ſupremacy of the pope, were called by the general name of *Latins*, as thoſe, who adhered to the patriarch of Conſtantinople, were in like manner called *Greeks*; and thence we find the Ruſſians called Greeks by the writers of the eleventh century. From the French, or Franks, being the moſt numerous nation in the armies of the croſs, all the weſtern Chriſtians are to this day called *Franks* in the eaſtern borders of the Mediterranean.

† It is curious to obſerve the importance aſſumed by ſmall communities. An annaliſt of Piſa [*ap. Muratori Script. V.* vi, *col.* 191] has recorded, that in the year 1204 Conſtantinople was taken by the Piſans *and* the Venetians. The weſtern warriors are totally annihilated by this hiſtoriographer of Piſa, the co-operation of which is ſcarcely noticed on this occaſion by general hiſtorians.

too widely ſpread to be governed and defended, and too expenſive to be ſupported, by the republic, ſoon brought on a greater proportion of feudal ſubordination, and military government, than was conſiſtent with the genuine ſpirit of commerce.

The commercial conſequence of this great and ſudden revolution was, that the whole trade of the Eaſtern Roman empire was at once transferred to the Venetians, who immediately, and without any competition from their merely-warlike aſſociates, became maſters of the remains of the commerce, which had largely contributed to the opulence of Conſtantinople. That city had long been the principal ſeat of the richeſt and moſt ſumptuous manufactures of ſilk; and, as the demand for that luxury was dayly increaſing in the weſtern parts of Europe, the acquiſition of the very beſt manufactures of it was an object of vaſt importance to the Venetians. By the poſſeſſion of Conſtantinople they moreover had a monopoly of the trade of the Black ſea; and they alſo fell into, what was to them, a new conveyance of Indian goods by a route over land to that ſea, whereby the moſt pretious articles of Oriental luxury had been uſually conveyed to the capital. Theſe ſolid advantages ſo greatly extended the ſphere of the Venetian commerce, that, during the ſubſiſtence of the Latin empire in Conſtantinople, they were almoſt the ſole and general merchants of Europe. And thus the cruſades, whether directed againſt the Mohamedans, or againſt the Chriſtian heretics who denied the ſupremacy of the pope, were productive of proſperity and opulence to Venice, as they were alſo, though in a much ſmaller degree, to the other commercial ſtates of Italy. [*Nicetas, pp.* 349-375.—*Villehardouin, n°.* 75-135.—*Geſta Innoc. III, cc.* 91-94.—*Danduli Chron. Venet. coll.* 322-330, *ap. Muratori Script. V.* xii.]

1203, April—An aſſiſe of bread was made by King John and the barons. The bakers were ordered to affix their ſtamps to their bread: and they were allowed a profit of four pennies, or three pennies with the bran, out of every quarter of wheat. The weight of the farthing loaf of the fineſt bread, was ordered to vary from four fifths of a pound, when wheat was at ſix ſhillings a quarter, to three pounds and ſeventeen twentieths, when it was at eighteen pennies, the bread of the whole corn being proportionally heavier. [*Rot. pat.* 5 *Johan. m.* i.—*M. Paris, p.* 208.] This is, I believe, the earlieſt notice extant of ſuch a regulation in England: but there muſt ſurely have been earlier aſſiſes, as we find the profits of the baker upon each chalder of wheat, and his payment for each batch, were before now regulated in Scotland by the *Laws of the burghs, cc.* 66, 67.

April 11th—Cologne, originally the capital of a German tribe called the Ubii, was made a Roman colony by Agrippina, the wife of the emperor Claudius, and it retains to this day ſome traces of the Roman polity. Its ſituation upon the great navigable River Rhine, gave the citizens the command of an extenſive inland trade; and they appear to

have alſo had ſome commercial intercourſe with England; for we find a letter addreſſed to them by King John, wherein, after requeſting their good offices in ſupport of his nephew Otho's pretenſions to the imperial crown, he offers them the freedom of reſorting to his dominions with their merchandize, on paying the cuſtomary duties paid by their anceſtors. [*Fœdera, V.* i, *p.* 133.] In the enſuing reign we ſhall ſee, that they availed themſelves of this offer.

1204, June 6th—He alſo gave a licence, or invitation, to the merchants of Flanders, and other foreign countries, to trade in England, provided they duely paid him the fifteenth part (the quinzieme) of their merchandize, together with ſuch other cuſtoms as might be laid on according to his pleaſure ('ad placitum regis'). The merchants of France had alſo a ſimilar invitation addreſſed to themſelves by King John at the ſame time. [*Rot. pat.* 6 *Jo. m.* 11.] It thence appears, that the Flemings (whoſe licences were often renewed) were the chief foreign traders who came to England in thoſe days, the Engliſh wool, for the ſupply of their great clothing trade, being no doubt their principal object; and that the French were next to them.

1205—The quinzieme was a duty payable by every merchant (an appellation then given to all perſons who made a buſineſs of buying and ſelling, however trifling their dealings might be) whether natives or foreigners. The amount of it collected in each town may therefor be conſidered as a good comparative ſtandard of the diſtribution of the commerce of England, which was not then near ſo much engroſſed by the metropolis as it is in the preſent age. Before the year 1205 the quinzieme of all England appears to have been farmed for one thouſand marks. In this year we find the following towns paying that duty, viz.

	£					£		
Newcaſtle paid	158	5	11		Orford,			
Yarum,					Ipſwich,			
Cotun, or Cotham,					Colcheſter,			
Whitby,					Sandwich,			
Scarburgh,					Dover,			
Hedon,					Rye,			
Hull,					Winchelſea,			
York,					Pevenſey,			
Selby,					Seaford,			
Lincoln,					Shoreham,			
Barton,					Chicheſter,			
Ymmingham,					Southampton,	712	3	7
Grimſby,					Exmouth,			
Boſton,	780	15	3		Dartmouth,			
Lynne,	651	11	11		Eſſe (now Saltaſh)			
Yarmouth,					Fowey,			
Norwich,					London,	836	12	10
Dunwich,								

The total ſum collected between the 20th of July 1204, and the 30th of November 1205, was - - £4,958 7 3½ [*Mag. rot.* 6 *Jo. rot.* 16 b *poſt. Kent.—Madox's Hiſt. of the exchеq. c.* 18, § 3.] From this ſum, making ſome allowance for ſhort returns, the trade of the principal towns of England at this time may be eſtimated at about 100,000 pounds of ſilver.

It is obſervable that no fewer than eight of the above towns were in York-ſhire, and three on the adjacent ſouth ſhore of the Humber: and it may be preſumed that their trade conſiſted chiefly in collecting and ſhipping the wool of that great ſhire *, whereby the principal ſource of the comfort and proſperity of the preſent inhabitants was carried away to enliven the induſtry of Flanders.

In about three years after this time the citizens, or rather the merchants, of London purchaſed an exemption from paying the quinzieme, for the ſmall ſum of two hundred marks. The demeſne merchant of the earl of Leiceſter was gratuitouſly exempted by the king from paying the quinzieme. [*Madox, c.* 18, § 3.] Probably the demeſne merchants of the other great lords and biſhops were alſo exempted; an indulgence equally impolitic and unjuſt.

Upon a marſhy piece of ground, belonging to Giſbert lord of Amſtel and Iſelſtein, a village was built, which, from an adjacent dam upon the ſmall river Amſtel, got the name of Amſteldam (corrupted to Amſterdam), and has grown up in the courſe of ages to be one of the greateſt commercial cities in Europe. [*Bertii Rer. Germ. L.* iii, *p.* 41.—*Junii Batavia, p.* 454.]

About this time the burgeſſes of Ziriczee, a town in the iſland of Schowen ſaid to have been founded in the year 849, built large ſhips, with which they traded to the northward and to the ſouthward, whereby they became the moſt famous merchants and navigators of the coaſts of Zeland and Holland. Their port, which has ſince been choked up with ſand, was then very good and convenient. [*Laet, Belg. deſcript. p.* 138.—*Chron. de Hollande, &c. par Petit, V.* i, *p.* 201.]

The Danes, who, being a maritime people, and conſtantly in their veſſels, had formerly uſed only the manners and dreſs of ſailors, now imitated the manners, dreſs, and armour, of other nations, and were clothed in ſcarlet, purple, and fine linen: for they abounded in all kinds of riches, *by means of the fiſhery* they had every year on the coaſt of Schonen, which attracted merchants from all countries with gold, ſilver, and pretious merchandize, to purchaſe the herrings beſtowed upon them by the bounty of Providence. Nor were the Danes only enriched, they were alſo poliſhed and enlightened, in conſequence of their proſperous fiſhery; for learning became much more common among them than

* We have already ſeen that wool was ſhipped from Hull in the year 1198.

before, and the ſons of the principal people were generally ſent to finiſh their education at the univerſity of Paris, then the moſt celebrated ſeminary in Europe. [*Arnoldi Cont. Chron. Slav. L.* iii, *c.* 5.] We ſhall ſee reaſon to believe that the natives of the Baltic ſhores were in a few years deprived of this copious fountain of wealth, not by any fault or neglect of their own, nor by any exertion of a rival or hoſtile nation, but merely by the caprice of the herrings themſelves.

The hoſtilities, in which the Italian ſtates were almoſt perpetually engaged, were apparently the cauſe of their having many of their veſſels much larger, and the crews much more numerous, than their commerce, and their ſhort voyages, moſtly in an inland ſea, could poſſibly require. This year the Genoeſe, in a large ſhip called the Leompardo (which had been taken from the Piſans) together with two gallies, attacked two large Venetian ſhips, called the Falcone and the Roſa, bound for Conſtantinople. The Venetians in the Roſa, thinking is impoſſible to ſave their ſhip, ſcuttled her, and went with their moſt pretious goods onboard the Falcone, the largeſt and ſtrongeſt of the two ſhips, before the enemy came up with them. The Genoeſe, however, boarded the ſinking veſſel, and ſaved about 200 bales of fine cloth of ſcarlet and other colours; and they afterwards took the Falcone, onboard which they ſay they found above nine hundred men. [*Caffari Ann. Gen. ap. Muratori Script. V.* vi, *col.* 392.] Though we ſhould make a large allowance for exaggeration in this number, ſtill the trade which could afford to ſupport even the half of ſuch a multitude of men in two ſhips, and equip every veſſel in a warlike manner, muſt have had an enormous advance upon the firſt coſt.

1206—The Genoſe took the iſland of Candia from the Venetians, who, however, ſoon recovered it again. Henceforth a fierce conteſt was kept up between thoſe rival republics for the dominion of the Mediterranean, which ſcarcely any other power could ever pretend to diſpute with either of them: for Piſa, formerly the rival of Genoa, was now almoſt ſunk into a mere auxiliary of Venice. The Venetians were afterwards haraſſed by repeated rebellions of their Candian ſubjects, wherein they were encouraged and ſupported by the Genoeſe, who alſo ſupplanted the Venetians in their commercial privileges in Sicily by aſſiſting the German emperor to wreſt that iſland from Tancred, the laſt king of the Norman race. Notwithſtanding theſe advantages, the commerce of the Genoeſe with the eaſtern coaſts of the Mediterranean continued to decline, while that of the Venetians increaſed: and the war between thoſe powerful republics, which was truely a commercial one, was continued, with ſome intervals of inſincere peace, for almoſt two hundred years.

1207—By orders iſſued for the officers of the mint to carry their dies

to Weſtminſter, and there to receive the king's commands, we find that money was now coined at the following cities and towns, viz.

London,	Ipſwich,	Northampton,
Wincheſter,	Norwich,	Oxford,
Exeter,	Lynne,	S^{t}. Edmundſbury,
Chicheſter,	Lincoln,	and
Canterbury,	York,	Durham *.
Rocheſter,	Carlile,	

[*Madox's Hiſt. of the exchеq. c.* 9, § 3.]

The town of Liverpool now had burgeſſes; and this year they obtained a grant of liberties from the king †. [*Rot. pat.* 9 *Jo. m.* 5.]

1208—King John, in the beginning of his reign, had confirmed the charters of his great-grandfather and father to the city of London, for which he received three thouſand pounds: and he alſo made the other cities and towns take out confirmations of their privileges. [*Brady on burghs, Append. pp.* 15, 16, 30 ‡.] He now, by his patent, granted the citizens of London authority to elect their mayor annually §. But they, notwithſtanding, ſtill continued, or re-elected, Henry Fitz-Alwin (their firſt mayor, as already noticed) in that dignity till his death in the year 1214. After him we find Roger Fitz-Alwin mayor for two years: and, for a long courſe of time, the mayors appear to have continued ſeveral years, perhaps for life, in office. [*Stow's Survey of London, pp.* 916, 917.]

March 18th— King John, in his charter to Yarmouth, beſides the cuſtomary grants, with permiſſion to chuſe a provoſt annually, and the ſtipulation of a yearly revenue to the crown of £55 to be paid by the burgh, gave liberty to all foreign merchants arriving in his kingdom in his peace, or with his licence, to come to Yarmouth, remain in it, and depart from it, in ſafety. [*Brady on burghs, Append. p.* 9 ‖.] We are not told what was the ſtaple article, which attracted foreign merchants to Yarmouth, but we ſhall preſently ſee reaſon to believe that it was herrings.

* Mints were eſtabliſhed at many other places beſides thoſe here enumerated; ſo many, indeed, that it is perhaps impoſſible to make up a complete liſt of them at any one time. *See above, p.* 283, *and Madox's Hiſt. of the exchеq. c.* 22, § 4.— Stow, after giving the above liſt of coining places, adds, that the coiners deducted 25*ſ* in the £100, from the bullion for coinage. [*Survey, p.* 84.]

† Enfield mentions charters to Liverpool in 1129 and 1203. [*Hiſt. of Leverpool, p.* 9.]

‡ It is not thought neceſſary to encumber this work with mere renovations of charters, preſerved by Madox, Brady, and others, nor with charters of towns, which have never riſen to commercial eminence, nor with thoſe which contain only the cuſtomary grants, among which a very common one is a merchant gild ('gilda mercatoria'). But ſuch a gild muſt not of itſelf be admitted as a proof, nor even as a preſumption, that the burgeſſes were engaged in commerce, for ſhop-keepers of every deſcription, and alſo all dealers, however trifling, who made a buſineſs of buying and ſelling, were then called merchants, as they are even now in ſome countries.

§ Fabyan [*Cronycle, V.* ii, *f.* xv b] mentions *thirty-five heads or rulers*, who governed the city before the right of annual elections of mayors was granted. He ſays, King John, in his ninth year, ſent orders to the thirty-five, to depoſe and impriſon the two bailifs (or ſhirrefs), becauſe they prevented his purveyors from carrying wheat out of the city,

‖ *N. B.* In the charter, *quinque* is erroneouſly printed inſtead of *quinque*.

1209—The great number of Engliſh inhabitants in the burghs of Scotland, has already been noticed, and alſo the probability that their comparatively-greater proficiency in manufactures, was the cauſe of their being invited and encouraged to ſettle in them. That the burghs had now made ſome conſiderable progreſs in manufactures and trade, and conſequently in opulence, is evident from their contribution of ſix thouſand marks*, to the ſum of fifteen thouſand, given by William king of Scotland, together with a reſignation of his claim upon the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Weſtmereland, as a portion with his two daughters, contracted to the two ſons of John king of England †, when the nobles (or landed men) paid ten thouſand, and the clergy nothing. [*Fœdera, V.* i, *p.* 155.—*Scotichron. V.* i, *p.* 52, *ed. Goodall.*] It may be preſumed, that the Scottiſh burghs bore their ſhares in like manner in the two payments made by William to Richard I.

1210—Perth, which may be conſidered as the capital of Scotland, was before this time called a king's burgh, and was now favoured with a charter by King William, prohibiting (according to the contracted policy of the age) all merchant-ſtrangers from carrying goods to any part of the ſhire of Perth but the burgh, where they were obliged to ſell them by wholeſale, and to lay out the proceeds in the commodities of the country; only between Aſcenſion day and Lammas ſtrangers were allowed to ſell cloth by retail in the market, and alſo to buy cloth or other goods. It alſo grants to all the burgeſſes of Perth, except weavers and fullers, the privilege of being gild-brethren; and they alone are authorized to manufacture dyed or ſhorn cloth in Perth, and nowhere elſe in the ſhire. But thoſe who formerly had a charter for manufacturing, are not bound by this reſtriction ‡.

* As the only uſe of money is to enable us to obtain what we want, it is evident that the only rule for eſtimating the real value of any ſum, is to compare it with the quantity of neceſſary articles which it can purchaſe. Tried by this ſtandard, the value of ſums mentioned in hiſtory, which ſound very trifling in modern ears, will often be found very great. The prices of corn in Scotland, during the reign of William, are not known, but in that of his grandſon Alexander III, 6,000 marks (or 4,000 pounds of ſilver) would purchaſe

240,000 bolls of oats at 4*d*, the higheſt price;
or 60,000 bolls of wheat at 16*d*, the ordinary price;
or 48,000 bolls of wheat at 20*d*, the higheſt price;

[*Wyntown's Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland, V.* i, *p.* 400.] Soon after the death of Alexander, corn was ſtill cheaper in England, eſpecially in the weſt and north parts, the price of wheat being from 8*d* to 16*d* the quarter. [*Triveti Annales, p.* 266.—*Stow's Annales, p.* 312, *ed.* 1600.] The Scottiſh ſtandard boll is at preſent equal to ſix Engliſh ſtandard buſhels, as fixed by act of parliament, 37 Geo. III, c. 102, § 11: but it has varied in the courſe of ages.

† The terms of the contract can never be completely or accurately known, unleſs the copy of it, ſent to the pope by Alexander II, the ſon of William, [*Fœdera, V.* i, *p.* 235] ſhall be brought to light. But they are partly to be found in a ſubſequent agreement of Henry III king of England, and Alexander II king of Scotland, [*Fœdera, V.* i, *p.* 375, or *Ryley Plac. parl. p.* 161] and by the charge made by Henry III againſt Hubert earl of Kent. [*M. Paris, Addit. p.* 152.] In failure of fulfilment of the contract the money was to have been returned; but Henry III was continually poor; and Alexander was put off with lands in Northumberland, Cumberland, and ſtmereland, of the trifling value of £200 a-year. [*Fœdera, V.* i, *pp.* 375, 400.]

‡ The charter here referred to was apparently given by King David to Engliſh, and perhaps Flemiſh, manufacturers: and thus we may account for the exception of weavers and fullers, who may have

Some attention was paid to the fiſhery, and ſome flax was raiſed, and conſequently ſome linen made, in Scotland in the reign of William, as appears from the tithes of fiſh and flax being mentioned along with thoſe of wool, corn, butter, cheeſe, animals, &c. The fiſheries ſeem to have been chiefly in the Firths of Forth and Moray. [*Chart. in Dugd. Mon. Angl. V.* i, *p.* 422.—*Chart. Morav. in Dalrymple's Canons, p.* 20.]

Among the foreign countries, with which the Scots had commercial connections, we may particularize Norway, as appears by charters of John and Swer, kings of that country, concerning ſome people who had ſuffered ſhipwreck, and letters of J. king of Norway, and H. his brother, on a ſimilar ſubject *. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 218.]

The foreign trade of Scotland was chiefly conducted by the merchants of Berwick, who at this time were very much annoyed by the garriſon of a fort erected by King John at Tweedmouth, on the oppoſite bank of the river, which on that account was twice demoliſhed by King William. [*Wyntown's Cronykil, V.* i, *p.* 355.—*Scotichron. V.* i, *p.* 518.]

King John, regardleſs of the confirmation of privileges which the Jews had purchaſed from him in the beginning of his reign, ordered the whole of them, women as well as men, to be tortured till they ſhould pay *ſixty-ſix thouſand marks ;* a moſt enormous ſum. The ranſom ſet upon a wealthy Jew of Briſtol, was *ten thouſand marks ;* and, on his refuſal to pay that ruinous fine, the king ordered his tormentors to pull out one of his teeth every day, to which the unhappy man ſubmitted for ſeven days ; and on the eight he conſented to ſatisfy the king's rapacity. Iſaac, a Jew of Norwich, became bound to pay the king ten thouſand marks in dayly payments of one mark. Many of the Jews, finding it impoſſible to live under ſuch oppreſſion, fled out of the country. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the exchеq. c.* 7.—*M. Paris, pp.* 229, 230.] But, according to Trivet, [*Annales, p.* 154] they were driven out, after being ſtripped of all their property. It appears, however, that they ſoon returned.

John went to Ireland, and moſt of the Iriſh kings waited on him at Dublin, with profeſſions of duty and allegiance. He ordered the Engliſh laws and cuſtoms to be introduced in Ireland, and appointed ſhirefs, and other officers to diſpenſe juſtice in the country according to the Engliſh forms. He alſo appointed money to be coined for Ireland

have enjoyed ſeparate, and probably more ample, privileges : otherways the excluſion of them from the liberty of the gild ſeems unreaſonable and abſurd. This account is taken from a tranſlation (and ſeemingly a very bad one) of the charter in *Cant's Muſes Threnodie, V.* ii, *p.* 6, *ed.* 1774.

The privileges, granted by William's charter to Perth, are given to the burghs of Scotland in general by the 37th of the ſtatutes aſcribed to that king by Skene in his edition of *Regiam majeſtatem :* but there is no knowing what degree of credit can be given to that collection.

* The charters and letters were in the king's treaſury at Edinburgh in the year 1282.—Swer was king of Norway in the later part of the twelfth century.

equal to that of England, and the halfpennies and farthings, as well as the pennies, to be round, ordering that it ſhould be current, and received in his treaſury equally with the money of England. Returning triumphant from his expedition, he aſſembled the chiefs of all the religious communities of both ſexes in England, and extorted from them one hundred and forty thouſand pounds; a ſum then equal to the value of above two millions of quarters of wheat in years of moderate plenty, and a proof at once of the enormous riches of thoſe eſtabliſhments, and of the inſatiable avarice of King John. [*M. Paris*, *p.* 230.] It is very probable, that this particular act of oppreſſion is the principal cauſe of the black character of him tranſmitted to poſterity *.

About this time Zingis-khan, with his innumerable hoſt of ſavage robbers, burſt into the fertile and civilized empire of China, the nothern part of which, called Cathay, he ſubdued and deſolated. He next turned his deſtructive march weſtward, overturned and ruined many powerful kingdoms and innumerable cities, adorned by the art and induſtry of man, throughout all the northern extent of Aſia; and, in a few years, conquered a larger, and perhaps a more valuable, portion of the globe, than the Romans acquired in a perpetual war of many centuries. But the page of commercial hiſtory ought not to be ſtained with a recital of the miſeries brought upon mankind by ſuch a ferocious butcher.

At this time the city of Campion in the kingdom of Tangut was the ſeat of a very great inland trade in linens, ſtuffs of cotton, gold and ſilver, ſilks, and porcelain, brought by the merchants of Cathay, and bought up by thoſe of Muſcovy, Perſia, Armenia, and all the Tatar countries, who were not permitted to go beyond that city. [*De la Croix*, *Hiſt. de Genghiz-can*, *L.* iv, *c.* 13.]

1212—A fire broke out in Southwark, and the flames were driven by the wind to the north end of London bridge, which was immediately on fire; whereupon the crowd of people upon the bridge, ruſhing to the ſouth end of it, were there intercepted by the flames, which had now alſo taken hold of it. By this calamity, notwithſtanding the aſſiſtance from the ſhipping and boats, a thouſand, or, according to Mathew of Weſtminſter, three thouſand, people loſt their lives, and a great part of the city, as well as of Southwark, was deſtroyed, [*M. Paris*, *p.* 233. See above, *p.* 319.]

1213—Philip king of France gathered together all the ſhips of his own dominions, and all that he could collect beſides from other countries, and furniſhed them with a copious ſupply of proviſions and warlike ſtores, for an invaſion of England, to be undertaken at the deſire of Pope Innocent. There was in thoſe days no ſuch thing as a national navy

* John could ſcarcely be more wicked than Edgar, who was canonized and worſhipped as one of the firſt-rate ſaints. But Edgar founded forty-eight monaſteries, and John only four or five.

of ſhips belonging to the ſtate, and adapted for the purpoſes of war only, as at preſent. But King John iſſued his orders for preſſing into his ſervice all the veſſels in England *, capable of carrying ſix horſes, to attend him at Portſmouth with ſufficient tackling, men, and arms; and his fleet was found to be ſuperior to that of his enemy. At the ſame time he alſo ſummoned his military vaſſals, under the ſevereſt penalties, to aſſemble at Dover. However, having more confidence in his ſailors than in his land forces, he determined on a naval engagement. But while hoſtile preparations were going forward on both ſides, John ignominiouſly made his peace with Innocent, who immediately ordered Philip to deſiſt from the invaſion of England, now placed under his holy protection. Thereupon he, not daring to diſobey the pope, and at the ſame time unwilling to let his preparations be entirely thrown away, directed the ſtorm of war againſt the earl of Flanders, as an ally of the Engliſh king. John, as ſoon as he was informed of the diſtreſs of his friend, ſent over five hundred ſhips, with ſeven hundred knights, and a great army, to his aſſiſtance. Theſe, arriving on the coaſt of Flanders, found the French fleet left entirely to the care of the ſeamen, the ſoldiers having gone aſhore to plunder the country. The Engliſh immediately began the attack, took three hundred ſhips, which they ſent to England, and burnt above a hundred more, which were aground †. This deciſive victory, by which the French navy was entirely deſtroyed, being the firſt important battle ſince the days of King Alfred, fought by ſhips and men entirely furniſhed by England ‡, is deſerving of particular notice, more eſpecially as it alſo ſhows, that England poſſeſſed more ſhips than the French king could find in all France, or hire in other countries. [*M. Paris, pp.* 233, 234, 238.]

Though there was not any national eſtabliſhment of warlike ſhips, that bore the moſt diſtant reſemblance to the royal navy of modern times, it appears that there were *ſome* gallies belonging to the king. In the year 1208, a thouſand oars were bought for the king's gallies; and this year the expenſe of keeping them at Southampton, amounted to £2 : 6 : 8. At the ſame time, 12 ſhillings were expended for keeping another veſſel (under the indeterminate name of a ſhip 'navis') belonging to the king. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the exchеq. c.* 10, § 12; *c.* 18. § 3.] This, if I miſtake not, is the firſt certain notice we have, after the time of Alfred, of any veſſels belonging to the king, or to the na-

* According to M. Weſtminſter, thoſe of Ireland were alſo ſummoned. It may be doubted, if there was time between the 3d and 24th of March for them to be collected, and to arrive at Portſmouth.

† Trivet, [*p.* 157] and Paulus Æmylius the hiſtorian of France, [*p.* 194] ſay, that theſe ſhips were burnt by the French to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Engliſh.

‡ A part of King Richard's fleet was furniſhed by the ports of the weſtern coaſt of France, then ſubject to him, but not now ſubject to John. It is, however, ſurpriſing, that England, the commerce of which appears to have been moſtly paſſive, ſhould have been able to muſter ſo numerous a fleet.

tion *, except thoſe purchaſed by Richard I for his cruſade, the navies fitted out for war being merely the whole mercantile ſhipping of the kingdom, preſſed into the ſervice: ſo that in thoſe times the owners could never call their veſſels their own †.

1215, June 15th—The oppreſſions and miſconduct of King John brought on a civil war, which was now concluded by ſigning the famous MAGNA CHARTA, or GREAT CHARTER of the liberties of the people of England, or, indeed, more truely ſpeaking, of the clergy and barons; for the great body of the people were as yet of too little importance to have much attention paid to their concerns. Of the numerous articles of this charter, the following are thoſe by which the intereſts of the commercial part of the community were likely to be affected.

By the fourth ſection, the guardians of a minor are prohibited from deſtroying or waſting the *men* or goods belonging to the eſtate, the peaſants attached to the lands being the property of their maſter as much as the cattle, and held in no higher eſtimation.

§ 10, 11) The debts of a minor ſhall bear no intereſt during his minority, whether they be owing to a Jew, to the king, or to any other perſon ‡.

§ 12) No tax ſhall be impoſed but by the general council of the kingdom; except for the king's ranſom if taken priſoner, for making his oldeſt ſon a knight, and for once marrying his oldeſt daughter; and for theſe the demands ſhall be moderate.

§ 13, 23) London, and other cities and towns, ſhall enjoy their antient privileges, and ſhall not be compelled to build bridges, &c. unleſs ſuch as they are bound to build by antient rights.

§ 20) No freeman ſhall be amerced in a ſum diſproportionate to his offence; neither ſhall a fine, upon any account, extend to the ruin of his freehold, if a landed man; of his merchandize, if a merchant; nor of his farming utenſils, if a peaſant.

§ 27) The property of a freeman dying inteſtate, after paying his debts, ſhall be divided among his neareſt relations.

§ 28, 30, 31) The king's officers ſhall not take any man's corn, or

* Madox [*Hiſt. of exch.* c. 10, § 12] mentions king's ſhips in the reign of Henry II: but the authorities produced in the notes *t*, *u*, *z*, do not diſtinguiſh them as royal ſhips; and preſently after [*note b*] we find three veſſels employed on ſimilar ſervice in the ſame reign, expreſsly called 'ſhips 'of Shoreham.'

† A ſtriking illuſtration of the king's claim of right to the ſervices of all merchant ſhips appears in a letter, written by Edward II to the king of Norway upon the detention of three Engliſh veſſels, which he concludes by ſaying, that he cannot quietly put up with the veſſels belonging to his kingdom, *which ought at all times to be ready for his ſervice*, being detained in foreign countries. [*Fœdera*, *V.* iii, *p.* 400.]

‡ This ſeems to authorize intereſt, though repeatedly forbidden by eccleſiaſtical canons. The lender, however, by this regulation ran a very unfair riſk of being deprived of the income due from his capital. A man, whoſe heir was young, was thereby debarred from the accommodation of raiſing money by borrowing.

other goods, without payment, nor ſeize his carts and horſes, nor cut down his wood, without his conſent.

§ 33) All kidels (engines for catching fiſh) ſhall be removed from the Thames, the Medway, and other rivers*.

§ 35) There ſhall be one uniform ſtandard for weights, meaſures, and manufactures. That for corn ſhall be the London quarter.

§ 39) No freeman ſhall be ſeized, impriſoned, or outlawed, except by the legal judgement of his peers, or by the law of the land.

§ 40) The king ſhall not ſell, deny, or delay, juſtice to any perſon.

§ 41) All merchants ſhall have ſafety and ſecurity in coming to, or going out of, England, and in remaining and traveling through it by land or water for buying or ſelling, free from any grievous impoſitions †, and agreeable to the old and upright cuſtoms; except in time of war, and except merchants belonging to a country at war with us, who, at the commencement of a war, ſhall be attached without any injury to their perſons or property, till it be made known to us, or our chief juſticiary, how the merchants of our dominions, who happen to be in the country at war with us, are treated there: and if our merchants are not injured there, they ſhall not be injured here.

§ 42) It ſhall be lawful for all perſons, except priſoners, outlaws, and foreign merchants as above excepted in time of war, to go out of the kingdom freely and ſecurely, and to return ‡.

§ 60) All the liberties, hereby granted to the king's vaſſals, ſhall alſo be granted by the clergy and barons to their vaſſals §.

The other articles of the charter belong to general hiſtory, law, and politics. By the *conceſſions* in it we may form an idea of the previous ſtate of a ſociety, where ſuch conceſſions could be required, or would be accepted.

Almoſt immediately after he had ſigned the Great charter, John procured, from his liege lord, the pope, two bulls annulling it, and excommunicating thoſe who had by force extorted it. The conſequence was a new war between the king and the barons, who were driven to the deſperate reſourſe of inviting the French king's ſon to come to their aſſiſtance, and be their ſovereign. Louis accepted the offer, and landed without oppoſition at Sandwich with ſix hundred ſhips. Very fortun-

* From § 38 of the *Magna charta* of his ſon Henry III, in the year 1216, it appears, that John had ſeized into his own hands many of the rivers; no doubt thoſe which afforded the greateſt and moſt profitable fiſheries. Richard's order againſt kidels in the year 1196 muſt already have been neglected.

† 'Sine omnibus malis toltis.' *Toltis* ſeems erroneouſly written for *tollis*, and accordingly the old Engliſh tranſlation has *evill tolls*. Knyghton [*col.* 2523] writes *mallæ tollæ*.

‡ The chief intent of this article was to allow the clergy to attend their ſovereign, the pope, without aſking the king's permiſſion.

§ This is almoſt the only article in the Magna charta, in which the great body of the people had any general concern: and the benefit of it was probably never claimed by them. The king's object in inſerting it (for it was added by him) was apparently to have a pretext from the breach of it to annull the whole of the charter.

ately John died ſoon after (19th October 1216), and England was reſcued from becoming a province of France.

The character of John has been drawn in the blackeſt colours by moſt of the contemporary hiſtorians. But, though few of his actions appear to have ſprung from laudable motives, we muſt remember, that throughout the whole of his reign he was on bad terms with the clergy, the only claſs of people who were capable of tranſmitting his actions to poſterity. It is, however, certain, that the over-ruling providence of God, which often brings good out of evil, rendered his vices and miſconduct more beneficial to the community than the beſt actions of his predeceſſors. His inſulting treatment of the barons, and his violation of their wives and daughters, with his general miſconduct, may be ſaid to have produced the great charter, which, though it was not favourable to the great body of the people, and produced no advantages even to the clergy and barons, as it was immediately broken, has in all ſucceeding ages been looked up to as the foundation of Liberty in this country. His quarrels with the nobles, who, by the feudal conſtitution, were the hereditary commanders of the national army, obliged him to court the good will of the inhabitants of the towns (a claſs of people hitherto held in contempt both by kings and nobles) and chiefly of the maritime ones *. This policy, though dictated only by his own intereſt, and very convenient for him, turned out much more extenſively beneficial to the ſubjects. To the king it gave not only an addition of power, by creating a new ſpecies of militia, and by drawing off the vaſſals of the feudal lords †, but alſo an additional revenue, payable by the corporations, and ſtipulated in their charters. To the people it gave a degree of freedom formerly unknown; and it gradually raiſed them to opulence and importance by the commerce which came in time to be carried on in the towns, in conſequence of the liberty the inhabitants poſſeſſed of purſuing their own intereſts free from any reſtraint, and exempted from the juriſdiction of any ſuperior except the ſovereign and the law. And thus the emerſion of the great body of the Engliſh nation from the ſervitude, into which they were plunged by the jealous tyranny of the two Williams, may be juſtly aſcribed to the vices and fears of John.

Lubeck is ſaid to be the firſt city in Europe, which adopted the valuable domeſtic accommodation, hitherto known only in the Oriental regions, of conveying water to the houſes by pipes, which, as it has ſince been improved, has become a moſt important and efficient preſerver of

* King John appears to have conferred on the Cinque ports an amplification of their privileges, in conſideration of their being bound to find *eighty* fencible ſhips at their own expenſe for forty days, and after that time on the king's pay. [*Knyghton, col.* 2424, who erroneouſly calls John the original founder of the privileges claimed by the Cinque ports.]

† See above [p. 307] the temptation held out to the feudal villeins to deſert the eſtates of their lords and become burgeſſes.

lives and properties from the dreadful calamities of fire. But the date of this improvement at Lubeck is unknown to me, nor am I well aſſured of the fact. We find the conveyance of water in pipes mentioned as a new diſcovery made at this time by Simon, a monk of Waverley in Surrey, who, upon a failure of the well which uſed to ſupply the brethren, brought water from other fountains by means of pipes laid under ground, whereby he made an artificial well, abundantly ſufficient for the uſe of the abbay. [*An. Waverl. ap. Gale, ad an.* 1216.] It was apparently Simon's invention, for ſuch it undoubtedly was, that furniſhed the magiſtrates of London with a model for the pipes they made in the year 1236.

Notwithſtanding the convulſions of the kingdom in the conteſts between John and the barons, there is reaſon to believe, that the breed of that eminently uſeful animal, the ſheep, was increaſed during his reign; and that, though there was a conſiderable exportation of wool, there was more of it made into cloth in England in his reign than at any time before: for we find the following ſums paid into the treaſury in one year (the fifteenth of his reign) for duties on the importation of woad, moſt of which was uſed in dying cloths, though a great part of thoſe made in England were exported, and alſo worn at home, without being dyed.

In Kent and Suſſex, except Dover,	£103	13	3
The ports of York-ſhire,	98	13	4
Lincoln-ſhire,	47	3	4
Norfolk and Suffolk,	53	6	0
Southampton,	72	1	10
Eſſex,	4	2	4
Places not named, perhaps including London,	214	12	0

[*Madox's Hiſt. of the excheq. c.* 18, § 3.]

Immediately after the acceſſion of Henry III, the infant ſon of John, the great charter was renewed *.

1217—A treaty of friendſhip was entered into between Henry III of England and Hakon IV of Norway, both under age, whereby the merchants and ſubjects of both kingdoms had full liberty of going, coming, and returning. [*Fœdera, V.* i, *p.* 223.]

Some of the circumſtances of a naval battle fought in this year are worthy of notice. An Engliſh fleet, ſaid to conſiſt of only forty gallies and other veſſels †, attacked a French fleet of eighty large ſhips, beſides

* It was renewed at ſeven different times by Henry, when he found it neceſſary to court the favour, or to drain the pockets, of his ſubjects. [See *Blackſtone's Hiſtory of the charters, Law tracts, V.* ii, *p.* 43, *et ſeqq.*]

† The annaliſt of Waverley, and Robert of Glouceſter, give the Engliſh only eighteen ſhips. But ſurely the inequality of force, as related by Mathew Paris, is ſufficient. Paulus Æmylius, the hiſtorian of France, has not a word of this battle.

Hemingford [*L.* ii, *c.* 105] has a wonderful ſtory of a great fleet belonging to a tyrant, who was coming from Spain to take the kingdom from the infant King Henry, being defeated by the mariners of the Cinque ports.

many ſmaller ones and gallies well armed, coming to the aſſiſtance of Louis. The Engliſh, who are noted for their expertneſs in maritime warfare, began the attack by a dreadful diſcharge of arrows from the croſs-bow-men and archers; and having got the wind of their enemy, they ruſhed againſt them with the iron beaks (or *roſtra*) of their gallies, whereby many of the French ſhips were inſtantly ſunk. They alſo availed themſelves of their ſituation to windward by throwing pulverized quick lime into the French ſhips, whereby the men were blinded *. After a cloſe engagement, wherein the French fought bravely, but not ſo ſkilfully as the Engliſh, the greateſt part of them being ſlain or drowned, almoſt the whole fleet ſubmitted to the Engliſh, who triumphantly towed them into Dover. [*M. Paris, p.* 298.—*Annal. Waverl. p.* 183, *ed. Gale.—Rob. of Glouc. p.* 515.]

1220—The merchants of Cologne in Germany (perhaps in conſequence of King John's invitation in the year 1203) eſtabliſhed a hall or factory in London called their Gildhall, for the ſaiſine (or legal poſſeſſion) of which they now paid thirty marks to the king. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the excheq. c.* 11, § 2.] It ſeems probable that this Gildhall, by the aſſociation of the merchants of other cities with thoſe of Cologne, became in time the general factory and reſidence of all the German merchants in London, and was the ſame that was afterwards known by the name of the German Gildhall (' Gildhalla Teutonicorum') †.

It appears that the merchants of Cologne were bound to make a payment of two ſhillings, probably a reſerved annual rent (for we are not told upon what occaſions it was payable) out of their Gildhall, beſides other cuſtoms and demands, from all which they were exempted in the year 1235 by King Henry III, who moreover gave them permiſſion to attend fairs in any part of England, and alſo to buy and ſell in London, ſaving the liberties of the city. [*Charter in Hakluyt's Voiages, V.* i, *p.* 130, *ed.* 1598.]

It may be preſumed, that there were very few people in England, who poſſeſſed the elegant and comfortable accommodation of glaſs in their windows about this time; for, from the manner in which the windows of a church furniſhed with glaſs are mentioned by Mathew Paris, [*Vit. p.* 122] it appears that ſuch windows were not in general uſe, even in churches.

Though we find by Domeſday book that ſome of the inhabitants of Yarmouth were fiſhermen in the time of the Conqueror, it gives us not the ſmalleſt hint of the *herring* fiſhery, which has been the great ſource

* Above two centuries after this time, the ſtratagem of throwing quick lime was practiſed by the Genoeſe in a naval engagement, and was thought a notable *invention*. This ſhows that the practice was at leaſt uncommon.

† The inaccuracy of confounding the Teutonic gildhall with the Steelyard will be accounted for under the year 1475.

of the opulence of that town. From the ſame authentic record we learn, that Dunwich (then a place of conſiderable trade, if compared with the neighbouring towns) paid annually 60,000 herrings to the king, and Sandwich paid annually 40,000 to the monks, at that time, and perhaps long before; but whether thoſe herrings were freſh or ſalted, we are not informed. We find herrings enumerated among the articles charged with tolls or duties at Newcaſtle upon Tine in the reign of Henry I; [*Brand's Hiſt. of Newcaſtle, V.* ii, *p.* 131] and in that of Henry II the abundance of them on the Engliſh coaſt is noticed by Henry of Huntindon: (ſee above, p. 344) and herrings made a part of the revenue of the biſhoprick of Chicheſter. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the excheq. c.* 10, § 3.] The reſort of foreign merchants to Yarmouth, inferred in King John's charter to that town, (ſee above, p. 374) together with the certainty of its being a ſtaple market for the exportation of herrings ſoon after *, warrants a belief that it was *now* the principal ſeat of the herring fiſhery upon the coaſt of England: and upon that account William of Trumpington, abbat of St. Albans, was induced to purchaſe a large houſe † in Yarmouth, 'in order to lay up fiſh, *eſpecially herrings*, which were bought 'in by his agents at the proper ſeaſon, to the ineſtimable advantage, as 'well as honour, of the abbay.' [*M. Paris, Vit. p.* 126.] As we thus know from undoubted authority, that herrings were ſtored up at Yarmouth, and as our preſumption, that they were alſo an article of commerce and exported, will preſently be turned into certainty, it is evident that they muſt have been preſerved with ſalt. But in what reſpect the antient method of curing them differed from the improved method invented by Van Beukelen, who, according to ſome of the Netherland hiſtorians, was the firſt curer and exporter of herrings, it is apparently impoſſible to tell.

From the unqueſtionable authority of the public records we know, that there was alſo a fiſhery of at leaſt ſome conſequence on the ſouthweſt coaſt of England, and that an *improved* method of ſalting the fiſh had been practiſed before this time by Peter Chivalier, who appears to have had the king's licence for a monopoly of his method, and that Peter de Perars gave the king twenty marks in the year 1221, and twenty more in 1222, and probably alſo in other years, for a licence to ſalt fiſh, as Chivalier *uſed* to do. [*Mag. rot.* 6 *Hen. III, rot.* 9, b, *Cornub.* in *Madox's Hiſt. of the excheq. c.* 13, § 4.] As Perars appears to have liv-

* This will be further illuſtrated under the year 1238. I may here alſo obſerve, that in the year 1256 the burgeſſes of Yarmouth repreſented to the king that their principal ſupport was derived from the fiſhery; and a record in the year 1306 ſhows that it was the *herring* fiſhery. See *Brady on burghs, Append. pp.* 2, 6.

† It muſt have been a very large houſe, for it coſt fifty marks; and the ſame abbat bought a houſe, or rather a court of houſes, in London (where they were probably dearer than in Yarmouth), as extenſive as a great palace, with chapel, ſtables, garden, a well, &c. for a hundred marks of purchaſe-money, to which he added fifty marks for improvements. [*M. Paris, Vit. pp.* 125, 126.]

ed in Cornwall, it is probable that pilchards, which annually viſit that country in innumerable ſholes, were the ſpecies of fiſh cured by the improved proceſs.

It is worthy of obſervation, that the German writers trace their trade in ſalted herrings no farther back than the year 1241, or at the fartheſt 1236. [*Codex diplom. Brandenb. V.* i, *p.* 45; *V.* ii, *p.* 430, *and authorities there quoted.*] But, to ſay nothing of the herrings caught on the coaſt of Norway in the tenth century, thoſe *ſhipped* at Rugen, and thoſe packed in barrels at Ziriczee, in the twelfth century, muſt undoubtedly have been ſalted. (See above, pp. 274, 338.) And there is good reaſon to believe, that, both in England and Scotland, herrings were cured with ſalt for exportation at leaſt ſome ages before the time now under our conſideration. (See above, pp. 284, 303, 306, 325, 344, 376.)

1222—Coining dies were delivered to the proper officers for making pennies, halfpennies, and farthings, of ſilver; and all the money of this new coinage was round *. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the excheq. c.* 22, § 4, *note a.*]

1224—At this time the following, beſides London, were eſteemed the principal ports of England, as appears from the king's orders to their magiſtrates, in conſequence of the expiration of a truce with France, to lay an embargo on all veſſels lying in, or arriving in, the ports, and to keep them in readineſs for the king's ſervice.

Porteſmue, now *Portſmouth;*
Sorham, *Shoreham;*
Suhamton, *Southampton;*
Safford, *Seaford;*
La Pole, *Pool;*
Exon, *Exeter;*
Briſtol, *Briſtol;*
Dertmue, *Dartmouth;*
Norwic, *Norwich;*
Gernemue, *Yarmouth;*
Orefor[d], *Orford;*
Dunewic, *Dunwich;*
Gipewic, *Ipſwich;*
Lenne, *Lynn;*
Erewell, *Orwell haven;*
Eremuth, unknown;
Dovr, *Dover;*
Rumenel, *Rumney;*
Rya, *Rye;*
Kingeſton, unknown; †
Eya, *Eye;*
Haſting, *Haſtings;* ‡
Pageham, *Pagham* near Chicheſter;
Pevenes, *Pevenſey.*

The ports in Cornwall and Devon-ſhire are not named, the orders for the whole ſhires being addreſſed to the ſhirrefs.

* Some lines of Robert de Brunne, deſcribing a coinage of round pennies, halfpennies, and farthings, by Edward I, have been inſerted by Stow in his *Annales* and by Camden in his *Remains;* and being thereby more generally known, they have miſled thoſe, who have taken only a ſuperficial glance of ſuch matters, to conclude that there was no round money ſmaller than pennies till the year 1279. We have ſeen that round halfpennies were coined by Henry I, and round halfpennies and alſo farthings by John, ſome of which are ſtill remaining in cabinets. See above, *pp.* 316, 376.—*Pembroke's Nummi TT.* 7, 23.—*Folkes on coins, plate* 2.

† Hull was not yet called Kingſton; and Kingſton upon Thames could not with any propriety be called a port.

‡ Though there was a general order addreſſed to the Cinque ports, we find there were alſo particular orders addreſſed to ſome, perhaps to each, of them on this and on other ſimilar occaſions.

By means of orders in the year 1226 for permitting French veſſels, loaded with corn, wine, or proviſions, to come in and go out in ſafety, notwithſtanding a previous general prohibition of French ſhips, the following may be added to the liſt.

Sandwic,	*Sandwich;*	Hoiem,	unknown;
Heath,	*Hyth;*	Lincoln,	*Lincoln;*
Wodering,	unknown;	Eborum,	*York;*
Winchelſè,	*Winchelſea;*	Hulm,	unknown.

[*Fœdera, V.* i, *pp.* 272, 287.]

'The king granted to the comminaltie of London to have a com-'mon ſeale.' [*Stow's Survey of London, p.* 918, *ed.* 1618.]

1225—King Henry obliged all veſſels belonging to the Cinque ports, arriving with corn in the River Thames, to deliver at Queen-hithe *. In two years thereafter he alſo ordered the veſſels bringing fiſh to unload at the ſame place, and directed that the only fiſh-market in London ſhould be held there, the citizens of London being, however, at liberty to unload their own veſſels where they pleaſed. In the year 1246 the city purchaſed Queen-hithe from Richard earl of Cornwall, and agreed to pay an annual rent of £50 to him and his heirs. For ſome time it was very productive, the corn, fiſh, ſalt, fuel, and other articles, landed there being ſufficient to keep thirty-ſeven men employed as meters and carriers, with horſes, &c. Afterwards the bakers of London got into the way of buying their grain in the country from the farmers †; and that diminution of the corn buſineſs, together with ſome impediments to the paſſage of the veſſels by delay in taking up the draw-bridge, reduced the profits of Queen-hithe ſo low, that when Fabyan wrote (about the year 1500) they ſcarcely exceeded twenty marks a-year of ſuch money as was then current. [*Stow's Survey of London, p.* 680.]

Albert earl of Orlamund, who in the year 1216 had bought the ſuperiority of Hamburgh for 700 marks from the king of Denmark, now ſold it to the community of the city for 1,500. Till now, ſays Lambecius, the hiſtorian of Hamburgh, the city was only in its infancy; but thenceforth, having ſhaken off the yoke, it became dayly more and more powerful and flouriſhing. [*Orig. Hamburg. p.* 118.]

1227—King Henry III received preſents from Coradin, ſoldan (or ſultan) of Damaſcus, brought by Juſelin (moſt probably a merchant) of Genoa, and ſent him a complimentary letter in return. [*Fœdera, V.* i, *p.* 296.] This is, I believe, the ſecond inſtance of a Mohamedan prince courting the friendſhip of a king of England.

October 12th—The Catalans appear to have been at this time very

* This landing place was generally appropriated to the queens of England as a part of their revenue, at leaſt as early as the time of Henry I; for Adelid, his widow, gave 100 ſhillings a-year out of the profits of it to the church of Reading. [*Cowel's Interpreter, Manley's ed. vo. Heda.*]

† So the bakers managed their buſineſs about the year 1600, when Stow wrote.

little inferior to the moſt flouriſhing of the commercial ſtates of Italy in commercial enterpriſe and maritime power *. They traded to every coaſt of the Mediterranean; and the veſſels of every nation had been made welcome to Barcelona, their principal port, by a law contained in the code of uſages eſtabliſhed in the year 1068. But James I, king of Aragon and count of Barcelona, being deſirous of giving a preference to the ſhipping of his own ſubjects, now made a law, prohibiting all foreign veſſels from loading at Barcelona for Alexandria, Ceuta in Barbary, or other foreign ports, if there was any veſſel belonging to Barcelona capable and ready to perform the voyage. He alſo ordered, by the ſame law, that no foreigner ſhould take onboard wine at Barcelona without the permiſſion of the citizens. This law, which, I preſume, is the earlieſt *navigation act* known in hiſtory or record, was more ſtrictly enforced in the year 1268. [*Capmany, Mem. hiſt. de Barcelona, V.* ii, *Col. dipl. pp.* 11, 34.]

1228—Riga, a city on the eaſt coaſt of the Baltic ſea, which was ſettled by ſome merchants of Lubeck in the year 1150, was now fortified with a wall, and became a place of conſiderable commerce and power. [*Bertii Rer. Germ. L.* iii, *p.* 239.]

1229—Liverpool was at this time a village belonging to the pariſh of Walton, to which indeed it continued attached till the year 1699. [*Aikin's Deſcr. of Manchester, p.* 332.] The burgeſſes now paid the king ten marks for a charter, which declared their town a free burgh for ever, and granted them a merchant gild, together with ſome other liberties †. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the exchеq. c.* 11, § 2.]

1230—The citizens of Brunſwick, though ſituated in the heart of Germany, now had, or were at leaſt invited to have, commercial dealings with England, as appears from a protection granted to them by King Henry for the ſake of his couſin, their duke. [*Fœdera, V.* i, *p.* 317.]

1231—Olaf, king of Mann and the Iſles, having been driven from his dominions by Alan lord of Galloway, implored the aſſiſtance of his ſuperior lord the king of Norway. He and his Norwegian and Orkney friends, with eighty ſhips collected in Norway, Orkney, and the Weſtern iſlands, arrived in the Firth of Clyde, and attacked the iſland of Bute. But hearing that Alan had a fleet of one hundred and fifty veſſels lying at the Ryns of Galloway, they ſteered off to the coaſt of Kentire, and thence went to Mann, and re-eſtabliſhed Olaf in his king-

* Their power was formidable at times to the Greek empire and almoſt every ſtate on the coaſts of the Mediterranean. See *Gibbon, V.* xi, *p.* 347, *ed.* 1791.—*Stella, and the other annaliſts of Genoa.*

† Enfield dates this charter in the year 1227. [*Hiſt. of Leverpool, p.* 9.] Being dated in the thirteenth year of the king's reign, it might be in the later end of 1228, but could not be earlier. In the eleventh year of the ſame king's reign the village or town ('villata') of Liverpool paid a tallage of eleven marks ſeven ſhillings and eight pennies. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the exchequer, c.* 17, § 3.] The flouriſhing town of Liverpool may leave to decayed communities the poor conſolation of fictitious antiquity.

dom. [*Thordir, a contemporary Icelandic writer, tranſlated by Johnſtone.—Chron. Manniæ ap. Camd. Brit. p.* 844.—*Torfæi Orcades, L.* ii.] The number of the Gallowegian fleet, equal to a fourth part of that with which the French in the year 1216 expected to eſtabliſh a new king upon the throne of England, is probably exaggerated by the northern writers, who, however, all agree in celebrating the great naval power of Alan of Galloway *.

1235, April 5th—King Henry licenced Simon of Wiſtlegray to carry in his veſſel, called the Gladyghyne, the pilgrims going from England towards Jeruſalem, S^{t}. James of Compoſtella in Spain, or other places abroad, without hindrance or moleſtation. [*Pat.* 19 *Hen. III, publiſhed in Purchas's Pilgrimes, L.* viii, *p.* 1271.] If he really proceeded as far as Paleſtine, he performed a voyage, which, I believe, was much more remote than any that were uſually undertaken by any ſingle Engliſh veſſel in that age, wherein commerce was not ſo powerful a ſtimulus as ſuperſtition in calling forth the energies of the mind or the exertions of enterpriſe.

The tenth and eleventh ſections of King John's *Magna charta*, comprehending, perhaps, the moſt blameable part of that famous deed, whereby the eſtates of minors were exempted during their minority from paying intereſt for money borrowed by their predeceſſors, were now revived and ſanctioned by a public act of the legiſlative body aſſembled at Merton. [*Statutes of Merton, c.* 5.] We thereby ſee that it was not now reckoned illegal to receive intereſt for money lent: but, as long as this law remained in force, the unfair riſk thrown upon the lender by it muſt have kept the rate of intereſt much above its natural level.

The inhabitants of Amſterdam, who were ſtill ſubject to the lord of Amſtel, were indulged by the earl of Holland with the liberty of carrying their goods through the whole of his territory, as a compenſation for ſome injury he had done them. [*Bertii Rer. Germ. L.* iii, *p.* 41.] Such was the humble commencement of the commerce of the illuſtrious city of Amſterdam.

1236—Some Flemiſh merchants having been plundered of fifty-two tuns ('dolia' †) of wine, and other goods in England, the counteſs of

* The naval pre-eminence of the ſeamen of Galloway continued after the age of their famous lord, Alan. To them Alexander III, king of Scotland, committed the maritime charge of an expedition intended to chaſtiſe a rebellion of the people of Mann. [*Scotichron. V.* ii, *p.* 109, *ed. Goodall.*] And the Scottiſh warlike, or piratical, veſſels (for the terms were ſynonymous) which made ſome depredations on the ſubjects of England about the year 1236, [*Rot. pat.* 21 *Hen. III, m* 6] were perhaps of their country, and in the ſervice of Thomas, the natural ſon of Alan, who was then in rebellion againſt the king of Scotland.

† The meaſure of the *dolium* having been doubted or miſunderſtood (ſee *Fleetwood's Chron. prec. p.* 115, &c.) it is proper to obſerve, that it is proved to be a *tun* by a letter from King Edward III to the king of Spain, wherein a pipe of wine, which is half a tun, is valued at 30*ſ*, the dolium being £3. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 320. See alſo *V.* vii, *p.* 378, and *the Statute of eſtreats*, 16 *Edw. III* in *Statutes at large, V.* x, *append. p.* 23: and many more proofs might be adduced, if neceſſary.]

Flanders demanded redreſs from King Henry, who thereupon promiſed to pay £104 ſterling for the wine, and £107 : 10 : 0 money of Tours for the other goods. He at the ſame time promiſed redreſs to others who were wronged in his dominions, and expreſſed his deſire that the merchants of Flanders and of England ſhould mutually enjoy ſecurity in both countries. [*Fœdera, V.* i, *pp.* 316, 363.]

With all this attention profeſſed to the intereſt of merchants, Henry, while he envied their opulence, did not ſcruple openly to expreſs his contempt of the *ruſtics* of London, who preſumed to call themſelves barons *. [*M. Paris, p.* 749.] And even the great legiſlative body of the nation held burgeſſes of every deſcription, and conſequently merchants, in ſo low a degree of eſtimation, that it was enacted in the parliament held at Merton, that a ſuperior lord, who ſhould diſparage his ward, being under fourteen years of age, by a marriage with a villein (peaſant) or a burgeſs, ſhould forfeit the wardſhip of the lands. [*Statutes of Merton, c.* 6.]

Hitherto London had been ſerved with water from the ſeveral rivulets flowing through it (which in the preſent day are all hid under the pavement), and from wells. But theſe ſupplies being now found inadequate to the wants of the inhabitants, the magiſtrates purchaſed from Gilbert Sanford, proprietor of Tyburn, the fountains of that burn (or brook), with liberty to convey the water from the ciſtern, into which they had led it, through his lands in pipes, and occaſionally to break up the ground for neceſſary repairs. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 30.]

The foreign merchants of Amiens, Nele, and Corbie, contributed £100 to the expenſe of this improvement. About the ſame time they agreed with the mayor, the principal citizens alſo giving their conſent, to pay fifty marks annually to the mayor for the liberty of landing and ſtoring the woad imported by them, inſtead of being obliged to ſell it onboard their veſſels, as they had hitherto done. The merchants of Normandy alſo paid a fine to the city for the ſame indulgence. [*Stow's Survey of London, p.* 130.—*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 105.] Theſe payments for an accommodation in the ſale of woad ſhow that the quantity imported was conſiderable, and conſequently, that the manufactures, in which it was uſed, muſt have alſo been conſiderable. It is proper, however, to obſerve, that woad was more uſed by the dyers, before indigo became common, than it is now, and alſo, that it is ſuperior to indigo for durability of colour.

1238—The Weſtern world was threatened with total extermination by the Tatars (or Tartars †), a new, and to the Europeans an unheard-

* The reader will recollect, that the citizens of London, or at leaſt the pre-eminent ones, had the appellation of barons. See above, p. 329.

† Tatar, the true name, as it is written by Abulghazi, a deſcendent of Zingis, and other Oriental authors, is uſed by Yvo Narbonenſis in his letter to the biſhop of Bourdeaux in the year 1243, by Paul Oderborn, a writer contemporary with the

of, race of invaders, more irreſiſtible and more ſanguinary than the Saracens of the eighth century, who had already conquered Ruſſia (which remained ſubject to them till the year 1486), and ſpread deſolation through Poland and Hungary. It is a curious circumſtance, that we are indebted to this inundation of barbarians from the Eaſt for ſome important information concerning the herring fiſhery. It appears, that the herrings, which are very capricious in their migrations, had deſerted the Baltic ſea for ſome time, which obliged the Friſelanders, who formerly uſed to go to the Baltic for herrings, and even the people of Gothland in Sweden, who uſed to have the herring fiſhery at their own doors, to come to Yarmouth for cargoes of thoſe fiſh. But ſo great and general was the conſternation wherewith even the remoteſt nations of Europe were ſtruck by the approach of the Tatars, that thoſe people did not come to Yarmouth this year: and, in conſequence of the diſappointment of their ſales, the Yarmouth fiſhermen were obliged to give their herrings at ſuch low prices, that they were ſold exceedingly cheap even in the inland parts of the country *. [*M. Paris*, *p.* 471.—*Playfair's Chronology*, *p.* 121.] Thus have we undoubted information of the exportation of cargoes of herrings from Yarmouth previous to this time; and thoſe who aſſert, that the art of curing herrings with ſalt was not yet diſcovered, may, if they pleaſe, ſuppoſe that herrings were carried freſh from Yarmouth to Sweden.

The Saracens, who ſaw themſelves expoſed to the firſt fury of the Tatars, endeavoured to conciliate the favour of the kings of France and England, in order to engage them in a confederacy againſt the common enemy: and Frederic, the German emperor, wrote to the Chriſtian princes to perſuade them to combine their forces in order to ward off the impending deſtruction. But the pope, having a quarrel with the emperor, found means to fruſtrate the only rational union of the European powers that ever was projected; and the tide of devaſtation was rolled back to the Eaſt by the valour of Germany alone. [*M. Paris*, *pp.* 471, 557, 560.]

In the emperor's letter to the king of England he thus characterizes the weſtern kingdoms: Germany, raging and ardent for battle; France, the mother and nurſe of brave armies; bold and warlike Spain; the

the ſubject of his work, in *Vita Joannis Baſilidis*, and a few other early European writers. See alſo *Eton's Survey of the Turkiſh empire*, *pp.* 101, 304. But moſt of the writers of the middle ages, delighted with the identity of Tartar and Tartar-us, the hell of the antient fabulous mythology, have concurred to eſtabliſh this vitiated name. See in particular *M. Paris*, *pp.* 558, 957.

* Mathew Paris ſays, herrings were to be had this year almoſt for nothing, and even in the inland parts of the country *forty or fifty good herrings were ſold for one penny* ('uno argento'). I ſuppoſe four or five hundred was the number intended by the author; for, even in the preſent day, the twentieth part of an ounce of ſilver (the weight of a penny) would not be thought a bad price for fifty herrings in ſome parts of the country. By the ſtatute of herrings in the year 1357 the higheſt price they could be ſold for was 40*s* per laſt, at which higheſt rate there were 25 for one penny; and in 1357 the penny did not contain near ſo much ſilver as it did at this time.

fertile England, ſtrong in her ſoldiers, and *guarded by her fleets;* naval Denmark; bloodthirſty Ireland; lively Wales; Scotland abounding with lakes; frozen Norway, &c. [*M. Paris, p.* 560.]

Such were the characters of the European nations, as drawn by the emperor Frederic, to which it may be proper to add the ſtile of living and manners of the Italians of this age, probably the moſt poliſhed people (except perhaps the Greeks) at this time in Chriſtian Europe, as drawn by an author who flouriſhed about the end of the thirteenth century. Their food was very moderate, or rather ſcanty. The common people had meat only three times in a week: their dinner was pot-herbs boiled with meat, their ſupper the cold meat left from dinner *. The huſband and wife ate out of the ſame diſh; and they had but one or two cups in the houſe. They had no candles made of tallow or wax; but a torch, held by one of the children or a ſervant, gave them light at ſupper. Many had no wine in the ſummer. Their wine cellars were ſmall, and their barns were not large. The men, whoſe chief pride was in their arms and horſes, wore caps made with iron ſcales, and cloaks made of leather without any covering, or of woollen cloth without leather. The women wore jackets of a ſtuff called pignolate with gowns of linen, and their head-dreſſes were very ſimple. Very few people had any gold or ſilver on their clothes. Thoſe who poſſeſſed a ſmall ſum of money were thought rich; and the homely dreſs of the women required but ſmall marriage portions. The nobles were proud of living in towers, and thence the cities were filled with thoſe fortified dwellings. [*Riccobaldi Ferrarienſis Hiſt. imper. ap. Muratori Script. V.* v, *col.* 128.] This portrait, taken from the accounts given by the generation immediately preceding the author, ſhows us that the manufactures and commerce of Italy had not yet diffuſed general wealth, or introduced comfortable and convenient modes of living (according to the ideas of the immediately ſucceeding age) throughout the country. Indeed the fondneſs for living in towers is a proof that too much of the feudal manners ſtill prevailed to admit of a generally-flouriſhing trade, or a generally-proſperous condition of the people. But we alſo find, that in the courſe of ſixty or ſeventy years the general ſtile of living and the circumſtances of the people were much improved, and that our author by no means regretted that he was not born in the *good old times* of his anceſtors.

1239—Four plates of ſilver, weighing fourteen marks (or 112 ounces), got out of a mine in the biſhoprick of Durham, were delivered at Weſtminſter by Robert de Crepping to the proper officer, to be made into images for the king. [*MS. Harl.* 624, *p.* 175 b.] A copper mine, with veins of gold and ſilver, at Newlands in the adjacent county of Cumber-

* By the immediately preceding clauſe they could have ſuch boilings of herbs and ſuch ſuppers only thrice in a week.

land (perhaps the ſame which was worked by David king of Scotland when he was lord of that country) was worked in this reign. [*Camdeni Brit. p.* 631.] And there were many mines in various parts of the country, which contained, or were expected to contain, ſome gold or ſilver, as appears by grants of the ſovereign to ſeveral individuals. [*Calend. rot. pat. in Turri, paſſim.*] But whether they turned out beneficial to the undertakers, we are not informed.

1240—From the ruins of the great and antient city of Mecklenburgh, formerly the capital of the kingdom of the Vandals, Gunceline, the lord of the country, built a new city, called Wiſmar, on an inlet of the Baltic forming an excellent harbour for the largeſt veſſels, the convenience of which ſoon attracted a great reſort of foreign merchants, by which, and the fertility of the adjacent ſoil, the place ſoon became opulent and reſpectable. [*Bertii Rer. Germ. L.* iii, *p.* 304.]

1241—Pope Innocent IV, who uſed to call England *his inexhauſtible fountain of riches* *, had ſome time ago ſent Otto as his legate into this country, who truely acted as if he intended completely to drain the well. At his departure from Dover he left not behind him, Mathew Paris ſays, as much money in the country as he had extorted from it, for his maſter and himſelf, during a reſidence of ſeveral years, indefatigably employed in ſcraping together money from every quarter, and upon every pretence. The whole amount of his collection was probably unknown; but two of his aſſociates, who were diſpatched into Scotland in the year 1240, pillaged that kingdom of three thouſand pounds of ſilver. Other blood-ſuckers, who were immediately ſent to glean whatever had eſcaped the talons of Otto, ſqueezed fifteen thouſand marks out of Ireland, and large ſums alſo out of England and Scotland. While thoſe harpies were making the beſt of their way to Rome with their booty, they were intercepted by ſome officers of the emperor of Germany, who, thinking he had as good a right to the plunder of the Britiſh kingdoms as the pope, his moſt bitter and unrelenting enemy, kept the treaſure for himſelf. [*M. Paris, pp.* 400, 540, 549, 573.]

The æra of the commencement of the HANSEATIC ASSOCIATION, one of the moſt important objects in the commercial hiſtory of the middle ages, like the origin of many other great communities, cannot be preciſely aſcertained. It ſeems moſt probable that it derived its origin from an agreement which was entered into in this year, 1241 †, by the

* The pope, who, Mathew Paris [*p.* 938] obſerves, ought to be incapable of deceiving or being deceived, was encouraged in his rapacity by Henry himſelf, who abſolutely put thoſe very words into his mouth, having told him in his letters, that England was a fountain of riches, which could never be drained.—Certainly it has ſtood a vaſt deal of draining in that age, and ever ſince; and ſtill the fountains of commerce have ſupplied a ſtream fully equal to all the waſte.

† This is the date aſſumed by Lambecius, Struvius, Pfeffel, &c. and ſurely the German writers, from local ſituation as well as induſtry in reſearch, are well qualified for the examination of ſuch a matter.

merchants of Hamburgh and Lubeck, to eſtabliſh a guard for the protection of their merchandize againſt pirates and robbers in the inland carriage between their cities; [*Lambecii Orig. Hamburg. L.* ii, *p.* 26] a precaution very neceſſary in thoſe days of rapine, when men of the firſt rank, having no uſeful employment or elegant amuſement to relieve them from the languor of idleneſs in times of peace, openly profeſſed the trade of robbery *. The acceſſion of other cities, and the prudent meaſures, which afterwards rendered the commercial confederacy, ſuppoſed to have ſprung out of this alliance of two cities, ſo flouriſhing, powerful, and famous, will be noticed on proper occaſions as fully as authentic materials will warrant.

Some mines of tin were this year diſcovered in Germany, the produce of which was ſo abundant, that the metal was even imported into England, whereby the price of it in this country was very much reduced †. [*M. Paris, p.* 570.]

1242—Jacomo Theopolo (or Jacopo Tiepolo) duke of Venice, with the aſſiſtance of four noble and learned counſelors, collected the laws of the republic into a code, [*Novelli Statuta Venet.*] which is almoſt entirely occupied in regulating the deſcent of property, the recovery of debts, and the puniſhment of crimes. And, what is ſurpriſing in the laws of the firſt commercial people of Europe, they contain no other regulations relating to commerce than ſome directions reſpecting freights, averages, ſeamen's wages, and the like. There is, however, one of the laws [*L.* iii, *c.* 18] which deſerves notice on account of its containing perhaps the earlieſt inſtance extant of the language of calculation, now univerſally uſed by merchants, and, indeed, by all other deſcriptions of people. It was cuſtomary for purchaſers to pay down a depoſit, which was now directed to be lodged in the hands of the procurator of S^t. Mark, and the amount of it was fixed at *ten per cent* (' dieſe per cento'). Other nations uſed, long after this time, to ſay one tenth, one twentieth, &c. or ſo many pennies or ſhillings on the pound. But the more judicious and expreſſive mode of calculating at ſo much per cent, which we have moſt probably learned from the Venetians, has almoſt univerſally ſuperſeded the calculation by tenths, twentieths, quarters, &c.

The king of France at the commencement of a war ordered the per-

* Thoſe robbers were too powerful to be controlled by the civil magiſtrate, and they even diſregarded the excommunication of the clergy. [See *Robertſon's Hiſtory of Charles V, V.* i, *p.* 398, *ed.* 1792, and *below under the year* 1255.] As their gangs were numerous enough to be called armies, their depredations aſſumed the character of warfare and victories, and, inſtead of being ſtigmatized as baſe and diſgraceful, were often rewarded with public applauſe, as meritorious and honourable actions.

† M. Paris erroneouſly adds, that hitherto tin had never been found any where in the whole world but in Cornwall. According to an author of that age, quoted by Camden, [*Britannia, p.* 134] the German mines were diſcovered by a Corniſh man, who was baniſhed from his native country. The Corniſh tin, however, appears to be of a ſuperior quality to that of other countries, as is acknowleged by foreigners in counterfeiting the Engliſh ſtamps upon their tin. [*Campbell's Political Survey, V.* i, *p.* 41, *note* k.]

ſons and properties of the Engliſh merchants found in his dominions to be ſeized, whereby, ſays Mathew Paris, [*p.* 585] he brought a great diſgrace upon the antient dignity of France. The conſequence was a retaliation upon the French merchants in England.

Henry III wrote to the barons of the Cinque ports, and to the good men of Dunwich, to get ready their ſhips, ſufficiently manned, for his ſervice. He alſo ordered, that the *king's galley* of Briſtol, and another galley of the ſame town, and the *king's gallies* in Ireland, ſhould be fitted out. He at the ſame time ordered the mayor and citizens of Dublin, and the good men of Waterford, to ſend all their gallies and ſhips. Similar orders were ſent to Bourdeaux for the gallies belonging to that city. [*Fœdera, V.* i, *pp.* 406, 407.] This, I believe, is the ſecond occaſion, after the days of Alfred, on which even a ſmall number of veſſels belonging to the king *, or to the public, are mentioned. (See above, p. 378.)

The mariners of the Cinque ports, making a very bad uſe of the commiſſion given them by the king to annoy the ſubjects of France, wherein he warned them againſt injuring his own ſubjects, became mere pirates, and plundered all they met, of whatever nation, not ſparing even their own acquaintances and relations. Nor were ſuch atrocities confined to the ſailors of thoſe ports. There was a very general combination of the inhabitants of the city of Wincheſter and the adjacent parts of Hampſhire to plunder all whom they could overpower, whether ſtrangers or Engliſhmen, ſo that even the king's wine paſſing along in his carts could not eſcape their depredations. In conſequence of a complaint made by two merchants of Brabant, accompanied by threats of repriſals upon Engliſh merchants in that country, an inquiſition was ſet on foot in the year 1249: but it was not without having recourſe to very rigorous meaſures that a jury could be found to condemn the guilty, of whom about thirty were hanged. [*M. Paris, pp.* 589, 760.]

1243—The moſt antient ſpecimen of paper, ſuch as we now uſe, made of linen rags, is a charter, ſeven inches long and three inches broad, preſerved in the emperor's library at Vienna, which was written in the year 1243, as the date is calculated by Mr. Schwandner, an Auſtrian nobleman and principal keeper of the imperial library, who has written an eſſay on this curious relique, which, he ſays, is at leaſt half a century older than any other ſpecimen hitherto diſcovered †.

* King Henry III had a large ſhip called the Queen, which he chartered to John Blancbully for his (Blancbully's) life in the year 1232 for an annual payment, or rent, of fifty marks. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the exchеq. c.* 13, § 11.]

† Mr. Meerman, ſyndic of Roterdam, who with much ſtudy inveſtigated the origin of printing and of linen-rag paper, fixed the commencement of the manufacture of the later between the years 1270 and 1302: and in the year 1762 he offered a premium to any one who ſhould produce the earlieſt public inſtrument, written on paper made of linen rags.—Mr. North [*Archæologia, V.* x] mentions a letter, written by the king of Spain to Edward I,

1244—King Henry, whoſe profuſion involved him in perpetual pecuniary diſtreſſes, and compelled him to oppreſs his ſubjects, did not fail to ſqueeze the Jews very frequently. He now extorted from them the enormous ſum of ſixty thouſand marks. Individual Jews were often fined in large ſums, 2,000 marks, 3,000 marks, &c. For a fine of ten marks (80 ounces) of gold he gave a promiſe to a Jew, that he ſhould not be tallaged at more than £100 a-year for the four enſuing years. Another Jew compounded with the king to pay 100 marks a-year to be exempted from tallages. If we conſider the real value of money in thoſe days, we muſt be aſtoniſhed at the wealth of thoſe men, who could pay ſuch ſums, and ſtill have ſomething left: for we muſt ſuppoſe that the king did not pull off the ſkin along with the fleece, but left it to produce another fleece, to be again ſhorn when ſufficiently grown. The method uſed to ſpur on the payments was to impriſon their wives and children till the money was paid. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the exchеq. c.* 7.]

1245—Among the articles of a rigorous inquiſition into treſpaſſes committed on the king's foreſts, whereby many were ruined, the following is the fourteenth. 'Let inquiry alſo be made concerning ſea 'coal ('carbone maris') found in the foreſt, and who have received 'payment for ditches led from the coal, and for the uſe of the roads '('cheminagium').' [*M. Paris, Addit. p.* 155.] This, being one of a ſet of inquiries previouſly drawn up for the uſe of the inquiſitors, and applicable to all the royal foreſts, does not prove that coal was actually found in any one of them. But the application of the term *ſea coal*, apparently as an eſtabliſhed name, to foſſile coal, which might be found in a foreſt, affords a clear proof, and the earlieſt authentic one known to be extant, that coals had before now been brought to London by ſea, and probably from Newcaſtle *. And accordingly we find, that a lane in the ſuburbs of London on the outſide of Newgate was known by the name of Sea-coal lane †, at leaſt as early as the year 1253. [*Ayloffe's Calendar, p.* 11.]

Thus we are aſſured, that the Engliſh, though providentially diſappointed in their hopes of finding very productive mines of gold and ſilver, the nurſes of national lethargy and oſtentatious poverty, had begun now, and perhaps long before, to work the infinitely more valuable mines of coal, the poſſeſſion of which, together with the knowlege of

king of England, in the year 1272, upon paper, which he ſaw in the Tower: but he does not tell us, whether the paper was made of cotton or of linen rags.

For the communication of, perhaps, the only copy in this kingdom of Mr. Schwandner's eſſay, I am indebted to the polite attention of Mr. Ayſcough, librarian for the printed books in the Britiſh Muſeum.

* It has been aſſerted, that the inhabitants of Newcaſtle had obtained a charter for working coal mines in the reign of King John, but apparently without ſufficient authority. See below under the year 1350.

† Stow ſays, it was called Sea-coal lane, and alſo Lime-burners lane, becauſe lime uſed to be burnt there with ſea coal.

the many important manufactures dependent upon them, have in later times raiſed the natives of Great Britain to the rank of the firſt manufacturing nation in the world, and given them a ſufficient command of the mines of gold and ſilver, wrought by the ſlaves of thoſe who pride themſelves on being lords of the moſt copious mines of the pretious metals, by which induſtry and enterpriſe have been baniſhed from among themſelves, while they have been animated by them among thoſe nations who are under the happy neceſſity of giving valuable commodities in exchange for them *.

In the council of Lyons the pope prohibited all Chriſtians from ſending their ſhips for four years to any of the eaſtern countries occupied by the Saracens, that there might be abundance of ſhipping to tranſport the warriors of the croſs to the Holy land. [*Annales Burton. p.* 301, *ed. Gale.*] Thus did papal politics and ſuperſtitious frenzy trample under foot the intereſts of commerce, and the reaſoning powers of the human mind.

King Henry proclaimed a fair to be held at Weſtminſter, and he ordered that all the traders of London ſhould ſhut up their ſhops, and carry their goods to be ſold at his fair, and that all other fairs throughout England ſhould be ſuſpended during the fifteen days appointed for the duration of it. The weather happened to be remarkably bad. The tents, made of cloth, affording no ſhelter, the goods were ſpoiled by the rain; and the citizens, inſtead of ſitting down to a comfortable meal ſurrounded by their families, were obliged to eat their victuals in thoſe uncomfortable tabernacles with their feet in the mud. [*M. Paris, p.* 751.]

1248—The ſterling money of England had for ſome time been ſo ſhamefully defaced by clipping, that ſcarcely any of the letters of the inſcription were left: and the criminals were found to be moſtly the Jews, the Caurſini, and ſome of the Flemiſh wool-merchants. Some of the king's council adviſed, that the quality of the ſilver ſhould be ſomewhat debaſed in imitation of the money of France, that there might be leſs temptation to clipping: but fortunately that very erroneous advice was not followed: and proclamation was now made that all the defaced money ſhould be brought in to the king's exchanges, and there exchanged for new money, weight for weight. But the people complained, that they ſuffered more by bringing in their money to the exchange offices, which were eſtabliſhed in but few cities, than if they had been obliged to pay twenty ſhillings a quarter for wheat; for what with their traveling expenſes and loſs of time, and a deduction of thirteen pennies from every pound for coinage, whereupon the king

* See the opinion of Mr. Faujas St. Fond, an intelligent foreigner, on the powerful ſuperiority in manufactures ariſing from the poſſeſſion of coal mines. [*Travels in England and Scotland, V.* ii, *p.* 339, *Engl. tranſl.*]

had a large profit, they found that they had ſcarcely twenty ſhillings of the new money in return for thirty of the old. The new coins differed from the old only in having the croſs upon the reverſe carried out through the letters of the legend almoſt to the edge, inſtead of reaching only half way from the center, as in the former ones, and having a border of ſmall beads on the extremity of the ſurface of the reverſe. [*M. Paris, pp.* 733, 747, 748.—*Ann. Waverl. p.* 207, *ed. Gale.*—*Pembroke coins, pl.* 4.]

A new coinage of the money of Scotland was made about two years afterwards by the miniſtry of the infant king, Alexander III, in which the improvement introduced in the money of England was adopted. [*Scotichron. V.* ii, *p.* 83, *ed. Goodall.*]

We are told that a ſociety of Engliſh merchants, called *the Brotherhood of St. Thomas Becket of Canterbury*, at this time obtained privileges from the duke of Brabant *.

1249—Louis IX, king of France, made an attempt to expell the diſciples of Mohamed from Egypt; and he actually took Damieta, a city ſituated on the eaſtern mouth of the Nile, which was then reckoned a rival to Alexandria in the Oriental trade †. His fleet, which was conducted by the ſeamen of Piſa, Genoa, Flanders, Poictou, and Provence, conſiſted of one hundred and twenty of the great veſſels called dromons (or dromunds), beſides gallies and other ſmaller veſſels, to the number, in all, of at leaſt fifteen hundred; and it was reckoned the greateſt and nobleſt fleet that ever was ſeen, being indeed much more numerous than that of Richard king of England in the preceding century. [*M. Paris, p.* 793; *Addit. pp.* 166, 169.]

One of the great ſhips of the French fleet (Mathew Paris calls her 'a 'wonderful ſhip') was built at Inverneſs, near the northern extremity of Scotland, for the earl of S^t^. Paul and Blois. [*M. Paris, p.* 771.] That a French nobleman ſhould apply to the carpenters of Inverneſs for a ſhip, is a curious circumſtance, which ſeems to infer, that they had acquired ſuch a degree of reputation in their profeſſion as to be celebrated even in foreign countries. We ſhall ſoon ſee reaſon to be-

* So ſays Wheeler, who was ſecretary to the company of *merchant adventurers* in the year 1601, and he adds, that they afterwards laid aſide the name of St. Thomas, and took that of merchant adventurers. [*Treatiſe of commerce, p.* 10, *Lond. ed.*] But, as he produces no authority for his aſſertions, and is an advocate rather than an hiſtorian, it may be doubted, whether the ſtory has not been invented in order to outdo the rival company of the merchants of the ſtaple in their pretenſions to antiquity.

† Jacques de Vitry, a French author who flouriſhed a little before the reign of Louis IX, in his account of the Oriental regions, ſays, that veſſels from Damieta ſupplied Syria, Armenia, Greece, and Cyprus, with Indian goods, and that the tranſit of thoſe goods through Egypt yielded a great revenue to the ſultan. He deſcribes Alexandria and the light-houſe at the port, but ſays nothing of the commerce or ſhipping of it. [*ap. Bongarſii Geſta Dei, V.* i, *p.* 1128.] Soon after the liberation of Louis, who was made priſoner in Egypt, Alexandria was deſtroyed by the Cyprians, and reſtored by the ſultan, but very much inferior to its former magnificence. [*Leo Afric. p.* 675, *ed.* 1632.]

lieve that the commerce of Scotland was much more flouriſhing at this time than in the calamitous ages, which ſucceeded the death of Alexander III: and it is very certain, that Inverneſs, ſituated near the mouths of ſeveral conſiderable rivers, which ran through vaſt foreſts of excellent oak and fir, muſt have been a very convenient port for building veſſels *.

Frederic, emperor of Germany, a prince whoſe native powers of mind raiſed him above the barbariſm of the age in which he lived, though he was plunged by papal authority into the madneſs of a cruſade, ſaw the abſurdity of ſacrificing the blood and treaſure of his ſubjects to the inordinate ambition of the ſee of Rome; and, having recovered Jeruſalem, Tyre, Sidon, and a conſiderable part of Paleſtine, in the year 1229, he wiſely accepted the beneficial friendſhip of the princes of the Eaſt. In conſequence of that rational and advantageous connection, his merchants and factors traveled, by land and water, as far as India †: and in the laſt year of his life (a°. 1250) twelve camels came to him loaded with gold and ſilver, the produce of his trade in the Oriental regions. It was from his wealth, thus acquired, that he was enabled to make preſents of large quantities of ſilk and other pretious articles to Henry III and his brother Richard earl of Cornwall, and to bequeath by his will 100,000 ounces of gold to the ſervice of the Holy land (for he ſtill had, or thought himſelf obliged to profeſs, a good will to the cauſe), and 20,000 ounces to his younger ſon and grandſon, beſides what he left in ſmaller legacies. [*M. Paris, pp.* 356, 431, 812.]

The emperor Frederic poſſeſſed a celeſtial globe, which repreſented the motions of the planets; and to him we are indebted for the firſt Latin tranſlations of ſome of the moſt eſteemed authors of antiquity, and particularly of Ptolemy, which, in an age wherein very few could read Greek, rendered the ſtudy of geography common, if compared to the almoſt-total extinction of it for ſome centuries bypaſt. [*Montucla Hiſt. des mathem. V.* i, *p.* 418.] This enlightened emperor and merchant was literally perſecuted to death (ſome ſay actually poiſoned) by that infernal monſter of rapacity and uſurpation, Innocent IV.

1251—Among the commercial ſtates of Italy the Tuſcans were now diſtinguiſhed as the moſt eminent. The merchants of Florence, the metropolis, though it is an inland city, had eſtabliſhed commercial

* Inverneſs appears to have furniſhed veſſels to foreigners in the ſeventeenth, as well as in the thirteenth, century. A *large* ſhip was built there for the ſervice of Venice, as appears by the *Philoſophical tranſactions, V.* xxi, *p.* 230. The writer does not give the year: but the paper is dated in 1699; and it appears that Inverneſs was in a flouriſhing condition during the ſeventeenth century, and alſo that the Scots and Venetians were then on friendly terms. [*Statiſtical account of Scotland, V.* ix, *p.* 615.—*Fletcher's works, p.* 103, *ed.* 1749.] It may be obſerved, that the harbour of Inverneſs does not admit what is now called a *great* ſhip; but all things are great or ſmall by compariſon.

† I would not be poſitive, that the weſtern writers may not have given the name of India, a name vaguely applied to the remote regions of the Eaſt, to ſome country leſs diſtant than Hindooſtan.

houſes in other parts of Italy, and even in foreign countries, and thereby acquired great wealth. Many of them, having accumulated larger capitals by their trade than could conveniently be employed in it, had become dealers in money by exchange, and by borrowing and lending upon intereſt *: and, by means of their partners, agents, or correſpondents, in various parts of Europe, they appear to have got the buſineſs of remittance by bills of exchange in a great meaſure into their own hands. Their extenſive and proſperous dealings enabled them to build magnificent houſes or palaces, whereby Florence was ſo much embelliſhed, that it was reckoned the moſt ſplendid of the Italian cities: and it alſo became ſo powerful, that the neighbouring cities and ſtates came in proceſs of time to be ſubject to it.

The merchants of the other cities of Italy ſoon followed the Florentines in their practice of dealing in money as well as merchandize. They extended their concerns, and eſtabliſhed houſes in France and alſo in England, though King Henry forbad his ſubjects to borrow from any foreign merchants. [*Rot. pat.* 29 *Hen. III, m* 6.] In the beginning of the thirteenth century the citizens of Aſti, an inland city of Piedmont, had acquired great wealth in France and other countries, chiefly by their dealings in money, and they ſoon became the moſt opulent of the Lombard merchants. The ſame buſineſs being alſo followed by the citizens of Milan, Placentia †, Sienna, Luca, and the other cities in the north part of Italy, it became uſual in France and in Britain to give the appellation of *Lombard* ‡ and *Tuſcan* merchants to all who were engaged in money tranſactions. Thoſe Italian merchants, diſperſed throughout Europe, became very convenient agents for the popes, who employed them to receive and remit the large revenues they drew from every country which acknowleged their eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy. It ſeems probable that they alſo employed them to lend their money upon intereſt, whence they are called by Mathew Paris [*pp.* 419, 823, &c.] the pope's merchants: and ſome of the nobles of England, following the pope's example, availed themſelves of their agency 'in ſowing their 'money to make it multiply,' as Mathew Paris expreſſes it.

In England the foreigners, who made a trade of lending money, appear to have been known about this time by the name of *Caurſini;* and

* Muratori [*Antiq. V.* i, *diſſ.* 16] ſays, they abandoned trade for the ſake of the *greater* emoluments ariſing from lending money. But, with ſubmiſſion to the erudition and judgement of that moſt reſpectable writer, it is abſolutely impoſſible in the nature of things, that intereſt can ever be as high as the profits of trade, *out of which* the intereſt of borrowed money muſt be paid.

† See above, p. 367, a ſum of money advanced to King Richard I by merchants of Placentia.

‡ At leaſt as early as the year 1318 Lombard ſtreet in London had its preſent name, [*Stow's Survey, p.* 376] which, nobody doubts, is derived from its being the reſidence of Lombard merchants or bankers, as it is ſtill the chief reſidence of the bankers of London, there being *ſeventeen* houſes, or partnerſhips, of them (about a quarter of the whole) in that one ſtreet, and a great proportion of the reſt in the adjacent ſtreets. But there ſeems to be ſcarcely any of the poſterity of the original Lombard, or Italian, bankers now remaining, if we may judge by the names of the preſent partnerſhips.

they are accuſed of taking moſt unmerciful advantages of the neceſſities of thoſe who were obliged to apply to them for the loan of money *. In the year 1235, when the king and moſt of the prelates of England were indebted to them, the biſhop of London made an attempt to drive them out of the city: but the pope ſupported his own merchants (ſo they are called) againſt the biſhop, who, thinking himſelf ill uſed by the ſucceſſor of S^t. Peter, recommended his cauſe to S^t. Paul, his own patron. But he, having ſaid that the labourer is worthy of his reward, ought, in conſiſtency, alſo to decide againſt him, as money, the price of labour, is equally worthy of a compenſation for the uſe of it.

At length in the year 1251 the Caurſini were accuſed before the judges, by an agent for the king, of ſchiſm, hereſy, and treaſon. Some of them were impriſoned, and others concealed themſelves. One of them told Mathew Paris the hiſtorian, that, if they had not purchaſed ſumptuous houſes in London, ſcarcely one of them would have remained in England †. The neceſſary conſequence of the clamour and perſecution raiſed againſt thoſe who took intereſt for the uſe of money, was that they were obliged to charge it much higher than the natural price, which, if it had been let alone, would have found its proper level, in order to compenſate for the opprobrium, and frequently the plunder, which they ſuffered: and thence the uſual rate of intereſt was what we ſhould now call moſt exorbitant and ſcandalous uſury ‡.

The marriage of Alexander III, king of Scotland, to Margaret, the daughter of Henry III king of England, both infants of ten years of age, occaſioned a diſplay of magnificence, which ſeems to have exceeded any thing ever ſeen in England before. Beſides the kings of England and Scotland with their retinues, the queen dowager of Scotland, who reſided in France, joined the company with a ſplendid train of the nobles of that country. Notwithſtanding the rapine of the popes and the folly of the cruſades, the nobles of England could afford to make a moſt

* Doctor Henry, generally a careful and accurate writer, ſeems to be miſtaken in ſaying [*V.* viii, *p.* 335, *ed.* 1788] that they took *ſixty* per cent. The condition in the obligation exemplified by Mathew Paris, [*p.* 418] which ſeems to have miſled him, was apparently the common form, (ſee *Fœdera*, *V.* i, *p.* 643, for ſuch another) and ſimilar to the modern practice of making bonds for double the debt, in order to cover the damages and expenſes.

† Some of them ſoon after obtained a bull from the pope, deſiring the king to treat them favourably. [*Fœdera*, *V.* i, *p.* 467.]

‡ The facts in this account of the trade in money are taken from M. Paris [*pp.* 417-419, 822] and Muratori. [*Antiq. V.* i, *diſſ.* 16.] Muratori ſtrenuouſly denies, that the Corſini, a noble family of Florence, who, like the other nobles of that ſtate, were engaged in trade, had any connection with the money-lenders called Caurſini. He even endeavours to clear his native country, Italy, ſtill further from the reproach, attending their oppreſſive uſury, by fixing them at the city of Cahors in France, the general rendezvous, as he ſays, of thoſe traders, whether French or Italians, whence they were called Caorſini, Caturcini, &c. For this he quotes Benevenuto of Imola who wrote in the year 1380, and Du Cange the learned French gloſſariſt. Perhaps it may alſo be conſidered as a mark of the ſuperior ſcience of the people of that place in money matters, that John of Cahors ('de Caturco') was employed in the buſineſs of coining by Edward I. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the excheq. c.* 22, § 4.] It would throw conſiderable light on the diſpute, if we could certainly know, which ſide of the Alps Mathew Paris [*p.* 822] calls *Tranſalpine*. On other occaſions he clearly applies that term to the Italians.

extravagant diſplay of magnificence. On the marriage day (December 26th) a thouſand Engliſh knights appeared in *cointiſes* of ſilk *, and next day every one of them was dreſſed in a new robe of another kind. The Scottiſh part of the company were not ſo ſumptuouſly adorned; for we are only told, that above ſixty knights, and many others equal to knights, were handſomely dreſſed. But the hiſtorian declines ſpecifying the greateſt exceſſes of profuſion on that occaſion, becauſe, he ſays, they would aſtoniſh and diſguſt the reader, if related, and ſcarcely be credited. The archbiſhop of York had the very expenſive honour of being landlord to all this jolly company aſſembled from England, Scotland, and France, at his metropolitan ſee. In an entertainment he expended ſixty ſtalled oxen for one article of the feaſt: and his total expenſes in entertainments and preſents of gold, ſilver, and ſilks, to his gueſts during their ſtay, amounted to the prodigious ſum of four thouſand marks. [*M. Paris, pp.* 829, 830.]

1252—The port of Winchelſea, which was very uſeful to the merchants of London, was much damaged by a dreadful ſtorm, and an extraordinary inundation of the ſea. [*M. Paris, p.* 831.]

'The citizens of London, who, by the tenor of their charters and by 'antient cuſtoms, ought to be of the very freeſt condition, were com-'pelled by King Henry's imperious requiſitions to give him twenty 'marks of gold, as if they were the moſt abject ſlaves, ſo that their 'ſituation ſeemed nearly as bad as that of the miſerable Jews.' This ſum, which was but a drop in the ocean of treaſure he extorted from the city † (though 160 ounces of gold could not be called a trifle) is noticed, as it was the immediate prelude to the repetition, at leaſt the third time, of an arbitrary proclamation, ordering the citizens to ſhut up their ſhops for fifteen days, and bring their goods to his fair at Weſtminſter, where he compelled them to expoſe their perſons and property, though there were ſcarcely any buyers, to the inclemency of the weather, which happened to be exceedingly rainy. But the king, ſays the hiſtorian, did not mind the imprecations of the people. [*M. Paris, p.* 852.]

At this time died John of Baſingſtokes, who in his youth had ſtudied at Athens ‡, ſtill the ſchool of the languiſhing ſcience of Greece. He

* Such a diſplay of ſilk ſhows that there was no ſcarcity of it in England. We are told, [*Ann. Waverl. p.* 203] that in the year 1242 the ſtreets of London were covered, or ſhaded, with ſilk, for the reception of Richard, the king's brother, on his return from the Holy land; but that might be ſaid, if only a few ſilk awnings were put up. Long after this time, ſo late as the year 1367, it was thought worthy of being recorded, as an inſtance of great magnificence, that a thouſand citizens of the opulent commercial city of Genoa were clothed in ſilk: and it has been often repeated, while an equal diſplay of ſilken pomp in the remoter and leſs commercial country of England, and at leaſt equally well atteſted, has been little noticed.

† For other inſtances of much larger ſums ſqueezed out of the city, ſee Mathew Paris, *pp.* 336, 600, 693, 758, 863, 901, 902, 929.

‡ He told Mathew Paris, that he learned whatever he knew, that was moſt valuable in ſcience, from Conſtantina, a learned virgin under twenty years of age, the daughter of the archbiſhop of Athens.

brought to England the 'numeral figures of the Greeks, and the know-'lege and ſignifications of them, which he communicated to his friends. 'By theſe figures letters alſo are repreſented, and, what is moſt wonder-'ful in them, any number may be expreſſed by a ſingle figure, which 'cannot be done with the Latin numerals or the Algoriſm.' The figures, as deſcribed by Mathew Paris, conſiſt of a perpendicular ſtroke with a ſhorter ſtroke branching off from its ſide, which by the variation of its poſition and angles repreſents the nine ſimple numbers, thoſe with the branch extended to the left being units, and thoſe having it on the right being the ſame numbers in the column of tens, to ſpeak in the language of our uſual numeration: for example ⊣ is five, ⊢ fifty, and + fifty-five. [*M. Paris, p.* 835, *cum var. lect.*] How the higher numbers were written, we are not informed. Theſe numerals, if there is no error in calling them Grecian, for ſome of them are much more like the letters of the Runic alphabet, are totally different from thoſe of the antient Greeks, who, as well as the Romans, expreſſed all numbers by their letters *. If they were an effort of Grecian pride to emulate, without imitating, the Oriental numeral figures, they ſeem to have ſoon yielded to their ſuperior utility, and ſunk into oblivion.

At the ſame time flouriſhed John de Sacro boſco, another Britiſh author, who wrote a book upon the ſphere, which has been eſteemed claſſical, and has had ſeveral commentators and many editions, and alſo treatiſes upon the aſtrolabie and algorithm †, which are ſtill in manuſcript in the Bodleian library at Oxford. He died at Paris in the year 1256. [*Lelandi Script. Brit. p.* 353.—*Montucla, Hiſt. de mathem. V.* i, *p.* 417.—*Mackenzie's Lives, V.* i, *p.* 168.]

About the ſame time, or perhaps ſomewhat earlier, lived Daniel Morley, who, after ſtudying at Oxford and Paris, went to Toledo for the ſake of learning mathematics from the Arabs or Moors, then the poſſeſſors of that part of Spain. After his return to England he is ſaid to have written two books on the lower and upper worlds; but whether he added to the ſtock of ſcience in England, we are not informed. [*Leland de Script. Brit. p.* 244.]

1253—Some appearances of manufactures of linen in both the Britiſh kingdoms have already been noticed. But it is probable, that they were

* And they have as little reſemblance to the now-obſolete Oriental figures ٨, ٥, ٧, now written 4, 5, 7, as they have to the modern figures. The antient figures may be ſeen in many manuſcripts, particularly in Cleop. B vi and ix in the Cotton library.—It is ſurpriſing that Leland, in his account of Baſingſtokes, [*Script. Brit. p.* 266] extracted from that of Mathew Paris, has entirely neglected this moſt curious and important part of it, as unworthy of notice. And it is ſtill more ſurpriſing that it is alſo unnoticed by moſt of the modern writers, who have inveſtigated the origin of numeral figures.

† *Algorithm*, or *algoriſm*, called alſo *augrim* by Chaucer in his *Concluſions of the aſtrolabie*, appears to have been a kind of arithmetic, which is variouſly deſcribed by modern authors. Marianus Scotus, who flouriſhed in the eleventh century, is ſaid to have written a treatiſe upon it; and there are many manuſcript works upon it, beſides that of John de Sacro boſco mentioned in the text, one particularly in the volume of the Cotton library, Cleop. B, vi, mentioned in the preceding note.

moſtly confined to the coarſe fabrics, and that the quantity was trifling, the ſupply of the greateſt quantity, and eſpecially of the beſt fabrics, being procured from Flanders, where the linen manufacture was carried to perfection with native materials of the beſt quality. It appears, however, that ſome finer linens were made in England at, or before, this time, eſpecially in Wilt-ſhire and Suſſex, and we find orders ſent by the king to the ſhirrefs of thoſe two ſhires, directing each of them to purchaſe 1,000 ells of fine linen (' lineæ telæ pulchræ et delicatæ') in his ſhire for the royal wardrobe. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the excheq. c.* 10, § 12.] Many other inſtances of linen bought for the king occur in the records; but we are ignorant whether it is foreign or home-made.

The manufacture of linen muſt have alſo been pretty generally eſtabliſhed in Wales at this time, as we find ſoon after (in 1314) that the men of that country were moſtly clothed in linen. [*Barber's Life of Robert Bruce, p.* 276, *ed.* 1758.]

King Henry having ordered all the veſſels in England, foreign as well as Engliſh, to be ſeized for his uſe in an expedition againſt the malcontent barons of Gaſcoigne, the number of them was found to be above a thouſand, whereof three hundred were diſtinguiſhed as large ſhips. [*M. Paris, p.* 868.]

1254—The people of Yarmouth fitted out a large and beautiful ſhip, manned with thirty ſkilful ſeamen, to carry Edward prince of England over to the continent. Thoſe of Winchelſea had alſo fitted out ſome ſhips to carry over the queen; but none of their veſſels being comparable for beauty or magnitude to that of Yarmouth, they were ſo enraged at her ſuperiority, that, according to the fierce and lawleſs manners of the age, they attacked her, and killed ſome of her men, for which groſs outrage they had no provocation but mere envy *. [*M. Paris, p.* 889.]

King Henry expended in his fruitleſs expedition to Gaſcoigne above two millions ſeven hundred thouſand pounds of ſilver, more money, ſays the hiſtorian, than any prudent man would give for the two provinces of Gaſcoigne and Poictou: and at the ſame time he gave thirty thouſand marks, beſides landed eſtates, to his foreign uterine brothers. Theſe ſums, though reported by a very reſpectable hiſtorian, ſeem ſcarcely credible. [*M. Paris, p.* 890.]

About the beginning of this year ſome large and elegant ſhips, well found in naval ſtores, arms, and proviſions, and alſo carrying arms ſufficient for an army, were driven by ſtreſs of weather upon the Engliſh coaſt near Berwick, and ſeized by the wardens of the coaſt. The ſight of ſome other ſtrange ſhips induced the wardens to let them go in peace, leſt they ſhould be found more cruel than tempeſts, and leſt the quarrel-

* Hoſtilities between Yarmouth and the Cinque ports, of which Winchelſea was one, were frequent: but it is not neceſſary to ſtain theſe pages with repeated proofs of the barbariſm of the people and the inefficiency of government in thoſe ages.

of the ſtrangers ſhould be revenged by their ſuppoſed conſorts. As none of the people of that part of the country underſtood the language of the foreigners, we have no means of even gueſſing at the country to which thoſe ſhips belonged. [*M. Paris, p.* 882.]

1254—The people of all ranks in Flanders, from the prince to the meaneſt peaſant, were enriched by their manufactures. Their earl Ferdinand was ſo opulent, that when John king of England and his allies were planning the conqueſt and partition of France, it was agreed, that the title of king of France ſhould be given to the earl of Flanders, becauſe he had contributed the greateſt proportion of men, and ſupported the whole army with his Flemiſh gold. [*P. Æmyl. p.* 196.] But the proſperity of Flanders now ſuffered a ſevere check from a war, which was kindled up on the continent by the rival ſons of the counteſs Margaret, who is ſaid by ſome authors to have had two huſbands at once, like another Helen, wherein prodigious numbers of French, Germans, and Flemings, were ſlain, above 30,000 Flemings having fallen in one battle at Walcheren. So great a ſlaughter of the makers and conſumers of woollen cloth produced a ſtagnation of the manufacture, the conſequence of which was ſeverely felt in England, eſpecially by the Ciſtercian monks, apparently the greateſt breeders of ſheep in the kingdom, being encouraged thereto by the exemption from duties, claimed by their order, [See *Hemingford, L.* ii, *c.* 72.—*W. Newbrig. L.* iv, *c.* 38] who were this year diſappointed of their uſual ſales of wool to the Flemings. [*M. Paris, p.* 886.—*Meyeri Ann. Fland. f.* 77 a, *ed.* 1561.] Some heavy duties laid upon the commerce of Flanders were probably alſo a conſequence of the war: but theſe the counteſs lightened upon the remonſtrance of the citizens of Hamburgh. [*Lambecii Orig. Hamb. L.* ii, *c.* 37.]

1255—The feeble government of the emperor William brought the imperial authority into contempt. The laws were neglected: public tranquillity was deſtroyed: the nobles of the imperial demeſne and the duchy of Swabia infeſted the highways with robbery and murder, and deſolated the country. In vain did ſeveral of the moſt powerful princes attempt to ſuppreſs their atrocities, till the archbiſhops of Mentz, Triers, and Cologne, together with the princes of the Rhine, entered into a confederacy with above ſixty cities, ſituated on both ſides of the Rhine from Zurich to Cologne, on purpoſe to carry on a perpetual war againſt the diſturbers of the public tranquillity, and to aboliſh the unjuſt local tolls, recently eſtabliſhed all-over the country. The confederacy under the name of *the League of the Rhine*, was ſanctioned by the approbation of the emperor William, and confirmed in a general aſſembly of the allies held at Oppenheim: and they afterwards determined to hold an aſſembly once in every three months in order to deliberate on the intereſts of the league. The country ſoon experienced the good effects of this aſſocia-

tion: a count was hanged for violating the public peace, and the nobles deſiſted from robbing on the highways. The cities of Lubeck and Hamburgh, already confederated for the protection of their commerce, do not ſeem to have had any connection with this aſſociation, which did not extend beyond the neighbourhood of the Rhine. But a coalition afterwards took place; and the union of other ſmall confederacies and ſingle towns ſeems to have afterwards produced the powerful aſſociation of the *Hanſe*, which does not appear from any good authority to have exiſted at this time *. [*Pfeffel, Abrege de l'hiſt. d'Allemagne, pp.* 364, 380, *ed.* 1758.—*Struvii Corpus hiſt. Germ. V.* i, *p.* 596.]

Though the excellent accommodation of remitting money by *bills of exchange* was probably known long before this time in Italy and all other countries in which there was any commerce, there is not, I believe, any expreſs mention of them (ſo little attention did hiſtorians pay to matters of real utility and importance), till a very extraordinary and infamous occaſion connected them with the political events of the age. The pope, having a quarrel with Manfred king of Sicily, had, in the plenitude of his power as ſovereign of the world, offered the kingdom of Sicily and Apulia, on condition of driving Manfred out of it, to the brothers of the king of France, and, after their refuſal, to Richard earl of Cornwall, brother of King Henry III, who ſaid, he might as well offer to make him king of the moon. At laſt he offered it to Henry for his ſecond ſon Edmund, who without heſitation accepted the fatal gift, and empowered the pope to carry on his war againſt Manfred at the expence of England; whereupon he immediately took up large ſums from the merchants of Italy. When they aſked him for payment, he applied for the money to Henry, whoſe conſtant profuſion made him for ever poor. While Henry was in terror of loſing his ſon's viſionary kingdom for want of money to feed the pope's rapacity, Peter de Egeblanke, biſhop of Hereford, told him, that he had hit upon an expedient to raiſe the ſums wanted, which was, that the Italian merchants,

* Some writers mention a charter of Henry III king of England to *the merchants of the Hanſe* dated in the year 1206, (which, by the bye is two years before he was born) as a proof that that aſſociation exiſted then, and long before, for it is ſaid to refer to grants of his predeceſſors. We have charters of Henry III to the merchants of Cologne ſettled in London in the 18th year of his reign, to the merchants of Lubeck, Brunſwick, and Denmark in his 41st year, and to the German merchants in London in his 44th year. But in none of them is the word *Hanſe*, or any mention of a general mercantile aſſociation, to be found, which would ſurely have been inſerted in the charter to the German merchants in general, with a reference to the former charter to the merchants of the Hanſe, if any ſuch had exiſted. Moreover, in the year 1579, when the Hanſe merchants were moving heaven and earth in order to preſerve their privileges in England, we find, in their addreſſes to the emperor and princes of Germany and to Queen Elizabeth, no pretenſions to any charters earlier than one ſaid to be given by King Edward I; and that appears, from the account they give of it, to be the general charter given to *all* foreign merchants in the year 1303; and they ſeem to have had no knowlege of Edward's charter of 1280, which was a confirmation of his father's one of 1259 to *the merchants of the Teutonic gildhall*, the name of *Hanſe* being apparently not uſed ſo early. [*Papers concerning the Hanſe merchants, MS. Bib. Cott. Veſp.* F viii, *f.* 149 a, 157 a.] All the charters, here mentioned, will be noted in their proper places in this work.

who had advanced the money, being authorized by the king and the pope, neither of whom had any reluctance to forward ſo honourable a buſineſs, ſhould draw bills upon the Engliſh prelates for ſums pretended to have been advanced to them by merchants of Sienna or Florence. This righteous plan was accordingly executed, and an agent was ſent into England to receive payment of the bills *. In vain the prelates proteſted, that they had no dealings or connection with the perſons pretending to be their creditors. They were obliged, under the terrible penalty of excommunication, to pay the bills. [*M. Paris, pp.* 892, 910.] The biſhop of Ely, however, found means to ſave himſelf from the extorſion. Being ſued by ſome merchants of Sienna for 300 marks of principal and 100 marks of intereſt ('intereſſe') before Alexander de Ferentin, a judge appointed by the pope, and being at the ſame time commiſſioned to go to Spain as the king's ambaſſador, he refuſed to ſet out upon the journey, unleſs he were relieved from the iniquitous proſecution: and the king was obliged to comply with his deſire, and to find other funds to pay the debt, which was juſtly due to the merchants. [*Rot. clauſ.* 40 *Hen. III, m.* 8. *dorſo, in Prynne's Exact chronological vindication, V.* ii, *p.* 859.] This is believed to be the earlieſt notice, extant in this country, of intereſt being fairly and expreſsly mentioned by that name †, unleſs when the lender was a Jew: for it appears to have been hitherto ſettled by colluſion between the parties, when both were Chriſtians, in order to avoid the cenſures and penalties of the church.

1256—At this time the intereſt of the money borrowed by the king amounted to above *a hundred pounds* a-day, which, the hiſtorian ſays, threatened the whole people of England, the clergy as well as the laity, with deſolation and ruin. [*M. Paris, p.* 938.] It is a pity he has not alſo told us the amount of the principal, or, which would have been the ſame thing, the rate of the intereſt.

Juſtices were ſent to every city and burgh throughout England, in order to regulate and correct the meaſures, and to eſtabliſh an aſſiſe for the weight of bread according to the fluctuations in the price of wheat; for example, when the quarter of wheat was ſold for one ſhilling, the farthing loaf of *waſtel* bread ſhould weigh ſix pounds and ſixteen twentieths, Troye weight. They alſo fixed an aſſiſe for ale proportioned to the prices of corn, and for wine ‡. [*Annales Burton. p.* 365, *ed. Gale.*]

The king by a charter to the burgeſſes of S^t^. Omers in Flanders pro-

* The worthy contriver ſubjected himſelf to the payment of 4,000 marks, as a decoy to his brethren. But he had an order from the king to indemnify himſelf. [*Prynne's Exact chronological vindication, p.* 860.]

† We find 'ſumma principali, cum damnis, expenſis, et *intereſſe*,' in c. 24 of the laws aſcribed to Alexander II king of Scotland, who died in the year 1249. I ſhall afterwards have occaſion to hint a ſuſpicion that that law rather belonged to his ſon Alexander III.

‡ The regulated prices of bread and ale will be found in the appendix of prices. Thoſe of wine are omitted by the annaliſt, nor do they appear in the aſſiſe in the ſtatute of 51 Henry III.

miſed that they and their property ſhould be exempted from arreſt for any debts, for which they, or ſome of their countrymen, were not principal debtors or ſureties; that their property in the hands of their ſervants ſhould not be ſeized for any tranſgreſſions of thoſe ſervants; and that any of them, who ſhould die in his dominions, ſhould have a right to leave his property by will, and the heir ſhould not be obſtructed in taking poſſeſſion of it *. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 555.—*Rot. pat.* 40 *Hen. III, m.* 4.] Whether the commerce of the burgeſſes of S^t. Omers was an object of much conſequence, or not, we are not informed: but the charter merits attention, as the earlieſt known relaxation of the law, or cuſtom, which made every foreigner anſwerable for the debts, and even crimes, of all other foreigners, and made the whole property of every ſtranger at his death the prey of the king, or lord of the ſoil on which he died; a horrid prerogative, which continued to diſgrace the laws of France in particular from the age of Charlemagne down to our own times †.

It will not be deemed impertinent to commercial hiſtory to relate, that an author called William de Sancto amore (whom the biographer of the popes calls a pernicious man) wrote a book, wherein he affirmed, that thoſe, who ſpent their lives in idleneſs on pretence of devoting themſelves to religious duties, and devoured the produce of other people's induſtry, were not in a ſtate of ſalvation. The book, containing ſuch dangerous and heretical doctrine, was immediately condemned to the flames, and all who kept copies of it in their poſſeſſion were excommunicated, by the infallible head of the church. [*Triveti Ann. p.* 207.—*Platinæ Vit. pontif. p.* 427, *ed.* 1664.]

1257—Though the earl of Cornwall refuſed the title of king of Sicily, which, he foreſaw, would coſt more than the actual poſſeſſion would be worth, the ſuperior ſplendour of the imperial title got the better of his prudence. A part of the German electors, allured, as it is ſaid, by the fame of his great riches (for he was as remarkable for accumulating as his brother was for ſquandering) elected him emperor of Germany, or king of the Romans: and, in order to ſhow his attention to the intereſt of his new ſubjects, before he left England he obtained from King Henry a charter (May 11^th) whereby the king took under his protection and ſafe conduct the burgeſſes of Lubeck with their merchandize, none of which, he aſſured them, ſhould be taken for account of himſelf or any other perſon without their conſent. And he ordered that they and their agents ſhould have perfect liberty of buying and ſelling, as they

* The privileges of the burgeſſes of S^t. Omers were thrice renewed by Edward II, and once by Edward III. [*Rot. pat.* 13 *Edw. II, m.* 15; and 16 *Edw. II, m.* 5.—*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 890; *V.* iv, *p.* 555.]

† Some deſcription of the cruel treatment of ſtrangers in the middle ages may be found in *Robertſon's Hiſtory of Charles V, V.* i, *p.* 394, *ed.* 1792.

thought proper, and of coming, remaining, and going away, without any impediment. Theſe privileges were to be in force for ſeven years, provided they ſhould continue faithful to his brother the emperor elect. Charters in the ſame form were alſo granted to the burgeſſes and merchants of Denmark and thoſe of the city of Brunſwick. [*Chart. in Hakluyt's Voiages, V.* i, *p.* 131.]

Richard, the new-elected emperor, expended upon his coronation, and other fruitleſs objects in Germany, the gatherings of his life-time, amounting to the prodigious ſum of *ſeven hundred thouſand pounds of ſilver*, beſides his vaſt revenues in England, which were remitted to him, while he continued in Germany. By the exportation of ſo much treaſure the country was very much diſtreſſed. [*M. Paris, pp.* 939, 949.]

This year the king coined money of the pureſt gold, weighing two ſterlings, or pennies, and ordered that it ſhould paſs for twenty pennies of ſilver, being in the proportion of one to ten.—[*Rot. clauſ.* 41 *Hen. III, m.* 3.—*MS. Chron. in arch. Lond.*—*Snelling's View of the gold coin, p.* i.] Thus it is proved, that gold money was coined by Henry III; whereas the common belief is, that Edward III, his great-grandſon, was the firſt king of England who coined gold. It is probable, however, that there was no great quantity of it, and the exiſtence of it was ſoon forgotten. According to Carte, [*Hiſt. of England, V.* ii, *pp.* 23, 111] the citizens of London remonſtrated againſt the new gold money, on Sunday 4th November, and the king thereupon proclaimed, that every perſon might carry it to his exchange, and receive the value at which it had been made current (which, to-be-ſure, was much above the price gold had been hitherto rated at) * deducting one halfpenny) or two and a half per cent) for the exchange †.

The Welſh being threatened by Prince Edward, to whom his father had aſſigned his ſuperiority over them, with an invaſion of the Iriſh, who were alſo his immediate vaſſals, they provided a fleet of gallies, ſupplied with arms and proviſions, to guard their coaſt. In this war the marches of Wales were reduced to a deſert, the caſtles and houſes were burnt, the people and cattle were ſlaughtered, and the woods deſtroyed. A ſtop was alſo put to the uſual importation of horſes, oxen, &c. from Wales, which in peaceable times was very advantageous to both nations. [*M. Paris, pp.* 890, 949, 957, 958.]

* The continuator of Mathew Paris [*p.* 1009] values a gold cup weighing 10 pounds at 100 pounds of ſilver in the year 1239. Probably he allows 10 pounds of ſilver for the workmanſhip.

† The coinage of gold by Henry III is alſo noticed by Eachard in his *Hiſtory of England*, and by Maitland in his *Hiſtory of Scotland* (a poſthumous work). The later found it in the archives of the city, when collecting materials for his *Hiſtory of London*, but has miſtaken the year of the king's reign. Notwithſtanding the mention of this coinage by Carte, Eachard, Maitland, and Snelling, upon the ſure authority of antient records, ſo tenacious are many people of their accuſtomed belief, that it will ſtill be difficult to perſuade them, that any gold money was coined in England before the reign of Edward III.

The miſery of the year was aggravated by a very defective crop, which raiſed wheat to the price of ten ſhillings a quarter (' ſumma') ; and, the country being drained of money by the rapacity of the popes, the profuſion and miſmanagement of the king, and the tranſportation of the earl of Cornwall's treaſure to Germany, many thouſands periſhed for abſolute want, and by the diſeaſes proceeding from the famine. Some old men remembered former ſcarcities, which raiſed the wheat to a mark, or even twenty ſhillings, a quarter, and were not attended with ſuch mortal conſequences, becauſe the people then had money circulating among them, and were enabled to buy corn, even at the extravagant price. [*M. Paris*, *p.* 958.] Unleſs the famine had been univerſal throughout the world, which, we know, was not the caſe, the want of corn in England could have been ſupplied by commerce. But the commerce of England was, comparatively ſpeaking, as yet but in its infancy : and there were even many inſtances in thoſe ages of corn being unreaſonably cheap in ſome parts of England, while it was enormouſly dear in others. So little were the principles, or the practice, of a beneficial commerce then underſtood.

1258—The famine in England was ſomewhat alleviated by the arrival of about fifty large ſhips loaded with wheat, barley, and bread, which the emperor Richard had engaged to come over ; and they were followed by others ſent by the merchants of Germany and Holland. By the king's proclamation the citizens of London were prohibited from buying any of the cargoes for ſtoring up. But the want of money prevented many, who had formerly been in good circumſtances, from being benefited by the ſupply. [*M. Paris*, *pp.* 963, 976.]

The king claimed as an antient prerogative, a right of taking at an inferior price, by the name of *priſe*, a certain part of the cargo imported in every veſſel ; and particularly two tuns (' dolia') from every cargo of wine conſiſting of above nineteen tuns, viz. one before the maſt, and one behind it, at the price of twenty ſhillings each *. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the exchеq. c.* 18, § 2.—*Fœdera*, *V.* iii, *p.* 192.] His purveyors alſo made a practice of taking for his uſe, or at leaſt in his name, whatever they thought proper, at a lower price than what the reſt of the cargo

* Some have ſuppoſed that the priſe wines were due to the king without any compenſation to the owners. But the following facts ſerve to prove that they were paid for at a fixed price.—Edward II made over to his favourite, Piers de Gavaſton, his antient and due priſes of wine, being two tuns out of every veſſel, in two ports of Devon-ſhire, Gavaſton paying to the merchants twenty ſhillings ſterling for each tun, ' as it uſed to be in ' the times of his anceſtors the kings of England.' The ſame price was alſo paid to the importers by the family of Botiler (or Butler) in Ireland, who had an hereditary grant of the king's priſe wines in the cities of Dublin, Drogheda, Waterford, Cork, and Limerick, and by the archbiſhop of York, who in the year 1327 claimed the priſage of the wines imported at Hull in virtue of a charter from King Athelſtan. [*Fœdera*, *V.* iii, *p.* 191 ; *V.* iv, *pp.* 268, 272.]

The fixed price of the priſe wines at Briſtol was only 15*ſ.* as appears by a record of the 12th year of King John, quoted in *Madox's Hiſtory of the exchequer*, *c.* 18, § 2, and the *Liber garderobæ Edw. I*, *p.* 356.

ſold for: and, as if that arbitrary proceeding had not been ſufficiently oppreſſive, the importers were often obliged to go without any payment at all *. The conſequence was, that many Engliſh merchants were ruined, and many of the foreign merchants about this time gave over trading to England. [*Ann. Burton. p.* 400.] An exemption from the priſage of wines is one of the antient privileges of the city of London †.

Auguſt 26th—The principal citizens (' prohombres') of Barcelona having compoſed a body of maritime laws for the regulation of veſſels in the merchant ſervice, it was now confirmed by James I, king of Aragon and count of Barcelona. It conſiſts of twenty-one chapters, containing rules to be obſerved by the owners and commanders of veſſels, the ſcribes or clerks who were ſworn to keep fair accounts between the owners and the freighters, the mariners, and the merchant paſſengers; for loading, ſtowing, and diſcharging, the cargo; for the arms to be carried by every veſſel, and alſo by the ſeamen, who were to find theirs at their own expenſe; for the aſſiſtance to be given by one veſſel to another when coming to an anchor; and for a council to be elected in every veſſel, whoſe decrees ſhould be binding upon the owner, commander, and merchants, in all matters concerning the common intereſt of the veſſel and cargo. [*Charta ap. Capmany, Mem. hiſt. de Barcelona, V.* ii, *p.* 23.] This code, apparently formed upon the model of that of Rhodes, is ſaid by the Spaniſh writers to be the moſt antient body of maritime laws in Europe: [*Capmany, V.* i, *com. p.* 233] but it ſeems probable that thoſe of Amalfi may claim the priority ‡.

1259—King Henry, at the requeſt of his brother the emperor, granted a charter to the merchants of Germany, who had a hall or factory, called the *Teutonic gildhall* (' Gildhalla Teutonicorum') in London, wherein he promiſed to maintain them in the liberties and free cuſtoms, which they had enjoyed in his own reign and thoſe of his predeceſſors, throughout his whole kingdom. [*Fœdera Angliæ, V.* ii, *p.* 161.—*Hakluyt's Voiages, V.* i, *p.* 132.] Unfortunately we are not informed, when thoſe merchants firſt occupied their factory in London, which, by this (apparently the earlieſt extant §) authentic document of their privileges, they appear to have poſſeſſed for ſome time. It ſeems moſt probable, that the aſſociation, now called by the general appellation of *merchants of Ger-*

* The promiſe inſerted in the charter to the merchants of Lubeck in the preceding year, that no part of their property ſhould be taken from them without their conſent, was intended to guard againſt this abuſe.

† Thomas Chaucer (who is believed to have been the ſon of the famous poet) being chief butler to King Henry IV, made a complaint that the citizens of London abuſed their privilege by permitting wines belonging to others to be entered in their names, in order to evade the priſage. [*Cotton's Abridgement of the records, p.* 476.] In the preſent day the exemption from priſage is balanced by the duties on the importation of wine being heavier in London than in the out-ports.

‡ The laws of Oleron, according to the general opinion, were alſo earlier. But the Spaniſh writers, and (as I have already obſerved) at leaſt one French writer, aſſert that they are copied from thoſe of Barcelona.

§ If they had got any earlier charter from Henry, or any preceding king of England, it certainly could not be produced, when the German merchants obtained confirmations of their privileges from Edward II and Edward III.

many, has been formed by an acceſſion of new members to the ſociety called in the year 1220 *the merchants of Cologne*, the original poſſeſſors of the *Teutonic Gildhall*. The articles imported by thoſe merchants, according to Stow, [*Survey of London*, *p.* 431, *ed.* 1618] were wheat, rye, and other grain, cables and other cordage, maſts, pitch, tar, hemp, linen, wainſcot, wax, ſteel, &c.

1261—As long as the Latin emperors of Conſtantinople poſſeſſed their feeble and precarious ſovereignty, the Venetians, the main inſtruments of their elevation to that lofty title, enjoyed ſuch a commercial ſuperiority in the eaſtern parts of the Mediterranean ſea, that they, almoſt excluſively, ſupplied the other nations of Europe with the productions of Aſia on their own terms. The Genoeſe, who had long been their rivals in commerce and naval power, could not behold without envy the advantages they enjoyed by their union with thoſe emperors. They therefor attached themſelves to Michael Palæologus the Greek ſovereign of Nice, and aſſiſted him with powerful ſuccours, regardleſs of the indignation of the pope, who favoured Baldwin the Latin emperor, and execrated Michael, who refuſed obedience to the Holy ſee. The city was taken by ſurpriſe (July 25th); and Baldwin, without making the ſmalleſt effort to repell the invaders, ſeemed very happy to make his eſcape with a few friends onboard the gallies of his Venetian allies, who carried him to Italy, where he was ſupported during the remainder of his life by the pope and the king of Sicily.

During the Latin government in Conſtantinople the trade and opulence of the city had declined, and the number of the people had decreaſed. The new ſovereign reſtored the heirs of thoſe who had been deprived of their poſſeſſions by the Latins, fixed the troops, who had made him maſter of the city, as inhabitants, and invited ſettlers from the provinces. The merchants and traders of every deſcription of Italian birth or parentage were willing, and were made welcome, to remain in the city, which, by their eſtabliſhed buſineſs and connections was become their proper home. Among theſe the Venetians, the Genoeſe, and the Piſans, had been the moſt eminent, ever ſince the decline of Amalfi, and each of thoſe nations poſſeſſed their factories and ſettlements in their own particular quarter of the city, where they lived, in ſome degree independent of the imperial government, having chiefs or governors and laws of their own. The Piſans, and even the Venetians, were continued in the enjoyment of their factories and privileges: but the larger, and more favoured, colony of the Genoeſe were put in poſſeſſion of the neighbouring town of Heraclea, the antient Perinthus, which was built in the flouriſhing days of Greece by the Samians on a peninſula projecting into the Propontis or Sea of Marmara; and thence they were ſoon after tranſplanted to Galata (called afterwards Pera) a ſuburb ſituated on the north ſide of the Golden horn, the inlet of the

ſea, which conſtitutes the harbour of Conſtantinople. That town was wholely reſigned to them; and they were alſo favoured with exemption from paying cuſtoms and with ſome other privileges: and to theſe advantages the ſituation of their town and their naval power ſoon enabled them to add, with or without the approbation of the emperor, the command of the narrow entrance of the Black ſea, and conſequently to monopolize the commerce of all the countries which ſurround it, together with that branch of the Indian trade, which was conducted by river navigation and land carriage to the eaſt end of it.

It was enacted by the barons, that the wool of England ſhould be manufactured at home inſtead of being ſold to foreigners, and that all perſons ſhould wear woollen cloth made within the kingdom, and avoid every ſuperfluous extravagance in dreſs *. [*W. Hemingford, L.* iii, *c.* 27.] At this time the Engliſh were exceedingly exaſperated againſt all foreigners on account of the king's glaring and immoderate partiality to his foreign relations and favourites, whereby a great proportion of the lands and wealth of England was thrown into their hands. But it was yet too ſoon to exclude the ſuperior manufactures of foreigners, or to prohibit the wool from going to the beſt market.

1262—Some German writers ſay, that the Hanſe aſſociation about this time made choice of Bruges in Flanders to be a ſtation for their trade, and an entrepot between the coaſts of the Baltic and the Mediterranean, a voyage from the one ſea to the other, and back again, being too arduous an undertaking to be accompliſhed in one ſeaſon. It is moreover ſaid, that the advantages of ſtorage, commiſſion, &c. continued from this time to enrich the inhabitants of Bruges, till the emperor Frederic III was provoked by an inſult put upon his ſon to block up their port, whereby the Hanſe merchants were obliged to transfer their commerce to Antwerp. [*Bertii Rer. Germ. L.* iii, *p.* 28.] But it may be doubted, whether the Hanſe aſſociation, *under that name*, was yet in exiſtence, or if there were any maritime cities yet added to the confederacy entered into by Lubeck and Hamburgh in the year 1241.

1264—There ſtill remained ſo much of the ſpirit of antient barbariſm and ferocity in Europe, that the ſpoils of rapine were often preferred to the ſlow acquiſitions of honeſt induſtry by thoſe, who felt themſelves powerful enough to be robbers. Piracies were frequently committed upon the ſea, where the perpetrators thought themſelves ſure of impunity by the abſence of any ſuperior controlling power, and more eſpecially when anarchy and public convulſions in the country they be-

* This law is dated by Hemingford, the earlieſt author who mentions it, in 1261; and he aſcribes it to the parliament of Oxford, which, according to the other hiſtorians, was held in the year 1258. It is the firſt law prohibiting the exportation of wool and the importation of cloth. We ſhall ſee another in the year 1271. Yet Edward III is generally ſuppoſed the firſt Engliſh king who enacted ſuch a law. His law has the advantage of being more generally known than the others. But all of them were equally ineffective.

longed to ſet them free from all reſtraint. The government of England being at this time diſſolved by the war between the king and the barons, there were more piracies than uſual committed by Engliſh ſubjects: and the mariners of the Cinque ports in particular are noted as moſt guilty in that way; for they not only carried on unauthorized, though profeſſed, war againſt the inhabitants of foreign cities, with ſome of whom they had quarreled, but they alſo ſeized every veſſel they were able to ſubdue, and murdered all the people, not even ſparing thoſe of their own country. Foreign commerce was ſoon at a ſtand; and wines which uſed to be ſold for 40 ſhillings, were now ſold for ten marks; wax roſe from 40 ſhillings to above eight marks; and pepper from ſix pennies to three ſhillings a pound. There was ſuch a ſcarcity of ſalt, iron, ſteel, cloth, and all other merchandize, that the people were grievouſly afflicted, and the merchants reduced to beggary, by it, the ſale of the exportable produce of the country being alſo at a ſtand in conſequence of the interruption of the navigation. The earl of Leiceſter, the leader of the barons who were confederated againſt the king, attempted to perſuade the people that foreign commerce was unneceſſary, the produce of the country being fully ſufficient to ſupply all the wants of the inhabitants; and many people, in complaiſance to him, laid aſide their coloured clothes, and dreſſed themſelves in plain white cloth. It muſt be acknowleged, that the mariners of the Cinque ports were encouraged, perhaps commiſſioned, by King Henry, who wiſhed the ſupplies coming to his enemies to be intercepted. But they muſt have gone beyond their inſtructions, which drew upon them the vengeance of Prince Edward, who puniſhed ſome, and pardoned others, after which there was perfect tranquillity upon the ſea. [*Chron. Wikes, pp.* 61, 65. —*M. Weſtm. p.* 396.—and ſee *Fœdera, V.* i, *pp.* 250, 273; *V.* ii, *p.* 82.] From the notice concerning the white and coloured cloths, we ſee, that part of the cloths made in England were undyed, and probably of the natural colour of the wool. But ſome cloths muſt have been dyed in England, as very conſiderable quantities of woad were imported in this age. The diſtreſs occaſioned by the want of foreign ſalt, iron, ſteel, and cloth, alſo ſhows us, that the manufactures of thoſe articles, which, except that of ſteel, muſt have exiſted in the country, in ſome degree of perfection, many ages before, were carried on upon a very ſmall ſcale, and were now perhaps totally interrupted by the public diſturbances.

December 14th—According to the *Magna charta* the king, in order to conſtitute a common council for aſſeſſing an aid, was to iſſue his letters to each of the archbiſhops, biſhops, earls, and greater barons, individually, and was to order the ſhirrefs and bailifs to ſummon all who held of him in chief. There were no elective members; and the inhabitants of cities and towns, including the merchants and manufacturers, had conſequently not the moſt diſtant connection with making the

laws, which diſpoſed of their lives and properties. The earl of Leiceſter, having got the king into his hands, now ſummoned in his name the prelates and nobles of his own party, and added to them a vaſt number of abbats, priors, and deans, a claſs of people among whom he had great intereſt. He alſo ordered the ſhirrefs to cauſe two knights out of every county to attend, and ſent letters to the cities of York and Lincoln, to the burghs, and to the Cinque ports, deſiring them to ſend two members each. [*Fœdera*, *V.* i, *p.* 802.] We are not told in what manner the members were choſen.

1265, January.—Thus were the commons introduced into parliament: but there is no further mention of any members being ſummoned from cities or burghs till the year 1283 *, after which they appear to have been frequently called, and at length formed a conſtituent part of every parliament, though even then a regular ſucceſſion of repreſentatives was not kept up in every city and town; for the ſhirrefs often neglected deſiring them to make their elections: and the neglect, whether occaſioned by accident or deſign in the king or the ſhirrefs, was thankfully acknowleged as a gracious indulgence by thoſe communities, who were thereby exempted from paying the ſalaries of their members; for then, and during many ages after, the repreſentatives were paid by thoſe whom they repreſented. So very different were their ideas and practice from thoſe of the preſent age. The commons long continued to have very little influence on the legiſlative body, and, indeed, were conſidered as mere petitioners. Acts were paſſed, and even money levied, without, and againſt, their conſent till the ſecond year of Henry V, when it was determined, that no law ſhould be enacted contrary to the petition of the commons, the king preſerving his prerogative of aſſent or diſſent. Though their rights, after being thus in ſome degree defined, were often infringed, they, notwithſtanding, continued to grow up into ſtrength, eſpecially during the conteſts between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, which, however fatal to individuals, tended to raiſe the great body of the people to their due place in the conſtitution. But it was not till commerce and manufactures conferred importance upon towns, and opulence upon individuals, that the HOUSE OF COMMONS attained the weight and dignity, which ought to belong to the REPRESENTATIVES OF A FREE PEOPLE †.

It would be improper to neglect noticing a pompous deſcription of the proſperity and commerce of England, which Mathew of Weſtminſter (*p.* 396) introduces in the character of a perſon lamenting 'in an ele-'gant ſtile' the miſeries of the country occaſioned by the civil war. 'O England,' ſays he, 'formerly glorious, illuſtrious, and exalted among

* Brady appears to have never ſeen the ſummonſes in 1283. He dates the firſt appearance of citizens and burgeſſes in parliament in 1295. [*Treatiſe of burghs*, *p.* 25.]

† See *Ruffhead's Preface to the Statutes at large*, and the authorities there quoted.

'the kingdoms, like the grandeur of the Chaldæans. The ſhips of 'Tarſhiſh were not comparable to thy ſhips carrying aromatics and all 'pretious merchandize throughout the four climates of the globe ('orbis'). *The ſea was thy wall;* and caſtles ſtrongly fortified were the gates 'of thy harbours. In thee chivalry, the church, and commerce, flouriſhed. For thee the Piſans, the Genoeſe, and the Venetians, tranſported the ſapphire, the carbuncle, and the ſmaragdus, drawn from the 'rivers of Paradiſe. Aſia ſupplied thee with the fineſt linen ('byſſo') 'and purple, Africa with cinnamon and balſam, Spain with gold, and 'Germany with ſilver. For thee Flanders, thy weaver, made pretious 'drapery of thy own materials. For thee thy own Gaſcoigne produced 'wine. To thee all the iſlands between the Hyades and Arcturus were 'ſubſervient. Thy inland parts abounded with the wild beaſts of the 'woods, and thy hills with cattle of every kind. Thou didſt poſſeſs 'all the fowls of the air. Thy fields were beautiful. In the abundance 'of fiſh thou ſurpaſſeſt every region. And though thou haſt but a narrow tract of land, confined within the ſhores of the ſea, yet the coaſts 'of all the nations of the world, warmed by the fleeces of thy ſheep, 'have bleſſed thy celebrated fertility. In thee the ſwords were converted into plough-ſhares, and peace and religion were ſo flouriſhing, 'that thou wert looked up to as a mirror and example by all the other 'catholic kingdoms. Alas! why art thou now ſtripped of ſuch great 'glory, &c.'—Though the panegyric, which is probably an amplification of thoſe of Fitz-Stephen and Henry of Huntingdon, (ſee above, pp. 329, 344) is prodigiouſly overſtrained, yet the nations of the earth being clothed with Engliſh wool, and that wool being made into cloth in Flanders, are valuable notices of the ſtate of manufactures and commerce in the thirteenth century; and the importation of gold from Spain in that age (which was probably in payment for wool) is a circumſtance exceedingly curious, and, I believe, not to be found in any other Engliſh author or record *. But, while he tells us that Oriental luxuries were imported by the Piſans and other Italians, and at the ſame time repreſents the commerce of England as active, and the ſhipping as very numerous and trading to all parts of the world, he evidently wanders into the regions of romance.—England, at leaſt in the preſent day, does not need to have recourſe to fictitious naval or commercial renown.

April 12th—James I, king of Aragon, during the whole of his long reign did every thing in his power to extend and improve the manufactures and commerce of his ſubjects, and eſpecially thoſe of the citizens of Barcelona. Senſible of the pernicious effects of the taxes, which the feudal lords aſſumed a power of levying, he now relieved the merchants

* We ſhall afterwards ſee good authority, from Spaniſh records, for the importation of Engliſh wool in that country.

of Barcelona from the payments exacted by the abbat of Saint Felix upon the arrival and departure of veſſels, and alſo from ſimilar payments hitherto made to himſelf. At the ſame time, in his zeal for the proſperity of Barcelona, but in direct oppoſition to the prudent and liberal policy of his predeceſſor, Count Raymundo Berenguer I, he expelled all the merchants of Lombardy, Florence, Sienna, and Luca, reſiding in that city. King James afterwards ordered, that no foreigner ſhould keep a table (or bank) of exchange in Barcelona, nor ſhip any goods, not being his own property, onboard any foreign veſſel. [*Capmany, Mem. hiſt. de Barcelona, V.* ii, *Col. dipl. pp.* 31, 34, *and* 12-36.] The woollen manufactures of Catalonia, which appear to have been in an eſtabliſhed ſtate before the year 1243, continued thenceforth to flouriſh in Barcelona and many other towns of the province, [*Capmany, V.* i, *Com. p.* 241] till the union of the crowns of Caſtile and Aragon depreſſed the later kingdom, and the expulſion of the Jews and Moors, togegether with the diſcovery of the mines of America, almoſt completed the deſtruction of induſtry in Spain.

1266—Alexander II, king of Scotland, had formerly made a propoſal to Hacon, king of Norway, for purchaſing his ſupremacy over the maritime kingdom of Mann and the Weſtern iſlands, which appear evidently intended by Nature to be an appendage of Scotland rather than of the diſtant kingdom of Norway. But Hacon anſwered, that he was in no want of money, and he did not chuſe to diſmember his kingdom. In conſequence of the failure of the negotiation, two hoſtile expeditions were undertaken; one by Alexander in the year 1249, and the other by Hacon in 1263; and both princes died by ſickneſs while on their expeditions, without any thing effectual being done on either ſide. An amicable treaty was this ſummer concluded at Perth between their ſons, by which Magnus IV, king of Norway, ceded for ever to Alexander III, king of Scotland, the feudal ſovereignty of Mann and the Weſtern iſlands for the ſum of 4,000 marks, together with an annual payment of 100 marks, of good and lawful ſterling money according to the manner and uſage of Rome, France, England, and Scotland *: an exceeding good bargain on both ſides, inaſmuch as a voluntary ceſſion is more honourable than a compulſive deprivation, and a fair purchaſe is more honourable than the rapine of conqueſt. The treaty alſo provides for the ſecurity and protection of the perſons, veſſels, and cargoes, of the ſubjects of either king, who might be wrecked on the coaſts of the other. [*See the original treaty, ap. Fordun, p.* 1355, *ed. Hearne.—Torfæi Orcades,*

* If the framers of the treaty underſtood, that the money of Rome, France, England, and Scotland was of the ſame value, they were very ill informed. Before the year 1235 the French pound had ſunk to one fourth part of the value of the Engliſh or Scottiſh pound; for in that year Henry III engaged to pay £200 of good and lawful ſterling money as an equivalent for £800 Tournois, or French money, to the maſter of the Temple. [*Fœdera, V.* i, *p.* 342.]

L. ii.] The natural advantages for fiſheries and navigation poſſeſſed by theſe iſlands render them capable of being made one of the moſt valuable appendages of the Britiſh empire.

A regular cuſtom duty was now charged on the exportation of wool, as appears by the ſtatute of the exchequer, which directed that the collectors of the cuſtoms of wool ſhould ſettle twice in the year, and render an account of the quantity of wool loaded onboard each veſſel. [*Statutes at large, V.* i, *p.* 26, *ed.* 1786.]

1267, January 5th—The merchants of Lubeck, having no longer the patronage of their emperor Richard, who had returned from Germany to England, obtained a new charter from King Henry by the intereſt of Albert duke of Brunſwick, who had juſt married a niece of the queen of England. The king therein grants to them and their property an exemption from arreſt on account of any debt, for which they are not ſecurity or principal debtors, unleſs the debtors are of their community, or unleſs the burgeſſes of Lubeck ſhall withhold juſtice from Engliſh ſubjects aggrieved in that city; that they ſhall not forfeit their property for the delinquency of their ſervants; that no *priſes*, beyond thoſe eſtabliſhed by antient cuſtom, ſhall be taken from them without being paid for; and they ſhall have their *hanſe* for payment of five ſhillings, in the ſame manner that the merchants of Cologne have had their *hanſe* *. [*Fœdera, V.* i, *p.* 839.]

1268—Glaſgow was now ſomewhat advanced in polity, having a court-houſe and a common ſeal. It was governed by three provoſts (apparently co-ordinate, and alſo by bailies. [*Chart. in Gibſon's Hiſt. of Glaſgow, p.* 303.]

The following account given in to the exchequer by Walter Hervy and William of Durham, cuſtodes of the city of London, gives a view of the names and amounts of the dues collected in the city from the eve of Eaſter to Michaelmas 1268, viz.

Divers *tronages* †, with ſome ſmall *ſtrandages* -	£97 13 11½
Cuſtoms of all kinds of merchandize coming from foreign	

* The German authors differ widely in their explanations of the meaning of the word *Hanſe*, which the aſſociation of that name has rendered ſo famous. Perhaps, without going any farther, or diving at all into the abyſs of etymology, we may have a pretty good idea of it by comparing this charter with thoſe of ſome of the towns of England, wherein the king grants the burgeſſes a *hanſe*, which ſeems to ſignify a right of acting as a corporate body, with, probably, a power of making regulations, or bye laws, for their own internal government. See *Brady on burghs, append. p.* 10. —Meyer, the annaliſt of Flanders, [*f.* 296 a] explains Hanſe as meaning aſſociates:—'Teutonici '(mercatores) qui Hanſæ, id eſt Socii, vocan-'tur.'

† *Tronage*, money paid for weighing at the *trone*, or public beam.

Strandage ſeems payment for the liberty of laying goods on the ſtrand, ſimilar to modern wharfage.

Scavage, paid for liberty to exhibit or ſhow (ſchaw) the goods at market.

Peſage, for weighing.

Stallage, rent paid for the uſe of a ſtall.

Socage, (a word of diſputed meaning) ſeems here to ſignify payment for certain privileges enjoyed by the company of butchers. See the *Gloſſary to Twyſden's Script. decem, vo. Soca.*

parts liable to pay the duty called *ſcavage*, together with the *peſages* during the half-year - -	£75	6	10
Meaſuring dues for corn arriving at the port of Billingſgate, and the *water-cuſtom* there - - -	5	18	7½
Cuſtoms of fiſh brought to London-bridge ſtreet, and ſome other cuſtoms there - - -	7	0	2½
Iſſue of the field and bars of Smithfield - -	4	7	6
Toll taken at the gates of the city, and *cuſtoms* on the Water of Thames towards the weſt - -	8	13	2½
Stallages, *cuſtoms* of butchers and others exerciſing divers trades (' mercandiſas') in the market of Weſt-Chep, *ſmall tolls* and iſſues of the ſame market, the iſſues of the markets of Garſchirche (Graſs church or Grace church) and Wollechirchehawe, with a certain annual *ſocage* of the butchers of the city - - -	42	0	5
Iſſues of Queen-hithe, being in the king's hands -	17	11	2
Forfeits of ſundry foreigners for buying and ſelling in the city contrary to the ſtatutes and cuſtoms thereof	10	11	0
Pleas and *perquiſites* in the city - -	86	5	9½
From the waidarii (dealers in woad) of Amiens, Corbye and Neele (cities of France) ſince Michaelmaſs -	11	6	8
The whole amounting to - -	£366	15	4½

[*Madox's Hiſt. of the excheq. c.* 18, § 4.]

Theodoric earl of Landſberg granted perfect freedom to the merchants of all nations, even thoſe whoſe ſovereigns might be at enmity with him, to trade ſecurely in the city of Leipſick. The ſucceeding lords of that city, with the ſanction of the emperors, chartered the fairs, which have continued to the preſent day to attract the traders of every nation in Europe. [*Peyſeri Lipſia, p.* 213 *et ſeqq.*]

1269, Auguſt 16th—There ſeem to have been ſome mutual complaints of injuries done to the ſubjects of England and Norway. Magnus Lagbetter (Reformer of the law) king of Norway, being a good man and a lover of peace, had ſent two ambaſſadors to England, in order to adjuſt differences and ſtrengthen the friendſhip entered into by his father Hacon with King Henry: and it was now agreed, that there ſhould be mutual liberty of trading to each country, and alſo that every proper aſſiſtance ſhould be given to thoſe who ſhould have the misfortune to be wrecked on either coaſt, provided they did not abandon their veſſels. [*Fœdera, V.* i, *p.* 857.]

A letter, written by Peter Adſiger in the year 1269, contains a ſcientific account of the attraction, repulſion, and polarity, of the magnet, the art of communicating thoſe properties to iron, the variation of the

magnetic needle, and even the conſtruction of the azimuth compaſs *. Thus we ſee, that the ſcience of magnetiſm, and the application of it to the ſervice of navigation, were brought to a degree of perfection, little inferior to that of the preſent age, at a time, when, it is generally believed, that the polarity of the magnet was utterly unknown in Europe.

1270—At this time the *legal* intereſt of money at Modena was four pence per month for every pound lent (or *twenty per cent* for the year). [*Muratori Antiq. V.* i, *col.* 893.] What deſcription of people could borrow money at ſuch intereſt? If traders or manufacturers, what profits did they get upon their goods, to enable them to pay ſuch intereſt? As all things are great or ſmall, only by compariſon with others, is not this rate of intereſt a ſufficient proof, that the trade of the Italian ſtates, though a vaſt deal greater than that of their ignorant and ſlothful neighbours, and alſo than that of their own anceſtors, was not, even now, very extenſive, according to our modern ideas of the magnitude of commerce, and that the proſperous ſtate of the merchants, and conſequently of the commercial cities, was owing to the prodigious great profits which the ſmall number of competitors in trade enabled them to make? We have already ſeen, [*p.* 391] that a great improvement in the circumſtances of the people of Italy, took place before the concluſion of the thirteenth century: but the high rate of intereſt warrants a belief, that it had ſcarcely begun in the year 1270.

Louis IX king of France, who had already been made a priſoner in an expedition againſt the Saracens in Egypt, after an interval of ſixteen years, undertook a new cruſade, which was the ſeventh ſince the commencement of them, and the laſt one of any conſequence. Now, as well as on the former occaſion, he applied to foreigners for the uſe of their ſhipping: and we learn from the original treaty, as quoted by Formaleoni, [*Eſſai ſur la marine des Venitiens p.* 31, *trad. Fr.*] that he obtained three ſhips from the republic, and twelve from the private citizens, of Venice. The Santa Maria, the largeſt of the republican veſſels, meaſured 108 Venetian feet (a little more than 125 Engliſh feet) in length, but whether by the keel, or on the deck, we are not told, and ſhe carried 110 ſeamen. We are thus, in ſome degree, informed of the ſize of what was reckoned an extraordinary large ſhip in the Mediterranean at that time; and we are alſo authorized to withhold our belief from the account of ten thouſand ſoldiers, and four thouſand horſes, being carried by thoſe fifteen ſhips, in addition to their own ſeamen. The death of the king and the greateſt part of his army on the burn-

* This moſt curious letter is preſerved among the manuſcripts of the univerſity of Leyden, and has not, I believe, ever been publiſhed entire: but extracts from it are inſerted by Cavallo in the ſecond edition of his *Treatiſe on magnetiſm*.

ing and peſtilential ſhore of Africa is unconnected with the ſubject of this work.

The Venetians now aſſumed ſo much authority in the Adriatic ſea, that they demanded a toll, or tranſit duty, proportioned to the quantity of the cargo, from all veſſels navigating that ſea, eſpecially from thoſe going between Pola (a town near the ſouth point of Iſtria) and Venice. The Bononians (or Bolognians), after three years of refuſal and warfare, agreed to open the navigation of ſome of the mouths of the Po, which they had the command of, to the Venetians, on condition of being allowed a free exportation of certain kinds of merchandize. The people of Ancona applied to the pope for his paternal interpoſition to free them from the impoſition, and he ordered the Venetians to deſiſt from taking it. But they anſwered his holineſs, that he was not properly informed of the affair; and, the pope being in haſte to go to the council of Lyons, nothing further was done by him. [*Platinæ Vit. pont. p.* 438, *ed.* 1664.]

Mangou-Timour, a grandſon of Zingis-khan, and ſovereign of the weſtern Tatars, gave ſeveral of his cities and provinces to his relations; and, particularly, he gave the cities of Crim and Caffa to Oran-Timour. Crim (which in the preſent age is the reſidence of a few miſerable Turks and Jews) was then one of the moſt magnificent cities in that part of the world. It was the center of a great inland commerce with the Eaſt, which was conducted by merchants who traveled in caravans, without any apprehenſions of being inſulted, and were three months upon the road, which was provided with a ſufficient number of inns for their accommodation, in places afterwards abandoned to deer and wild goats. Caffa, leſs magnificent than Crim, became no leſs famous by means of its advantageous ſituation on a bay of the Black ſea. The Genoeſe, who, ever ſince the reſtoration of the Greek empire, had enjoyed almoſt excluſively the trade and navigation of that ſea, ſoon diſcovered the importance of Caffa, ſnatched it out of the hands of the Tatars, and made it the principal ſtation of their commerce with all the countries bordering on the Black ſea *. [*Hiſt. des Huns par De Guignes, V.* iii, *p.* 343.]

At the ſame time the merchants of many cities of the northern parts of Germany, apparently now acting as a confederated body (though I have not found any authentic document for their being yet known by

* Stella, the annaliſt of Genoa, [*ap. Muratori Script. V.* xvii, *col.* 1095] ſays, he could never diſcover at what time Caffa had come into the hands of the Genoeſe; but he underſtood that it was not very long ſince Baldus de Auria built the firſt houſes in it, and ſettled in it.—The eſtabliſhment of the Genoeſe was, no doubt, near the time at which I have placed it, from De Guignes: and the houſes built by Auria may have been the commencement of a plan of enlargement and embelliſhment; for it was a place of ſome note before, and is even of very great antiquity, being mentioned by Skylax, Strabo, Pliny, and other antient geographers, under the name of Theodoſia, a name lately reſtored to it by the empreſs Catherine, in her affectation of regard for the Greeks.

the appellation of the merchants of the *Hanſe*) obtained leave from the king of Norway to fix the ſtaple of their northern trade at the city of Bergen. At firſt their commerce was reſtricted to the ſummer months (from the 3[d] of May to the 14[th] of September), and the citizens were not allowed to hire their houſes to them for more than ſix weeks, to which, however, three were added for bringing in their goods, and three more for carrying out their returns. In proceſs of time the Vandalic cities of Germany obtained permiſſion to eſtabliſh a permanent ſeat of their trade, called a *contoir*, in the city: and in conſequence of that indulgence the bridge was covered with twenty-one large houſes or factories, each of them capable of accommodating about a hundred merchants or factors, with their ſervants *: and they were bound to keep their houſes, and alſo the bridge, in repair, and to perform watch and ward in that quarter of the city wherein they lived. The merchants, who were chiefly from Lubeck, Hamburgh, Roſtock, Bremen, and Daventer, imported flax, cloth, corn, flour, biſcuit, malt, ale, wine, ſpiritous liquors, copper, ſilver, &c. and received in return butter, ſalmon, dried cod, fiſh-oil, fine furs, timber, &c. They were obliged to confine their trade to Bergen, the trade of the reſt of the country being reſerved to the native merchants, to whom they gave credit of their goods till the enſuing ſeaſon. By this commerce, while it continued in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate, Bergen was ſo much enriched, that no other city in the three northern kingdoms could be compared to it †. [*Torfæi Hiſt. Norweg. V.* i, *p.* 72; *V.* iv, *p.* 352.—*Bertii rer. Germ. L.* iii, *p.* 70.]

1271.—Some diſputes between King Henry and the counteſs of Flanders, on account of money alleged to be owing to her, and the conſequent capture of ſeveral Engliſh veſſels by her ſubjects, occaſioned an order for prohibiting the exportation of wool to her dominions, and another for the ſeizure of all cloth imported from abroad, which ſeems to have been intended to act as a compenſation to the proprietors of the wool, by enforcing the manufacture of it at home. However, the ſtorm ſoon blew over, at leaſt ſo far, that the Flemings were again permitted to import their woollen cloths as before. [*Rot. pat.* 55 *Hen. III*, *mm.* 6, 10, 15.—*Fœdera*, *V.* ii, *p.* 32.]

* They were all unmarried, and lived together in meſſes within their own factories.

† I have here briefly thrown together what information, apparently authentic, I have obtained concerning the trade of the merchants, called Germans, Teutons, Almains, Garpar, Vandals, (and in later times, Hanſards, or Hanſeatics) in the port of Bergen. Perhaps the commencement of it ought to be dated in 1278, if we may depend on the date affixed by Werdenhagen [*Hiſt. de reb. Hanſ. p.* 262] to an extract of a charter by King Magnus, wherein he ſays, he has thought proper to grant ſome immunities to *the merchants of the Teutonic language*, frequenting his kingdom as gueſts and ſtrangers with merchandize. Unfortunately the hiſtory of Norway about this time is very obſcure, and ſome, even of thoſe who have profeſſedly written it, have called this very king Olavus, though his name is certainly known (even from Engliſh and Scottiſh records and hiſtory) to be Magnus. And the hiſtory of the German commercial cities is far from being clear, though Werdenhagen has written a book, called the *Hiſtory of the Hanſeatic republics*, which he has filled moſtly with matter nothing to the purpoſe.

1272.—Cloth of Ireland is mentioned along with cloth of Abendon, and burrel of London (alſo a kind of cloth), as being ſtolen at Winchester ſome time in the reign of Henry III *. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the excheq. c.* 14, § 9.] And this, I believe, is the earlieſt notice we have of any exportation of Iriſh manufactures.

During this reign there were ſeveral treaties with Caſtile and France, wherein there is not a word of any commercial affairs. [*Fœdera, V.* i, *pp.* 503, 505, 675, 688, &c.] But I find a letter, or charter, in favour of the merchants of Spain, or Caſtile, wherein, probably, their ſovereign had no concern. [*Rot. pat.* 47 *Hen. III.*] Among the nations who carried on ſome trade at this time with England, of which we know nothing, but from the letters of ſafe conduct granted to them, may be alſo reckoned the Norwegians, Portugueſe, and Brabanters. [*Rot. pat.* 7, 10, 45, *Hen. III.*]

Henry III, during the whole courſe of his long reign, oppreſſed the citizens of London with grievous extortions, often upon the moſt frivolous pretences; and many of his officers, whoſe names, Mathew Paris ſays, it would be tedious and dangerous to particularize, following the king's example, took every opportunity of plundering the merchants, natives and foreigners, of their horſes, carts, wine, proviſions, cloth, wax, and other goods. He alſo ſqueezed the Jews moſt unmercifully. One inſtance of a general tallage upon them has already been given. From a ſingle Jew, called Aaron of York, he extorted on various occaſions the enormous ſum of fifty-ſix thouſand marks, a quantity of money equal in efficacy to about half a million of pounds in the preſent day. Having borrowed money in the years 1255 and 1271 of his brother Richard, he on both occaſions mortgaged to him the whole Jews of England, that is to ſay, the revenue to be extracted from them, as a ſecurity for repayment. We need not be ſurpriſed at the monſtrous intereſt extorted by the Jews from thoſe who borrowed from them, which, we are told, was, at leaſt in ſome inſtances, above two pennies a-week (or eight ſhillings and eight pennies by the year) for the uſe of twenty ſhillings †. But they took ſuch exorbitant intereſt, with the dreadful proſpect of plunder and murder before their eyes, and a certainty of being obliged to pay a large portion of it to the king, in whoſe hands they were in fact inſtruments for ſucking the blood of the people. In ſhort,

* For this notice of Iriſh manufactures we are indebted to the record of a duel between two thieves. So honey is extracted from the vileſt weeds.—For earlier accounts of Iriſh manufactures, ſee above, pp. 223, 333.

† That was apparently an uncommon inſtance of avarice; and it drew upon the whole body of the Jews in London a perſecution, wherein 700 of them periſhed. [*Stow's Ann. p.* 293.] It appears, however, that the Jews of Oxford were licenced to take two pennies a-week for the loan of twenty ſhillings, and in proportion for *ſmaller* ſums. They had even taken more, and were reſtricted to that rate of intereſt on the petition of the *poor* ſtudents. [*Clauſ.* 32 *Hen. III*, in *Tovey's Anglia Judaica, p.* 122.] But ſuch exorbitant intereſt was apparently only for petty ſums and very ſhort time.

Henry's whole reign was a continued extortion of money from his ſubjects, and a continual profuſion of it to foreigners of every deſcription. England was, ſays Mathew Paris, a vineyard without a wall or a faithful keeper, open to the depredations of every vagrant. [*M. Paris, pp.* 336, 484, 600, 693, 864, 901, 902, 929.—*Stow's Annales, p,* 286, 293, *ed.* 1600.—*Fœdera, V.* i, *pp.* 543, 872.]

It is very wonderful, that in this age of exportation of money for the benefit of foreign extortioners, paraſites, and blood-ſuckers, and of frantic and ruinous projects of acquiring kingdoms * and empires, a ſingle penny remained in the country. How were the fountains recruited, which ſupplied ſuch vaſt and unceaſing drains? Surely by no other means than a large balance conſtantly pouring into the country in the ſilent channels of trade, which brought back ſums equal, or even ſuperior, to the demands of rapacity, and the compliance of folly.

Though the national revenue was not in antient times ſo much connected with the commerce of the country as it is in the preſent day, it cannot be deemed impertinent to ſtate, that the annual revenue of England was ſomewhat under ſixty thouſand marks, and the net royal revenue was about twenty-three thouſand †. [*M. Paris, pp.* 658, 859.] Theſe ſums may ſound very trifling in modern ears: but they were probably greater than the revenue of England in the reign of Henry II, who amaſſed a great treaſure out of his ſavings: and it may be remembered, that the proprietors of the land, and their tenants, conſtituted the national army, and ſerved for a certain number of days every year at their own expenſe. Thence the duration and expenſe of wars, were trifling in compariſon with thoſe of modern times. That part of the revenue of the church, which was in the hands of foreigners, who could not ſpeak

* The clergy, in a ſtrong remonſtrance againſt the king's demands for money to anſwer the pope's bills on accouut of Sicily, told him, that if the ſoil of the whole kingdom were turned into gold, it would be inſufficient to accompliſh the conqueſt of Sicily, which was inacceſſible to the military force of England. [*Ann. Burton. p.* 375, *ed. Gale.*] In the year 1265 the Sicilian dream was abandoned, or rather, to ſpeak more properly, the king was obliged to ſtop payment; whereupon the pope got Charles, the brother of Louis IX king of France, to take up his quarrel againſt Manfred, and accept his kingdom.

† When Iſabella, the wife of Edward II, after depoſing her huſband, made her ſon ſettle an income of twenty thouſand marks (not pounds, as ſaid by ſome authors) upon her, [*Rot. pat. prim.* 1 *Edw. III, m.* 1] there was ſcarcely one third of the royal revenue left for the young king and queen, as is aſſerted by Thomas de la Moor, [*p.* 601] a contemporary author.

I am obliged to obſerve, that the arithmetical ſtatements of even the moſt faithful hiſtorians are ſeldom correct in the numbers, which may be partly owing to their own neglect of critical or arithmetical examination, and partly to the tranſcribers, numbers expreſſed by letters being much more liable to error than words. The whole of the groſs national revenue, as here ſtated, was not very much more than ſufficient to pay the intereſt of the king's debts, which, according to Mathew Paris, was above £36,500 a-year about the year 1256. See above, p. 406. It is true, that, according to Hoveden, [*f.* 436 b] Hubert, archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſtated to King Richard I, that within two years he had collected for him the prodigious ſum of 1,100,000 marks, or 550,000 marks each year. Both Hoveden and Paris are reſpectable authors: but it is impoſſible to reconcile their accounts; and it is evident that Hoveden's ſum is incredibly great, and therefor is undoubtedly corrupted. The revenue of England, at the revolution, was not equal in effective value to one third of that aſcribed to the reign of Richard I.

the language of the people whoſe ſouls were committed to their paſtoral charge by the unerring father of Chriſtendom, if they did live among them, but who reſided moſtly in Italy, and drew their penſions to that country, amounted in the year 1245 to ſixty thouſand marks, and in 1252 roſe to ſeventy thouſand. [*M. Paris, pp.* 658, 859.] If the royal revenue had been even judiciouſly managed, ſuch ſums ſent out of the country without any value in return (nor were they all that went out for nothing) were ſufficient to keep the kingdom in perpetual diſtreſs. It is no wonder then, that ſuch a manager as Henry was continually embarraſſed, and indebted to all who would give him any credit, among whom the merchants of Luca, Florence, and Sienna, the Caurſini ſettled in London, and his own brother Richard, are the moſt conſpicuous. [*Fœdera, V.* i, *pp.* 544, 645.—*above, pp.* 400, 422.] In the year 1255 he declared, as an apology for his exactions, that his debts, which may alſo be called the national debts, amounted to three millions of marks, which, if it was true, was a moſt aſtoniſhing ſum *. [*M. Paris, p.* 902.] In the year 1222, upon a lumping ſettlement of the arrears of the jointure of Queen Berengaria, the widow of Richard I, payable in England, (ſhe probably had other appointments in the French territories of the kings of England †) it was ſettled at one thouſand pounds a-year. [*Fœdera, V.* i, *p.* 242.] Henry ſtated the revenue appointed for the eſtabliſhment of his oldeſt ſon at fifteen thouſand marks. But he brought it forward unfairly, when apologizing for his exactions, ſeeing it aroſe from the duchy of Gaſcoigne, and lands in Ireland. [*M. Paris, p.* 902. —*Fœdera, V.* i, *p.* 500.] A knight, whoſe lands produced £150 a-year, was thought very rich; and to-be-ſure ſo he was. But John Manſel, a clergyman, ſtateſman, and warrior, by monopolizing a great number of churches, had an income of 4,000 marks. No clergyman, indeed, had ever before poſſeſſed ſuch an income: and people wondered, that a man of his prudence could forget, that he muſt render an account of the prodigious number of ſouls he had preſumed to take the care of. Warine de Muntchemſil, one of the nobleſt and wiſeſt men of England, died in the year 1255, poſſeſſed of above two hundred thouſand marks, a ſum which may be pronounced almoſt incredible ‡. [*M. Paris, pp.* 859, 908, 931.]

The queen dowager of Scotland, being entitled to a third of the net

* The intereſt on the king's debts, though conſidered by Mathew Paris as utterly ruinous to the kingdom, would not have been *two per cent* per annum on the debt here ſtated by Henry. But as we cannot ſuppoſe that the intereſt was lower than *ten per cent*, it may well be preſumed, that the principal could not be ſo much as 600,000 marks, or £400,000; a ſum ſufficiently diſtreſsful to the kingdom, and alſo, moſt probably, to the creditors, when the art of funding was unknown.

† Queen Alienora, the widow of Henry III, had an annual income of £2,000 ſterling from Gaſcoigne. [*Rot. pat.* 8 *Edw.* I, *m.* 10.]

‡ By the moſt probable account, the treaſure accumulated by Henry II, one of the moſt powerful and prudent of the kings of England, during a long reign, was not near ſo much. See above, p. 346.

royal revenue, had thence an income of above four thouſand marks, which ſhe drew out of the kingdom, to be expended in France along with other funds which ſhe had in that country from her father Ingelram de Coucy. Thence it appears, that the net royal revenue of Scotland was above twelve thouſand marks*. [*M. Paris, p.* 829.] The portion of Margaret, the daughter of Henry III of England, married to Alexander III, the young king of Scotland, in the year 1251, was only five thouſand marks, payable in four years, of which, however incredible it may appear in the preſent day, the greateſt part remained unpaid in 1262, and then Henry, becauſe he had not money in hand, requeſted Alexander's further indulgence till Eaſter 1263 for the final payment. [*Fœdera, V.* i, *pp.* 467, 743.] What jointure was ſettled upon Margaret is unknown: ſhe died before her huſband.

1273—The amount of a new duty, called the *gauge*, at ſome of the chief ports for the importation of wine, as made up from the Wedenſday after Martinmaſs 1272 to Michaelmaſs 1273, gives us a pretty good idea of the quantity of foreign wine uſed in England.

In London, -	£15	16	7,	which, at one penny per tun, make	3,799 tuns;
Southampton and Portſmouth,	13	2	3,	- - -	3,147;
and Sandwich, -	7	18	4,	- -	1,900;
The total was	£36	17	2,	the amount of gauge duty for	8,846 tuns;

beſides the wines taken by the king in name of *priſe*, being two tuns out of every cargo, which were not liable for the duty. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the excheq. c.* 18, § 2.]

There was a duty of the ſame kind in Scotland, which probably originated about the ſame time, as we find the office of the *gaugery* conſidered as an old eſtabliſhment in the year 1304†.

The unſettled ſtate of the German empire, together with the confuſions inſeparable from a ſucceſſion of controverted elections (the period of which, from the death of Frederic II to the election of Rodolph, earl of Habſburg and founder of the houſe of Auſtria, in the year 1273, is called by the German hiſtorians the long interregnum) very much weakened the imperial authority in Germany, and reduced it to nothing in Italy. During thoſe convulſions, the cities of Germany, already re-

* In the preceding page Mathew Paris makes the queen's jointure *ſeven thouſand marks*, by which reckoning the net royal income of Scotland is *twenty-one thouſand*; almoſt equal to that of England, and, if reckoned in proportion to the population, greatly ſuperior. Therefor we may venture to pronounce the greater number erroneous. By the third chapter of the acts of James III, the queen's jointure is declared to be one third of the king's land and cuſtoms: and the ſame rule was probably adhered to in earlier times.

† King Edward, being maſter of Scotland during a part of the year 1304, directed the earl of Athol to make inquiry, whether, according to the eſtabliſhed uſage, he had a right to diſpoſe of the office of the gaugery. [*Rymer's Collect. manuſcr. V.* iii, *n°.* 116, 117.] It is worthy of obſervation, that the king's order to the earl was in *French*, and the earl in his precepts to the magiſtrates of the towns, deſiring them to inſtitute inquiries for the king's information, ſent them copies of the order *tranſlated into Latin*, which thence appears to have been more generally underſtood in Scotland than French.

ſpectable, became more and more flouriſhing. The nobles, who hitherto had engroſſed the government and all the honourable public employments of the cities, were reduced to a participation of them with the burgeſſes. The conteſts, which had hitherto baniſhed tranquillity from the cities, were at an end, and they became powerful by their union. Moſt of thoſe, which had the title of *Imperial cities* in the reign of Frederic II, refuſed after his death to pay the taxes impoſed upon them by former emperors, and, in conſequence of that immunity, aſſumed the title of *Free and imperial cities*, which was confirmed to them by ſucceeding emperors. After the extinction of the powerful ducal families of Swabia and Franconia in the year 1268, the number of *Imperial cities* was greatly augmented; and the new ones were cordially admitted into fraternity and alliance by the antient ones, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the title of *Free* cities. [*Pfeffel, Abrege de l'hiſt. d'Allemagne, p.* 379, *ed.* 1758.]

The regents who governed England in the abſence of King Edward, who was at the Holy land when his father died, ordered a proclamation to be made throughout Ireland, declaring that all merchants might freely land in that kingdom with their merchandize, and trade in ſafety and ſecurity, on paying the due and antient cuſtoms, without any other exaction or grievance whatever. [*Rot. pat.* 1 *Edw. I, m.* 5.]

1274, April 10th—We find the order againſt trading with Flanders again enforced, and the ſhirrefs ſtrictly enjoined to allow no wool to be carried out of the kingdom, and not even to Wales or Ireland, leſt, on pretence of ſhipping it for thoſe countries, it ſhould be carried to Flanders. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *pp.* 24, 50.] But, as the Engliſh could not find profitable conſumption for all their wool, and the Flemings could not carry on their manufacture without the wool of England, a treaty of peace was concluded in July, wherein the counteſs, and the earl her ſon, finding Edward a man of more courage and conduct than his father, agreed to make ſatisfaction for the damages done to his ſubjects, he promiſing to make ſatisfaction for the damages done to the Flemings by the Engliſh. But the Flemiſh balance of damages was not paid up to England in the year 1278, nor then without having recourſe to rigorous meaſures. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *pp.* 32, 33, 39, 111.—*Rot. pat.* 3 *Edw. I, mm.* 19, 22, 26.—*Meyeri An. Fland. f.* 80 b.]

The reſort of the Netherlanders to the Firth of Forth for the ſake of the fiſhery, has already been noticed from a writer of the twelfth century. (See above, p. 325.) After that time, though we know that foreigners came to the Britiſh ports to purchaſe herrings, I have not found any authentic account of their fiſhing on our coaſts till now, that we learn from the mutual complaints of injuries on both ſides, that the Flemings were in the practiſe of fiſhing upon the coaſts of England and Scotland. The Engliſh commiſſioners for negotiating the peace complain-

ed, that, during the truce of a month (24th June to 24th July) granted by King Edward for ſettling the terms of the treaty, ſome Flemiſh armed veſſels had put to ſea, as on a fiſhing voyage, had attacked the Engliſh fiſhermen, who ſuppoſed themſelves ſecure on the faith of the truce, and had killed *twelve hundred* of them; a number which, if not exaggerated, gives a very reſpectable idea of the Engliſh fiſhery. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 33.] On the other hand, the counteſs of Flanders, in a letter to King Edward, repreſented, that ſome of her ſubjects, who had ſailed after the concluſion of the peace, had put in at Berwick, on their return from fiſhing on the coaſt of Scotland, for the ſake of drying their nets; and two-and-twenty of them*, who had gone up the Tweed about as far as Norham, a caſtle on the Engliſh ſide of the river, to dry their nets, were ſeized and impriſoned by the commander of that caſtle (Auguſt 15th.) [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 37.] As it was ſurely unneceſſary to go a journey of ſix miles up the country to dry their nets, it ſeems more probable, that their object was to catch ſalmon out of the ſight of the people of Berwick and Tweedmouth, and, as the fiſh belonged to the proprietors of the land on each ſide of the river, their impriſonment was in conſequence of that treſpaſs upon private property.

Auguſt 11th—King Edward while he was in the Holy land, had borrowed ſome money from the brethren of the Temple, and given them his obligation for the principal, with expenſes, damages, and intereſt † ('intereſſe'), all which he now paid on their account to the maſter of the Temple in London. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 34.] This is believed to be the firſt inſtance of the kings of England expreſsly agreeing to pay intereſt ‡ for money borrowed, which in all their former money tranſactions, appears to have been ſettled by colluſion.

Auguſt 19th—At the coronation of King Edward, there was a prodigious diſplay of ſilks and gold ſtuffs, which, being articles of foreign manufacture, ſhow that the exports of England, which could pay for ſuch an importation of luxuries, muſt have been pretty extenſive, even if there ſhould have been no importation of the pretious metals this year. An hiſtorian ſays, that no tongue nor pen could deſcribe the magnificence of the dreſſes, and the ingenuity of the pageants exhibited

* Among their names we find Renoud Engliſh ('Anglicus') and Michael Scot.

† Though intereſt is expreſſed in the acknowlegement given to Edward by John of Bretagne, his brother-in-law, for whoſe uſe the money (10,500 Saracen beſants) was borrowed in the year 1271, [*Rymer's Coll. manuſcr. V.* i, n°. 42] as well as in the maſter's diſcharge to the king, the ſtipulated rate of intereſt does not appear in either.

‡ Mathew Paris [*p.* 910] mentions debts due to the merchants of Italy in the year 1255, 'quæ 'quotidie propter uſuras, pœnas, et *intereſſe*, non 'minima ſuſcipiebant incrementa.' Here we have uſury, penalties, and *intereſſe*. As the word *uſury* was in thoſe days equivalent to our modern word *intereſt*, what did Mathew Paris underſtand by *intereſſe*?—In the marriage contract between Scotland and Norway (25th July 1281) 'damna, ex-'penſæ, et intereſſe,' frequently occur, the later evidently ſignifying intereſt. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 1079.]

in the city on this occaſion, to ſay nothing of the pomp of the coronation feaſt. [*T. Wikes, p.* 101, *ed. Gale.*]

1275, April 25th.—A parliament was held at Weſtminſter, wherein

The laws of Henry I and Henry II, for preſerving the property of wrecked veſſels and merchandize for the lawful owners, were renewed [*Acts*, 3 *Edw. I, c.* 4.]

It was provided, that no foreign perſon *, being of this realm, ſhould be diſtrained in any city, town, fair, or market, for any debt, for which he was neither principal debtor nor ſecurity. [*c.* 23.]

Thoſe who took up proviſions or other things for the uſe of the king, or for the garriſon of a caſtle, and did not pay for them, were made anſwerable in their lands, or other property, failing which, they were to be puniſhed by impriſonment. Thoſe who received bribes for paying the king's debts were obliged to refund doubly, and were further to be puniſhed at the king's pleaſure. [*c.* 32.]

We find a new cuſtom upon wool *granted* ('conceſſa') to the king at this time, which was probably enacted by the ſame parliament, though it does not appear among their acts. [*Rot. pat.* 3 *Edw. I, m.* 1.]

A mandate was iſſued by the king, obliging all foreign merchants to ſell their goods within forty days after their arrival. [*Hakluyt, V.* i, *p.* 133.] This order put the foreign ſellers entirely in the mercy of the buyers, unleſs when the demand happened to be ſo great, as to prevent the later from combining to abſtain from purchaſing, till the term allowed to the importers was almoſt expired. Indeed, the frequent inconſiſtent orders for the encouragement and diſcouragement of foreign merchants trading to England muſt have been exceſſively perplexing, and have very much cramped the trade, which was expoſed to ſuch caprices and uncertainties.

A Spaniſh ſheep, imported from France into Northumberland, infected all the flocks in England with a diſeaſe hitherto unuſual (if not unknown) in England, which raged eight-and-twenty years, and totally deſtroyed the flocks in many parts of the country †. [*Walſingham, Hiſt. p.* 46.]

1276—Florence earl of Holland, being deſirous that his ſubjects ſhould have a ſhare of the beneficial trade of England, which their neighbours the Flemings had almoſt engroſſed, made an offer to King Edward of ſafe conduct and perfect liberty for the Engliſh in trading in Holland for the ſpace of two years, provided that equal liberty were granted in England to his ſubjects. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 62.]

* By the term *foreign perſon* we muſt evidently underſtand one not belonging to the corporation of the city or town.

† The annaliſt of Waverley dates the introduction of this diſeaſe, which he calls the *clauſik*, in the year 1277, and ſays, that it is cured by an ointment made of quick-ſilver and hog's lard. Stow [*Annales, p.* 305, *ed.* 1600] calls the diſeaſe *murrein* and *rot*.

The mayor and citizens of London had, during many years, prevented the citizens of Bremen from coming to England, for the very trifling reaſon, as alleged by thoſe of Bremen, that a native of that city, who was in the ſervice of a citizen of London when a fine was levied from the city by Henry III, had left the kingdom without paying his proportion of it. The duke of Brunſwick, as ſuperior of Bremen, requeſted King Edward to interpoſe, and permit the merchants of Bremen to trade in England, as they had done in the time of his progenitors. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *pp.* 1065, 1066.]

1277, May 15th—In thoſe ages the power of making war and peace was often aſſumed by the maritime cities and towns, as well as by the great lords: and as their hoſtilities were openly avowed, they were not ſtigmatized as piracy, according to the modern ſenſe of that word *. The whole of the Cinque ports, as a community, have frequently taken upon them to engage in wars with foreign towns or communities, wherein the ſovereigns on either ſide had no active concern. Such a warfare they carried on againſt the citizens of Calais in the year 1220; againſt thoſe of Bayonne in 1237; and againſt the ſame again in 1277. The later quarrel was terminated by the interpoſition of King Edward, who now gave the people of Bayonne one hundred pounds for the preſervation of peace. [*Fœdera, V.* i, *pp.* 250, 373; *V.* ii, *p.* 82.]

Either the eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh laws in Ireland by King John was only partial, or they had fallen out of uſe; for the people of Ireland made an offer to the juſticiary (or viceroy) to pay to the king eight thouſand marks, on condition that the laws of England ſhould be eſtabliſhed among them. The king was very well pleaſed with the application, for he thought the antient Iriſh laws unworthy to be called laws, and deſired the juſticiary to inquire what was the general wiſh of the people, the prelates, and the nobles; and, if he found the majority deſirous of the introduction of the Engliſh law among them, to bargain for the largeſt ſum of money he could obtain for the king's conſent. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 78.] And, in two or three years after, the buſineſs appears to have been accompliſhed. [*Rot. pat.* 8 *Edw. I.*]

May 24th—The revenue raiſed from the Jews in England ſeems to have hitherto conſiſted chiefly of tallages, arbitrarily impoſed at the will of the king. It was apparently in order to introduce ſome regularity in that branch of the revenue, and to let the Jews know what they had to depend upon, that a ſtatute had been made, containing a multitude of proviſions for controlling and regulating their tranſactions, and fixing their payments to the king, whoſe ſlaves ('ſerfs') they are repeatedly

* In thoſe days, the men onboard all warlike veſſels were called *pirates*; and every veſſel equipped for war was called a piratic ſhip, or *myoparo* in the Latin of the times.

declared to be*. The injuſtice and inexpediency of ſome parts of that ſtatute having, perhaps ſilently, rendered the whole of it inefficient, the king now iſſued an order by his own authority, wherein, after recapitulating ſome parts of the ſtatute, viz. that every Jew, male or female, above twelve years of age, was to pay annually three pennies to the king; that they were to live only in thoſe cities and burghs, wherein there was an arch-chirographer of the Jews, who ſeems to have been an officer appointed to draw up, and regiſter, their ſecurities; and that all Jews of above ſeven years of age, ſhould wear a yellow diſtinguiſhing badge, conſpicuouſly placed upon their upper garments, he deſires that the tax of three pennies of head money, and all the arrears of it, may be ſtrictly levied. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 83.]

1278, June 17th—King Edward having received very conſiderable aſſiſtance from the Cinque ports in his war againſt the Welſh, gratified them with a charter, wherein he refers to liberties they enjoyed in the times of Edward the Confeſſor, William I, William II, Henry II, Richard I, John, and Henry III. The ſervice required of them by the king, is fixed at fifty-ſeven ſhips, properly manned, for fifteen days. And in return, they are favoured with exemption from priſage upon the wines imported in their own trade, and with ſome other immunities. [*Jeake's Charters of the Cinque ports.*]

According to Bracton, who flouriſhed in the reign of Henry III, the ports originally aſſociated in the duty of providing ſhips for the public ſervice, and in the enjoyment of the privileges and exemptions granted in return for their ſervices, were Haſtings, Hythe, Rumney, Dover, and Sandwich; and from their number, being *five*, was derived the collective appellation of *Cinque ports*, which continued in uſe after the acceſſion of other ports rendered it improper. Winchelſea and Rye were added afterwards, probably in the reign of Edward I, and many more as members. Their names have been variouſly ſtated; and probably they have really varied, according to the fluctuating circumſtances of the places.

According to a liſt, dated in the 22d year of Edward I,

Haſtings provided -	3 ſhips.
The Lowie of Pevenſey,	1
Bulverhithe and Petit Jahn,	1

According to a cuſtumal of the town of Hythe, of a later age than that of Edward I†,

Haſtings was to provide 21 ſhips.

Its members were Seaford,

* The ſtatute, ſaid to be of uncertain date (See *Statutes at large, Index, vo. Jews*, and *Appendix*, *p.* 28), is dated by Prynne [*Demurrer, part* 1, *p.* 37] in the third year of Edw. I, wherein he differs from Lord Coke. It permitted the Jews to be merchants, labourers, and farmers, but prohibited them from taking *any* intereſt for money, and reſtored to thoſe Chriſtians, who had mortgaged their lands to Jews in ſecurity for money lent, the chief houſe and half of the lands. Theſe, being the moſt obvious unjuſt, and inexpedient, parts of the ſtatute, are not mentioned in the king's order. There is a tranſlation of the ſtatute in *Tovey's Anglia Judaica*, *p.* 200.

† In the reign of Richard II we find an order to fit out the Cinque-port fleet of *fifty-ſeven* veſſels, armed and properly arrayed, with a maſter and *twenty* men in each, to ſerve fifteen days after their arrival at Briſtol, the port of rendezvous, at their own expenſe, and afterwards as long as the king ſhould require at his expenſe, though only the pay of the men is ſpecified; for all which charters of former kings are referred to. [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *p.* 784; ſee alſo *p.* 834; and *V.* x, *p.* 108.]

Beckſburn, -	1 ſhip.
Grange and Gillingham, two armed men.	
Rye, - -	5
Winchelſea, -	10
Romney, -	4
Lydde, - -	7
Hythe, - -	5
Dover, - -	19
Folkſton, -	7
Feverſham, -	7
Sandwich, with Stonor, Fordwich, Dale, &c. -	5

The ſhips to be ready upon forty days notice every year, properly armed and arrayed, to carry 20 men each, beſides the maſter of the mariners, and to ſerve five days at the expenſe of the ports, and afterwards at the king's expenſe.

Pevenſey, Hodney, Winchelſea, Rye, Ihame, Beckſburn, Grange, Northie, Bulverhithe.

Romenal, or Rumney — 5 ſhips.
Its members, Promhill, Lydde, Eaſtweſton, Dengeymarſh, Old Rumney,

Hethe, or Hythe, - — 5
Its member, Weſt Hythe.

Dover, - - — 21
Its members, Folkſton, Feverſham, and S^t. Margarets.

Sandwich, - — 5
Its members, Fordwich, Reculver, Serre, and Dele, or Deal.

Each ſhip to carry 21 men and 1 garcion or boy, the whole complement being 1,197 men and 57 boys for the 57 ſhips, which were to ſerve 15 days, counting from the firſt ſpread of the ſails, at the expenſe of the ports, and afterwards, as long as the king ſhould deſire, at his expenſe.

[*Hakluyt's Voiages, V.* i. *p.* 17.]

King Edward treated the Jews with great rigour. He prohibited them from ſelling or aſſigning their debts without his licence. He ordered their repoſitories throughout the whole kingdom to be ſearched. He iſſued various orders againſt their extortions by uſury. He ſet on foot an inquiſition to take cogniſance of thoſe who neglected to wear their diſtinguiſhing badges. The oppreſſion and ignominy, which that unfortunate race of people continually groaned under, ſeem to have rendered them regardleſs of character; and the frequent extortions of vaſt ſums from them made them think themſelves juſtifiable in taking every method whatever to indemnify themſelves. They were ſaid to make a common practice of diminiſhing the current coin, circulating counterfeit money, and making fraudulent exchanges, and to carry thoſe frauds to ſuch an extent, that the nominal prices of all things were raiſed, and foreign merchants declined trading in England, where the money was ſo very much ſunk below its nominal value. In conſequence of their guilt, and the outcry raiſed againſt them, all the Jews throughout England were impriſoned in one day, and no fewer than *two hundred and eighty* of both ſexes were hanged in London only, be-

ſides vaſt numbers in other parts of the kingdom, whoſe property was all confiſcated. Some Chriſtians were alſo hanged for being concerned with the Jews, and others were heavily fined. [*Rot. pat.* 4, 5, 7, 8, 9 *Edw. I.*—*M. Weſtm. p.* 409.—*T. Wikes, p.* 107.—*Walſingham, p.* 48.]

1279—The awkward contrivance of making halfpennies and farthings by breaking pennies into two or four pieces, which preſented a very tempting opportunity of cutting ſome of the ſilver from the pieces, was ſtill in uſe, though round halfpennies and farthings had been many years in circulation, but probably not in ſufficient quantity. In order to prevent ſo great a temptation to fraud, and to baniſh all the counterfeit or defaced money from the circulation, the king ordered a complete new coinage of round pennies, halfpennies, and farthings, and alſo ſome pieces of four pennies each *; and thenceforth no other than round money was allowed to be current †. [*Ann. Waverl. p.* 234.—*T. Wikes, p.* 108.—*M. Weſtm. p.* 409.—*Stow's Ann. p.* 307.]

It ſeems probable that King Edward alſo coined pieces of two pennies, as Alexander king of Scotland coined pieces of that value, and, we may preſume, others of four pennies ‡.

In order to diſperſe the new money quickly through the kingdom, it was given to the people in exchange for the old bad money, on paying the difference, at the minting offices, called changes or exchanges, eſtabliſhed in moſt of the principal towns. [*T. Wikes, p.* 108.] At this time the mint, or exchange ('cambium'), of London was under the management of ſome merchants from Luca in Italy, together with Gregory de Rokeſle mayor of London. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the excheq. c.* 22, § 4; *c.* 23, § 1.] As we have good reaſon to believe, that the Engliſh ſilver-ſmiths were by no means deficient in their art, we muſt ſuppoſe, either that the king was under pecuniary obligations to the foreigners, or that his own ſubjects were inferior to the Italians in the knowlege of accounts, which is the moſt probable.

In the dark ages the people were made to believe, that the ſureſt way to obtain eternal happineſs was to beſtow their property upon, what

* The coinage of four-penny pieces by Edward I is mentioned, I believe, only by Stow; and it was thought a miſtake. [*Fleetwood's Chron. prec. p.* 38, *ed.* 1745.] But his veracity is confirmed by Mr. Folkes, who weighed eleven ſuch pieces of Edward I, and found them very unequal, ſome too light, and others much too heavy. [*Tables of coins, p.* 8.] They were probably never very numerous, nor generally current; and it is pretty evident, that they, as well as the gold coins of Henry III, were forgotten in the reign of Edward III.

† The miſtaken notion, that this was the firſt coinage of round halfpennies and farthings in England, has already been noticed and accounted for. See above, p. 385, note.

‡ A piece of two pennies, coined by King Alexander, is preſerved in the Advocates' library at Edinburgh, and is aſcribed to Alexander II. [*Rudd. Pref. ad And. Dipl. p.* 64.] But, as the kings were not numbered on their coins in thoſe ages, it ſeems more reaſonable to aſſign it to his ſon, the only Alexander contemporary with Edward I, than to ſuppoſe that the Scots preceded the Engliſh in any innovation or improvement. There is in the ſame collection a two-penny piece aſcribed to Edward I. But, for the reaſon now given, it may be doubted, which Edward it belongs to.

were called, religious foundations. Before they were carried to exceſs in number and opulence, ſuch foundations were productive of ſome advantages to ſociety, independent of the religious purpoſes of their inſtitution: for, as the clergy were the only people who could read and write, there were in all ages a few of the monks, whoſe inclinations prompted, and whoſe talents (according to the ſtandard of the age) qualified, them to tranſmit to ſucceeding ages ſome knowlege of the events of their own times, and others to whoſe patient induſtry in tranſcribing we are indebted for the preſervation of that portion of antient literature, which has come down to our times: in monaſteries men were prepared for thoſe public employments which required ſome degree of education: and in them the dull flame of the lamp of ſcience was preſerved from utter extinction. So far thoſe inſtitutions were beneficial to mankind. But the quantity of land and other property, beſtowed upon ſocieties deſtined to have a perpetual ſucceſſion, who were continually acquiring, and never giving away, had become in the courſe of ages ſo enormouſly great, that the whole kingdom was in danger of being ſwallowed up by the church, and being ſubject to, or at leaſt in the diſpoſal of, the pope *. The poſſeſſors of thoſe vaſt domains became lazy, uſeleſs, and vicious; and the prodigious wealth of their houſes held out a large premium to idleneſs, and an equally-large diſcouragement to induſtry and commerce. Even the military profeſſion, though cheriſhed and applauded by the temper and opinions of the age, was affected by it; and many, who by their birth and tenures, according to the feudal ſyſtem, belonged to the national militia, preferred the ſlumbers of the convent to the dangers of the field †. A part, at leaſt, of the evil was ſeen, and ſome faint attempts were made to check the progreſs of it, before this time. In the year 1225 the regents, during the minority of Henry III, inſerted in a new edition of the Magna charta an order againſt giving lands to religious houſes. But it appears to have been diſregarded; and ſuch donations ſeem to have been even tolerated, provided they were made by the licence of the chief lord of the land, who would have brought an odium, if not excommunication, upon himſelf, if he had ventured to refuſe his conſent. So ſlender a reſtraint was therefor by no means ſufficient to prevent the continuance of the abuſe, or to counteract the ſtrong belief that admiſſion to the joys of heaven was to be purchaſed with lands or money.

November 15th—King Edward, by the advice of his prelates, earls, and others of his council, now enacted *the ſtatute of mortmain*, ſtrictly or-

* We have already ſeen, that the inefficient and non-reſident foreign clergymen, impoſed upon England by the pope, drained it annually of more money than the whole revenue of the kingdom amounted to.

† It is true that the lands of biſhops, abbats, priors, &c. who were barons as well as eccleſiaſtics, were ſubjected to military ſervices by William the Conqueror: but they were performed by ſubſtitutes, and of little avail.

daining, that no lands ſhould go into the poſſeſſion of any perpetual body, either by donation or by ſale; and that any land, ſo diſpoſed of by colluſion, ſhould be entered upon by the ſuperior lord, or, in caſe of his neglect or failure, by the king, who ſhould put it into the poſſeſſion of ſuch as would contribute their ſervices to the defence of the realm. [7 *Edw. I.*] As the king only adverted to the deficiency of military ſtrength occaſioned by the eccleſiaſtical monopoly of lands, it is pretty evident, that the pernicious anti-commercial tendency of it never occurred to him or his council *.

The great, fertile, populous, induſtrious, and wealthy, empire of China, which was firſt attacked, and in part ſubjected, by Zingis-khan, was now completely ſubdued by his grandſon Cublai. The conqueror next aſpired to the dominion of the ſea and the iſlands. But the fleet, which he expected to make him maſter of Zipangu (ſuppoſed to be Japan), was twice wrecked, and a hundred thouſand Moguls and Chineſe periſhed without achieving any conqueſt. Notwithſtanding this revolution, the conſtitution, the manufactures, and the commerce, of China remained unimpaired. The army of the conquerors was ſoon loſt and blended among the infinite numbers of the conquered: and the empire ſeemed rather to have adopted a new dynaſty of princes, than to have ſuffered a revolution. [See *Gibbon, V.* xi, *pp.* 414, 427, *and authorities quoted by him.*]

The emperor Cublai, obſerving that many lives were loſt every year in tranſporting the produce of the ſouthern provinces to the capital by ſea, conſtructed a canal by turning the waters of ſome lakes into artificial channels extending northward and ſouthward 840 geographical miles. [*Hiſt. Sin. ap. Thevenot, V.* ii, *p.* 67.] This canal, which is the longeſt artificial navigable water in the world, by its connection with the great rivers effects an inland navigation, with very little interruption from portages, between Pekin and Canton, cities ſituated at the oppoſite extremities of the empire, and is continually covered by innumerable barges employed in conducting the greateſt part of the trade of the moſt populous country on the face of the earth, and alſo in conveying paſſengers, the journies being moſtly performed by water †.

1280, July 17th.—In conſequence of ſome differences between the merchants of London and thoſe of Zeland, the later in the year 1275

* It appears by the *patent rolls* 27 *Edw. I*, *m.* 1, and *Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 1004, that Edward did not ſcruple to infringe this ſtatute himſelf, and allow others to infringe it. And, not to multiply inſtances in the ſame and ſucceeding reigns, which might be produced by hundreds, it may ſuffice to obſerve, that in the year 1329 it was repreſented to Edward III and his privy council, that, if they were not very attentive to prevent it, his whole dominions would ſoon be in the hands of religion; ſo monaſtic ſocieties were then called. [*Ryley, Plac. parl. p.* 644.] A very uſual expedient for evading the law was to make an exchange of one piece of land for another with the ſuperior of a monaſtic eſtabliſhment, as may be ſeen in almoſt every page of the *Calendar of the patent rolls.*

† See the deſcription of the navigation of the Chineſe canal in *Staunton's Account of an embaſſy to China.*

fitted out fourteen or more veſſels of the kind called *cogs*, in which they cruiſed againſt the Engliſh trading veſſels. King Edward thereupon ordered, that the property of all merchants of Zeland, found in any of the ports of England, or upon the ſea, ſhould be ſeized. And ſo a petty warfare was kept up for about five years, till the earl of Zeland offered to make ſatisfaction for the damages done by his ſubjects: whereupon King Edward now ordered that the merchants of that country ſhould have their property reſtored, and be allowed to trade in England as before. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *pp.* 59, 156, 177.—*Rot. pat.* 8 *Edw. I, m.* 7.]

November 17th—The king confirmed to the merchants of Germany, occupying the Teutonic gildhall in London, the privileges and liberties granted to them by his father, and promiſed that he would not himſelf do any thing, nor permit others to do any thing, to infringe them. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 161.] There is ſtill no mention of the appellation of merchants of the Hanſe. The privileges, &c. were again confirmed to them by the ſame king in his twenty-ninth year. [*Rot. pat.* 29 *Edw. I, a tergo.*]

1281, November 20th—The commercial intercourſe of the Chriſtians with the Saracens having been interrupted for ſome time in compliance with an order iſſued by the pope, Pedro III king of Aragon, finding that his ſubjects were very great ſufferers thereby, now gave them permiſſion to export all kinds of merchandize, excepting wheat and barley, and alſo horſes, unleſs for the relief of the Holy land, to all nations, whether Chriſtians or Saracens. But he added that it was not in his power to diſpenſe with the pope's particular prohibition againſt carrying iron, arms, and ſome other articles, to the Saracens. [*Capmany, Mem. hiſt. de Barcelona, V.* ii, *Col. dipl. p.* 37.]

It was, no doubt, chiefly for the ſake of the ſheep and the wool produced by them, that King Edward commiſſioned Peter Corbet to deſtroy the wolves in the ſhires of Glouceſter, Worceſter, Hereford, Salop, and Stafford, [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 168] and ordered John Gifford to hunt them in all the foreſts of England: [*Rot. pat.* 9 *Edw. I, m.* 2] and ſome time after John Engayne got an eſtate on condition of deſtroying wolves and other vermin in Huntingdon-ſhire *. [*Blount's Tenures, p.* 60.]

While Edward was collecting his army for the invaſion of Wales, he

* The foreſt of Chiltern was infeſted by wolves and wild bulls in the time of Edward the Confeſſor. [*M. Paris, Vit. p.* 45.] William the Conqueror granted the lordſhip of Riddeſdale in Northumberland to Robert de Umfraville on condition of defending that part of the country againſt enemies and wolves. [*Blount's Tenures, p.* 15, *ed.* 1679.] King John gave a premium of ten ſhillings for catching two wolves. [*Rymer's Coll. manuſcr. V.* i, *n°.* 62.] John and Edward III gave lands in Northampton-ſhire to John and Thomas Engaine for the ſervice of deſtroying wolves and other vermin in that and four other ſhires. [*Blount, pp.* 15, 71.] Yet we are told, that all the wolves in Wales were extirpated by order of Edgar king of England, as if there could be wolves in England without being in Wales; and the ſtory, though evidently falſe, has met with general belief. I wiſh we had proofs, equally ſtrong, to demoliſh the other wonders in the hiſtory of that king of the monks.

ſent agents, not only through all England, but alſo into the neighbouring countries, to buy up proviſions and other ſtores. [*Rot. Walliæ*, 10, 11 *Edw. I, in Ayloffe's Calendar.*] We find, ſeveral agents were ſent to purchaſe corn and other proviſions in Ireland, which thus appears to have produced more than the conſumption of the inhabitants required; and there were no potatoes then. [*Rot. Walliæ, mm.* 10, 8, 2.] We alſo find, the ſhirrefs of Cumberland and Lancaſter were ordered to ſend people to purchaſe fiſh on the weſt coaſt of Scotland, and to carry them to Cheſter: and Adam of Fuleham was appointed to provide 100 barrels of ſturgeons of Aberdeen *, and 5,000 ſalt fiſh, and alſo dry fiſh. [*Rot. Walliæ, mm.* 9, 8 *dorſis.*] The fiſh of Aberdeen were ſo well cured, that they were even carried to the capital fiſhing port of Yarmouth †. Thus we are aſſured that fiſheries were carried on to ſome conſiderable extent on both ſides of Scotland; and that Aberdeen, which had then got a character for curing fiſh, and probably ſome port or ports in the Firth of Clyde, were known to have a ſupply of fiſh, pickled and cured for foreign markets, long before the time that the art of curing fiſh is generally ſuppoſed to have been diſcovered in Flanders.

1282—The collection of the cuſtoms was frequently entruſted to foreign merchants, either as an accountable truſt, or for a ſtipulated rent ‡. Bonricini Guidicon and Company of Luca accounted to the exchequer for the proceeds of the new cuſtoms on wool, wool-fells, and hides, from

* '*Centum barrill' eſtgionum de quingent' Aberden.*'—So it is in the roll, which I examined by the favour of Mr. Aſtle, the learned and liberal keeper of the records in the Tower. The tranſlation ſeems to be—*a hundred barrels, of five hundred pounds each, of Aberdeen ſturgeons.*—Quere if not rather ſalmons (*iſycionum* or *eſocium*, inſtead of which the copying clerk has written *eſtgionum* in the roll) for the ſuperior pickling and packing of which in barrels of the old Hamburgh *kind* Aberdeen has long been famous? Sturgeons were ſcarce, and too expenſive for feeding an army with. Six barrels of them coſt £19 for the houſehold of Thomas earl of Lancaſter, nephew of King Edward I. [*Stow's Survey of London, p.* 133, *ed.* 1618.] The ſalted and dry fiſh were probably cod or ling, not put up in any packages.—In the year 1308 Edward II ordered his chamberlain for Scotland to provide 3,000 ſalmons in Scotland out of the revenues of that country, and to have them properly put up in caſks ('doliis') for preſervation. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 95.]

† Four hundred fiſh of Aberdeen, two hundred ſtockfiſh, one (ſmall) barrel of ſturgeons, five dozen of lampreys, fifty pounds of whale ('balen'), and half a laſt of herrings, conſtituted the fiſh part of the proviſions, put onboard a ſhip, fitted out at Yarmouth in the year 1290, for bringing the infant queen of Scotland from the court of her father the king of Norway. The fiſh of Aberdeen coſt ſomewhat under three pennies each, the ſtock fiſh ſomewhat under one penny each, and the half laſt of herrings thirty ſhillings. [*Rymer's Coll. manuſcr. V.* ii, *p.* 287.] Aberdeen fiſh alſo occur in the account of King Edward's wardrobe in the year 1290.

‡ The cuſtoms were alſo aſſigned to individuals as ſecurities, or funds, for the payment of debts due by the king. In the year 1307 Edward I aſſigned to the merchants of Brabant the new cuſtoms payable upon their own imports for payment of a debt due to them, whereupon they promiſed to bring merchandize much more abundantly to the port of London. [*Ryley, Plac. parl. p.* 327.] In 1312 the cuſtoms of Boſton were aſſigned to a merchant of Genoa for a debt due by the king. [*Madox's Hiſt. c.* 10, § 12.] In the ſame year the cuſtoms of wool, wool-fells, and hides, in the port of Berwick were aſſigned to Piers de Gavaſton for £408 : 11 : 8 due by the king, to be paid to him immediately after the full payment of a ſum ſecured upon the ſame cuſtoms to David of Brechin, a Scottiſh baron, then in the intereſt of Edward, probably as a compenſation for the forfeiture of his eſtate in Scotland. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 310.] And Alexander III king of Scotland took the ſame method of paying a foreign merchant by an aſſignment of the cuſtoms of Berwick. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 605.]

Eaſter 1281 to Eaſter 1282: and from ſome particulars of their account we find that there were ſhipped from Newcaſtle upon Tine

771 ſacks $7\frac{1}{2}$ ſtones of wool, paying a cuſtom duty of 6/8 per ſack;
11,182 wool-fells (ſheep's ſkins with the wool on them) 6/8 for every 300;
and 80 laſts 12 dacres of hides 13/4 per laſt.

The amount of the uſual cuſtom in the port of Hull was this year £1,086 : 10 : 8, and their whole receipts for the year amounted to £8,411 : 19 : $11\frac{1}{2}$. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the exchеq. c.* 23, § 1.]

Many other inſtances might be adduced, if neceſſary, of the collection of the cuſtoms being put into the hands of foreigners, who were generally partners of ſome of thoſe ſtrong and numerous companies, who had their chief houſes in Italy, and had branches of their trade, managed by one or more of their partners, in London and other cities of Europe, whereby they got into their own hands nearly the whole of the trade between the Mediterranean coaſts and the countries in which they ſettled. Such were in this age the *Friſcobaldi*, the *Rembertini*, the *Bardi*, the *Spini*, of Florence; the *Riczardi*, the *Ballardi*, of Luca, &c. Thoſe merchants were very ſerviceable to the kings in lending them money, and negotiating exchanges and other kinds of buſineſs for them, and conſequently enjoyed a good deal of their favour. They were alſo generally agents for the pope, and received the money extorted by him, on a variety of pretences, from every country in his communion, which they either remitted to him, or lent out at intereſt on his account: for the canons of the church, made to deterr the people from taking intereſt for the uſe of money, were not binding upon the head of the church, who aſſumed a power of ſuſpending the laws of God and man for his own purpoſes. In return for thoſe ſervices the popes, who knew how to pay their own debts at the expenſe of others, uſed to deſire the kings to favour *their merchants* with privileges, exemptions, and lucrative jobs. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *pp.* 311, 682, 705, 839, 1051, &c. &c.—*M. Paris, pp.* 362, 938.—*Madox's Hiſt. c.* 22, § 2; *c.* 23, § 22; *c.* 24, § 7.]

The German merchants in London (called merchants of the Hanſe by Stow, who, however, quotes no authority *) were bound, in conſideration of ſundry privileges, to maintain the gate of the city called Biſhopſgate. Upon their refuſal to fulfill their part of the covenant the matter was carried before the barons of the exchequer, who gave judgement againſt them, and directed the mayor and ſhirrefs of London to diſtrain Gerard Marbod alderman of the Hanſe, together with ſix other merchants, citizens of Cologne, Triers, Trivon, Hamburgh, and Munſter, for the expenſe of the reparations; whereupon they paid 210 marks to the

* As I have no opportunity of tracing Stow's authority, it is impoſſible to tell, whether in tranſlating he had ſupplied a name well known in his own age, or found it in a record co-æval with the fact related. If the word *Hanſe* be genuine, quere, if it is not the earlieſt known application of that name to the great aſſociation of mercantile cities?

city, and engaged to uphold the gate in future, and alſo to bear a third part of the charges in money and men to defend it. On that occaſion the community of the city granted, or confirmed, to the German merchants the liberty of ſtoring the corn imported by them for the ſpace of forty days, unleſs particularly prohibited by the mayor on account of ſcarcity, or other reaſonable cauſe, and of chuſing their alderman, who ſhould be of the city, ſhould be preſented to the mayor and aldermen of the city after his election, and ſhould take an oath before them to maintain juſtice according to law and the cuſtoms of the city *. [*Stow's Survey of London, p.* 431, *ed.* 1618.]

1283—'Pedro III king of Aragon, by his proviſion of the year 1283, 'which is the ſeventh chapter of the cortes of Barcelona of that year, 'aboliſhed the gabel (or duty) upon ſalt throughout all Catalonia, and 'decreed by law that neither he nor any of his ſucceſſors ſhould ever 'be empowered to re-eſtabliſh it. This ſalutary meaſure was a direct 'encouragement to the fiſhery and the trade of curing proviſions, and 'particularly tunnies, the fiſhery for which had been in all ages an ob-'ject of attention with the Catalans.' At the ſame time (by c. 25th) the hoſpitable law of Count Raymundo Berenguer I in the year 1068 was confirmed and amplified. [*Capmany, Mem. hiſt. de Barcelona, V.*'i, *Com. pp.* 221, 224.] From theſe and other wiſe laws of the Catalans, already mentioned, and to be mentioned, in this work, it is evident that the true principles of commercial and manufacturing policy were well underſtood and acted upon by that nation many ages before they began to be known in this country. And, indeed, at whatever time the fiſheries and manufactures of Great Britain ſhall be delivered from the hardſhips of the ſalt laws, it muſt be acknowleged that the legiſlators of Barcelona will have had the merit of preceding up by above five centuries.

The firſt Engliſh parliament, wherein elective repreſentatives of the people ſat, was ſummoned by the uſurped and tranſient authority of the earl of Leiceſter in the year 1265: and after that we know of no ſimilar repreſentative, or elective, members of any parliament, till King Edward ſummoned a parliament (June 28th) to meet at Shrewſbury on the 30th of September 1283, to which, beſides the great barons called by a particular writ addreſſed to each of them, and two repreſentatives elected for each of the ſhires, there were called two members for each of the following cities and towns, which, if the liſt is complete, were thoſe which were then eſteemed the moſt opulent and conſiderable in the kingdom. The writs were directed to the

Mayor, citizens, and ſhirrefs, of *London*,	Mayor and bailifs of *Newcaſtle upon Tine*,
Mayor and citizens of *Wincheſter*,	Mayor and citizens of *York*,

* We ſhall afterwards find the office of alderman of the Hanſe uſually filled by one of the aldermen of London.

Mayor and bailifs of *Briſtol*,
Mayor and citizens of *Exeter*,
Mayor and citizens of *Lincoln*,
Mayor and citizens of *Canterbury*,
Mayor and citizens of *Carlile*,
Bailifs of *Norwich*,
Mayor and good men of *Northamton*,
Bailifs of *Nottingham*,
Bailifs of *Scarburgh*,
Mayor and bailifs of *Grimſby*,
Mayor and bailifs of *Lynne*,
Bailifs of *Colcheſter*,
Bailifs and good men of *Yarmouth*,
Mayor and good men of *Hereford*,
Mayor and good men of *Cheſter*,
Bailifs and good men of *Shrewſbury*,
Mayor and good men of *Worceſter*.
[*Fœdera*, *V.* ii, *pp.* 247-249.]

Thus were the repreſentatives of the trading part of the people, reſiding in cities and burghs, eſtabliſhed as a conſtituent part of the legiſlative aſſembly of the nation. But the conſtitution of the parliament was ſo unſettled, that frequently the cities and burghs were not called upon to elect their repreſentatives. I have already obſerved, that the repreſentatives of the commons had little or no influence in parliament till long after the time now under our conſideration.

October 10th—The parliament, met at Acton-Burnell, conſidering, that there was no law whereby merchants might recover their debts from thoſe to whom they entruſted their property, and that, for want of ſuch a law, many merchants were impoveriſhed, and many foreign merchants deſiſted from trading to England, paſſed an act called the *Statute of merchants*, which directed that the buyer ſhould appear before the mayor of London, York, or Briſtol, to acknowlege the debt and day of payment, which ſhould be regiſtered; and that the debtor ſhould put his ſeal to a bill drawn by the mayor's clerk, who ſhould alſo affix the king's ſeal, lodged with him for that purpoſe *. If the debtor neglected to make payment when due, the mayor, upon the creditor producing his bill, was directed to order a ſale of the debtor's chattels, or burgages deviſeable, to the extent of the debt, if they were within his juriſdiction, and to deliver the money without delay to the creditor. If the property of the debtor was not within the mayor's juriſdiction, he was to ſend the recogniſance to the chancellor, who was to iſſue a writ, deſiring the ſhiref, in whoſe juriſdiction the property was, to do what the mayor ſhould otherways have done. If the debtor poſſeſſed no property, he was to be impriſoned, and fed with bread and water, till he or his friends ſhould ſatisfy the creditor †. [*Act* 11 *Edw. I.*]

In the years 1283 and 1284 Robert Durham the mayor, together with Simon Martel and other good men, of Berwick upon Tweed, enacted the *Statutes of the gild.*

By c. 20 None but gild-brethren were permitted to buy hides, wool, or wool-fells, in order to ſell them again, or to cut cloth, except foreign merchants.

* Theſe regulations ſuppoſe the debtor incapable of writing.

† I remember reading a plan, ſomewhat ſimilar to this law, projected by ſome modern author.

cc. 22, 37, 44, Herrings and other fiſh, corn, beans, peas, ſalt, and coals *, were ordered to be ſold '*at the bray*' alongſide of the veſſel bringing them, and nowhere elſe: and they were not to be carried on-ſhore when the ſun was down. Any burgeſs, who was preſent at a purchaſe of herrings, might claim a portion of them for his own conſumption at the original coſt.

c. 27, Brokers were elected by the community of the town, and their names regiſtered. They paid annually a tun ('dolium') of wine for their licence.

c. 28, No regrator was allowed to buy fiſh, hay, oats, cheeſe, butter, or other articles, brought into the town for ſale, till the bell rang.

cc. 29, 41, No merchandize was allowed to be ſold anywhere but in the common market, where they were to pay toll.

c. 33, The government of the town was declared to be by a mayor, four provoſts ('præpoſitis'), and twenty-four counſelors.

The court of the *Four burghs* in Scotland conſiſted of repreſentatives from Berwick, Edinburgh, Rokſburgh, and Striveline (or Stirling), whoſe province it was to judge of all matters concerning commerce, and the conſtitutions and cuſtoms of the burghs; ſo that it was a *board of trade and police* †.

The *Chamberlain's court* in Scotland appears to have alſo had a juriſdiction over the burghs, and the inſpection and regulation of many matters connected with the trade and general police of the kingdom. The chamberlain made periodical progreſſes through the whole country, and carried with him ſtandard weights and meaſures, in order to prove thoſe kept by the magiſtrates of the towns; and it was his duty to prevent thoſe, who took up goods for the king's uſe at the king's price (which thus appears to have been under the fair market price) from taking more than was wanted for the king in order to get a profit to themſelves, and alſo from defrauding the merchants of their due payment. From the regulations of this court we learn, that inſpectors were appointed to examine, and certify by their ſeal of office, the quality and quantity of cloth, bread, and caſks containing liquors; that other officers, called troners, had the inſpection of wool; that the ſalmon fiſhery was carefully regulated, and fiſhing during the night, or while the ſalmon were not in ſeaſon, was prohibited, &c. ‡

* This is the earlieſt mention of the uſe of coals in Scotland; but, as they were carried to Berwick by water, it is uncertain, whether they were dug in England or Scotland.

† In the year 1368 Lanerk and Linlithgow were ſubſtituted for Berwick and Rokſburgh, then in the hands of the Engliſh; and Hadington, though not one of the four burghs, was appointed to be their place of meeting. [*Skene, f.* 154 a.] See below under the year 1466.

‡ The particulars of the commercial and municipal police of Scotland are given upon the faith of the *Statuta gildæ* and *Iter camerarii*, as publiſhed by Skene along with the *Regiam majeſtatem*. The origin of the court of the four burghs and of the chamberlain's court cannot be diſcovered. We find them eſtabliſhed before the year 1291: [*Ryley's Placita parl. pp.* 147-151] and, as we may be pretty well aſſured, that they could not originate during the convulſions, which diſtracted the kingdom after the death of Alexander III, we may preſume, that they are at leaſt as old as the reign of that king.

1284—King Edward, having made a conqueſt of Wales and united it to England, appointed ſhirrefs, and partly eſtabliſhed the Engliſh laws and policy, in that country. Having extirpated the antient Britiſh ſovereigns, he conferred on his ſon, juſt then born at Carnarvon in Wales, the title of prince of Wales, which has ever ſince belonged to the oldeſt ſons of the kings of England. In order to reconcile the Welſh to his government, he made their principal towns free burghs, and favoured many of them with exemption from tolls throughout all England. He alſo gave them encouragement to work their mines of lead, which deſerves notice as the commencement of induſtry in a branch, which has ſince become conſiderable in that country. [*Statutum Walliæ in Statutes at large, V.* x, *append.*—*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 293.—*Ayloffe's Calendar, pp.* 91-97.]

Eric king of Norway, in a friendly letter to King Edward, complained of injuries done to the merchants of his kingdom by ſome magiſtrates in England, and eſpecially thoſe of Lynne, and requeſted him to put a ſtop to them, and to order redreſs. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 272.]

That ſilver muſt have been plentiful in England, appears from Florence earl of Holland, when he was preparing for a new coinage, ſending agents to buy it in this country, who collected ſilver bullion to the value of £960 ſterling in and near Bedford. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 284.]

The rancour of neighbourhood and the jealouſy of commerce and naval power, had kept up a long and almoſt-uninterrupted bloody ſtruggle between the Genoeſe and the Piſans: but now the Genoeſe, by the aſcendant they had obtained in the commerce of the Eaſt, in conſequence of their aſſiſtance in the reſtoration of the Greek empire, were become too powerful for the Piſans. They fitted out eighty-eight gallies, and eight veſſels called *panfias*, larger than gallies, and went to the port of Piſa, where there enſued a furious and obſtinate battle. Twenty-nine Piſan gallies, together with the great ſtandard of Piſa, were taken; ſeven were ſaid to be ſunk. The reſt fled within the chain of the harbour; and night coming on put an end to the action, which, however, was abundantly deciſive. The podeſta and moſt of the nobles of Piſa were taken priſoners; and thenceforth the commerce and empire of the Mediterranean were conteſted chiefly by Genoa and Venice. [See *Stellæ An. Genuenſ. ap. Muratori Script. V.* xvii, *col.* 983.]

1285, June—An act was paſſed to prohibit all perſons from catching ſalmon in the waters (or rivers) of Humber, Ouſe, Trent, Don, Ayre, Derwent, Werf, Yare, Swale, Teeſe *, and all others in the kingdom, between the 8th of September and the 11th of November, and from catching young ſalmon at mill pools between the middle of April and the 24th of June. [*Stat.* 1, 13 *Edw. I, c.* 47.]

The law of merchants being found nearly inefficient in all places at a diſtance from London, York, and Briſtol, and being alſo ſometimes

* It is obſervable, that all the rivers here named are in York-ſhire, or contiguous with it.

fruſtrated by the miſtakes or wilful perverſions of the ſherrifs, it was now enacted, that debtors ſhould acknowlege their debts before the chief magiſtrate or other ſufficient perſon appointed by the king, and a clerk alſo appointed by the king, in London and the other good towns; that the bill, written by the clerk, ſhould be ſealed and regiſtered agreeable to the former act, except that the king's ſeal ſhould be of two pieces, whereof the largeſt ſhould remain with the magiſtrate or perſon acting for him, and the other with the clerk; and each of them was directed alſo to keep a duplicate of the enrollment. On failure of payment at the day appointed, the magiſtrate, if the debtor was a layman and within his juriſdiction, was to commit him to priſon, where he was to remain at his own expenſe till he made ſatisfaction. If the debtor was not within the juriſdiction of the magiſtrate, the chancellor was to act agreeable to the former law. The debtor was allowed ſix months after his impriſonment to raiſe money out of his property, failing which it was to be delivered to the merchant at a reaſonable extent (or valuation) for payment of the debt, damages, coſts, labour, &c. The lands and goods, but not the body, of a clergyman were liable for his debt *. The regulations were alſo extended to tranſactions in fairs, and the king's ſeals were ſent to a proper perſon in every fair. With reſpect to the *commonalty of the merchants of London*, it was enacted, that two merchants ſhould be choſen and ſworn, before whom the recogniſances ſhould be taken, and the ſeals ſhould be opened, whereof one piece ſhould remain with them, and the other with the clerk. This ordinance was in force in England and Wales for the ſervice of all perſons who choſe to avail themſelves of it, except Jews. [*Stat.* 3, 13 *Edw. I.*]

The king, underſtanding that Gregory de Rokeſley and Henry Waleys citizens of London †, and other merchants of England, Ireland, Gaſcoigne, and Wales, had made a practice of obliging the *barons* of the Cinque ports and the other ſeamen of the kingdom to pay average, in caſes of goods thrown overboard in ſtorms, upon articles which ought to be exempted, ordained by his letters patent ‡, that the veſſel with her apparel, the proviſions and cooking utenſils, the maſter's ring, necklace, ſaſh, and ſilver cup, and alſo the freight payable for the goods brought into port, ſhould be exempted from paying any average; but that all other things in the veſſel, not excepting even the ſeamen's bedding, ſhould be appraiſed, and bear a proportion of the loſs incurred by throwing any of the goods overboard for the preſervation of the reſt; and that the maſter ſhould not have any freight for the goods thrown overboard.

* There is ſome obſcurity, or reluctance to touch upon the ſubject, in the proviſion for compelling clergymen to pay their debts. Perhaps there was no inſtance of a clergyman acting diſhoneſtly.

† Both of them had frequently been mayors of the city.

‡ The king took the advice of his council; but the parliament had no concern in enacting this law.

Each of the *ſeven* Cinque ports received a copy of this letter or law. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 298.]

The few manufactures then carried on not being ſufficient to find employment for the men, who were not engaged in war, agriculture, or paſturage, and the great body of the people having neither capacity nor opportunity to poliſh and humanize themſelves by reading or other rational amuſements, robbery was the uſual reſource of vaſt multitudes of people in every part of Europe for ſubſiſtence and employment: and the plunderers were often aſſiſted, and protected againſt the purſuits of juſtice, by ſome lawleſs baron, whoſe caſtle was their refuge and the receptacle of their plunder. In Germany their powerful combinations obliged the friends of order and juſtice to enter into confederacies againſt them, which proved more effectual than the reliques of the ſaints and the anathemas of the clergy *: and in England their bands were frequently ſtrong enough to ſet law and government at defiance. In order to repreſs ſuch enormities, laws were enacted, whereby the magiſtrates of walled towns were ordered to keep their gates ſhut from the ſetting till the riſing of the ſun, and to keep a ſufficient watch, as in former times, at the gates from Aſcenſion day to Michaelmas †. Thoſe, who received lodgers in their houſes, were made anſwerable for their conduct; and the magiſtrates of towns were directed to make frequent inquiry in the ſuburbs for ſuſpicious perſons lodged in them. A particular ſtatute was enacted for London, which, becauſe many murders, homicides, aſſaults, and robberies, had been committed in the city, both in the day and in the night, ordered, that all perſons found in the ſtreets with ſword and buckler or other arms after the curfeu was rung at S^t. Martin's le Grand, except great lords and men of good reputation, ſhould be committed to the Tun ‡, and next day carried before the magiſtrates. And becauſe ſuch malefactors generally concerted their plans in taverns, and continued in them till the appointed time of putting their plots in execution, the maſters of all taverns for the ſale of wine or ale were ordered to ſhut them up as ſoon as the curfeu bell rang. The aldermen were moreover required to make diligent inquiry in their wards for all malefactors, and for people who had no property or viſible means of ſupport. No buſhes nor trees (except detached trees clear of underwood) nor ditches, wherein robbers could be concealed, were allowed to be within 200 feet of either ſide of the roads: the whole people of the hundred, wherein a robbery was committed, were bound to

* Some account of the laws and anathemas againſt robbers may be ſeen in *Robertſon's Hiſt. of Charles V, Vol.* i, *p.* 397, *ed.* 1792. See alſo above, *pp.* 393, 404.

† Quere, if not rather from Michaelmas to Aſcenſion day, as the long dark nights required the greateſt vigilance?

‡ The Tun was a priſon built in Cornhill in the year 1282 by Henry Waleys, then mayor, for confining night-walkers. [*Stow's Survey of London*, *p.* 357.]

make good the damage, if they did not apprehend the robber. And every man was required to have in his houſe arms and armour, ſuitable to his circumſtances, to enable him to aſſiſt in keeping the peace. [*Stat. Wint.* and *Stat. Lond.* 13 *Edw. I.*]

About this time a great conduit was made in the ſtreet called Weſt Cheaping (now Cheapſide) which was ſupplied with water brought from Paddington in leaden pipes laid under ground *. [*Stow's Survey of London, p.* 482.]

Two Norwegian brothers, called Adalbrand and Thorvald, are ſaid to have *diſcovered* land lying weſt from Iceland. [*Torfæi Hiſt. Norweg. V.* iv, *p.* 374.] But Greenland, the country due weſt from Iceland, had been diſcovered, and alſo colonized, ſeveral ages before.

At this time the coaſts of Denmark, Friſeland, and Germany, were infeſted by a moſt famous pirate called Alf, a Norwegian nobleman, who carried home his plunder to Norway, and was kindly received there. The merchants of the Vandalic part of Germany fitted out a fleet of about thirty large cogs, which cruiſed for Alf in the Ore ſound ſeveral weeks, during which he carried on his depredations in the Baltic ſea. So much of the old piratical ſpirit ſtill prevailed in Norway, that Eric, the young king of that country, inſtead of puniſhing his ſubject Alf as the general enemy of mankind, promoted him to the rank of an earl, and treated the German merchants as his own enemies; and they appear to have really taken ſome veſſels belonging to his ſubjects. [*Torfæi Hiſt. Norweg. V.* iv, *p.* 374.—*Fœdera, V.* ii. *p.* 1088.]

Perhaps this pirate was the cauſe of the war between the king of Norway and the German merchants about the year 1280, as related by Krantzius, [*Hiſt. Norweg. L.* vi, *c.* 2] who ſays, that the merchants, offended with the king for ſome encroachments upon their *antient* privileges, blocked up his ports, and prevented the importation of any proviſions; that the Norwegians, ſtrongly habituated to the corn brought from the ſouthern countries, obliged their king to make peace, who requeſted the king of Sweden to act as umpire, and, in conſequence of his award, reſtored the privileges of the merchants, and paid them a large ſum of money for damages; whereupon the merchants immediately imported corn into Norway. During the war the dukes of Saxony and Brunſwick and the emperor of Germany wrote to King Edward, repreſenting the unjuſt and tyrannic conduct of the king of Norway in ſeizing the property of the merchants of Lubeck 'to an infinite amount,' and requeſting him not to permit the Norwegians, whoſe own country could not ſupply them with proviſions, to carry any from his dominions, [*Rymer's Coll. manuſcr. V.* ii, *n*°. 71-73] whence it may be

* We are not informed what materials the firſt pipes for bringing water into London were made of, (ſee above, p. 389) and Stow has quoted no author for his narrative of the conduit.

inferred that foreign countries then received ſome ſupplies of proviſions from England *.

1286—The hiſtorians and poets of Scotland dwell with a melancholy pleaſure on the virtues of the good King Alexander III, and the proſperity of the country during his peaceable and happy reign. His laws for enforcing agricultural induſtry, related by Wyntown, [*Oryginal Cronykil of Scotland*, *V.* i, *p.* 400] produced more plentiful crops of corn in the kingdom † than had been known in former times. He diſcouraged idleneſs, and abridged the number of horſes kept for uſeleſs parade by the prelates and barons. [*Scotichron. V.* ii, *p.* 129 *ed. Goodall.*] In conſequence of the abundance produced by a more vigorous agriculture and diligent fiſhery ‡, and of the laws for rendering the lands and moveable property of debtors liable to be ſold by the ſhirref for the ſatisfaction of their creditors, and for preſerving the property in veſſels wrecked on the coaſt for the owners ‖, as in the laws of England, and the general ſtrict and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, the trade of Scotland, which had been an object of ſome attention to foreign merchants, at leaſt ſince the reign of Macbeth, was now of ſuch importance, that the Lombards §, the greateſt general merchants in Europe, made propoſals to the king for eſtabliſhing towns in various parts of the kingdom for trading poſts or contoirs, and particularly one on the peninſular rock at the Queens-ferry in Fife, or on the ſmall iſland near Cramund. [*Scotichron. V.* ii, *p.* 130.]

Such a contoir, or factory, actually was eſtabliſhed at Berwick by ſome Flemiſh merchants, who occupied a ſtrong building, called the *Red hall*, and were bound by the terms of their tenure to defend it

* Krantzius is ſo inaccurate as to call the king of Norway Olavus, and the king of Sweden Eric. There was no Olaf king of Norway for ſeveral ages before and after this time: and Magnus was king from December 1263 to May 1280. [*Torfæi Orcades, L.* ii.—*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 1075.] And, according to Puffendorff, a Swediſh hiſtorian, another Magnus was king of Sweden from 1279 to 1288. Krantzius ſays that the conteſt with the German merchants was the only memorable event in the reign of Olavus, as he calls him. His (I mean Magnus's) prudent negotiation with Alexander III for the ceſſion of the Weſtern iſlands to the crown of Scotland, and his reformation of the laws, which obtained for him the honourable appellation of *Lagbetter*, were unknown to, or thought unworthy of notice by, Krantzius. Werdenhagen in his ſuperficial *Hiſtory of the Hanſeatic republics*, has followed Krantzius without any examination. And both theſe writers have the good fortune to be quoted as reſpectable authorities.—— From the letters of the German princes to King Edward, Krantzius appears alſo to have antedated the war.

† Whoever compares the agricultural regulations in the firſt chapter of the laws aſcribed to Alexander II in Skene's edition of *Regiam majeſtatem, &c.* with Wyntown's account of thoſe of Alexander III, and conſiders the general inaccuracy of Skene's compilation, will ſee reaſon, notwithſtanding the profeſſed exactneſs of the date, to think it at leaſt as probable, that they were enacted by Alexander III, whom Skene does not admit into the number of his legiſlating kings. The prices of corn in Alexander's reign will be found in the appendix of prices.

‡ For the fiſhery of this reign ſee above, p. 436.

‖ Theſe laws are the 24th and 25th chapters of thoſe aſcribed to Alexander II. If he was the author of the firſt, the law of merchants, enacted in England in the year 1285, was later than a ſomewhat-ſimilar law in Scotland, which will be thought rather improbable.

§ It is perhaps almoſt unneceſſary to remind the reader, that the numerous ſtates in the north part of Italy were comprehended under the general name of Lombards.

againſt the enemies of Scotland *: and it appears to have been of the ſame nature with a *fundicus* in the Mediterranean, the *Teutonic gildhall* in London, and the *contoir* of the German merchants at Bergen. (See above pp. 327, 410, 421). By the agency of the merchants of Berwick the wool, hides, wool-fells, and other wares, the produce of Rokſburgh, Jedburgh, and all the adjacent country, were ſhipped for foreign countries, or ſold upon the ſpot to the Flemiſh company. The exportation of ſalmon appears to have been alſo a conſiderable branch of their trade, as we find it ſome time after an object of attention to the legiſlature of England, and the regulation of it intruſted to the great officers of the government †. [*Hemingford, p.* 91, *ed. Hearne.—Fœdera, V.* vi, *p.* 620.—*Stat.* 2, 31 *Edw. III.*] No other port of Scotland, in point of commercial importance, came near to a compariſon with Berwick, which, according to the teſtimony of the contemporary writer of the Chronicle of Lanercoſt, [*MS. Bib. Cott. Claud.* D vii, *f.* 207 b] was ſo populous and ſo full of commerce, that it might be called *a ſecond Alexandria.* The ſea was its wealth; the waters were its walls; and the opulent citizens were very liberal in their donations to religious houſes ‡. But we have better authority than the voice of panegyric for the proſperity of Berwick; as we find the cuſtoms of it aſſigned by King Alexander to a merchant of Gaſcoigne for £2,197 : 8 : 0 ſterling, a ſum equivalent to 32,961 bolls of wheat at the uſual price of ſixteen pennies; and, of 1,500 marks a-year, ſettled on the widow of Alexander prince of Scotland by her marriage contract, there were 1,300 payable out of Berwick. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *pp.* 605, 613.]

Berwick was governed, as already obſerved, by a mayor with four provoſts ſubordinate to him. Perth, Striveline (or Stirling), Rokſburgh, and Jedburgh, had each at leaſt one alderman, apparently the chief magiſtrate. Hadington was governed by a provoſt. Peebles, and Munros (now called Montroſe), had each a bailie. Linlithgow, and Inverkeithing, had each two bailies. Elgin alſo was governed by bailies. And before this time Glaſgow had three co-ordinate provoſts and alſo bailies ‖. [*Prynne's Hiſt. of John, &c. pp.* 653, 654.—*Rymer's Coll. MS. V.* iii, *n°.*

* In the year 1296 thirty Flemings defended the Red hall againſt the Engliſh forces, till it was ſet on fire: and the whole of the faithful and gallant merchant garriſon periſhed in the flames; [*Hemingf. p.* 91] a cataſtrophe, which apparently put an end to the Flemiſh company at Berwick.

† When Edward III wanted 2,000 ſalmon for his own uſe in the year 1361, he ſent orders to procure them for him at Berwick (then belonging to England) and Newcaſtle, no-doubt, the places moſt famous for them in his dominions. [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 35 *Edw. III, m.* 9.]

‡ Probably Lanercoſt, which was an abbay in Cumberland, had profited largely by the miſtaken piety of the wealthy citizens of Berwick; and the writer of the Chronicle thus repaid them in the uſual coin.

‖ Though moſt of theſe magiſtrates appear under the year 1296, the eſtabliſhment of their offices was moſt probably not later than the reign of David I, and at any rate earlier than the time in which I mention them: for certainly no new regulations of ſuch matters could be introduced during the convulſions which enſued on the death of King Alexander III and his infant grand-daughter, Queen Margaret.

116,—*above p.* 417.] We ſhall afterwards ſee thirty-ſeven aldermen, the magiſtrates, and repreſentatives in parliament, of ſeventeen towns, among which are Hadington, Peebles, Munros, Linlithgow, and Inverkeithing, the firſt of which we find at this time under the government of a provoſt, and the reſt under that of bailies; whence it ſeems not improbable, that the title of bailie, and alſo of provoſt, may have been, at leaſt ſometimes, and in ſome places, uſed promiſcuouſly with that of alderman *. As the titles of magiſtracy, ſo, it may be preſumed, the conſtitutions of the towns, were more ſimilar in England and Scotland in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (and apparently alſo in earlier times) than they have been in later ages. But, during ſome centuries bypaſt, no ſuch titles as mayor and alderman have been uſed in Scotland: and it is now ſcarcely known that they ever were uſed.

The loſs of ſeveral merchant veſſels by pirates, ſhipwrecks, and arreſtments in foreign ports, induced King Alexander to enact a well-intended, but miſtaken, law, whereby the merchants of Scotland were prohibited for a time from exporting any goods in their own veſſels. And, before a year was expired, veſſels from ſeveral countries arrived with merchandize of various kind to be exchanged for the commodities of Scotland, the foreign merchants, according to the erroneous policy of the age, being reſtricted to deal with the burgeſſes only. Theſe fetters upon commerce were thought ſo judicious by the hiſtorian, that, he ſays, in conſequence of them the kingdom in a few years abounded in corn, money, cattle, ſheep, and all kinds of merchandize †, and the arts flouriſhed. [*Scotichron. V.* ii, *p.* 130.] One certain conſequence of the reſtriction muſt have been a conſiderable decreaſe of the mercantile ſhipping of Scotland.

Of the Scottiſh navy the ſcanty remains of authentic records anterior to the death of Alexander give us the knowlege of only one ſhip belonging to the king, or to the public; [*Ayloffe's Calendar, p.* 335] and probably there were no more ‡. But the king of Mann was bound to furniſh five warlike gallies ('galeas piraticas') of twenty-four oars, and five of twelve oars, to the king of Scotland, when required, [*Scotichron, V.* ii, *p.* 101] and his other maritime vaſſals contributed veſſels in proportion to their lands ‖.

* In pleadings of the year 1291 we find the mayor and bailies ('ballivi') of Berwick repeatedly mentioned, the later being apparently the ſame who are called provoſts in the ſtatutes of the gild. [*Ryley, Plac. parl. pp.* 149-152.]

† In the year 1283 when King Edward was collecting ſtores of all kinds for the invaſion of Wales, he commiſſioned John Biſhop, a burgeſs of Lynne, to purchaſe merchandize ('mercimonia') for him in Scotland. [*Ayloffe's Calendar, p.* 88.] —Quere, Was this term, merchandize, intended to ſignify fiſh, corn, and other proviſions, or was Scotland ſo well ſtocked with general merchandize as to have ſome for exportation?

‡ The kings of England in thoſe ages had very few ſhips, and the kings of France had ſeldom any.

‖ Colin Campbell held the lands of Loch Ow, &c. of the king by the ſervice of finding one veſſel of forty oars, properly equipped and ſufficiently manned, during forty days, as often as required. [*Chart. Rob. I,* in *Anderſon's Diplom. tab.* 47,—or *Crawfurd's Officers of State, p.* 41.] Tormod Mac-

leod

The general opulence of Scotland appears from the reſpectable public revenue, the prodigious ſums ſqueezed out of it by the papal extortioners, which the temper of the age did not permit the wiſdom of the king entirely to prohibit, and the great opulence of the king himſelf, as he has never been branded with oppreſſion or avarice, who fairly purchaſed with his money the vaſſal kingdom of Mann and the Iſlands, bought many eſtates and wardſhips in England *, and gave Eric king of Norway a marriage portion of 14,000 marks with his daughter, reſerving to himſelf an option of giving a life-rent of lands of the annual value of 700 marks as an equivalent for half the ſum †. In ſhort, it is evident, that Scotland during the reigns of the three laſt ſovereigns of the antient race, and particularly during the peaceable and auſpicious reign of Alexander III, was in a progreſſive ſtate of improvement, and poſſeſſed a much larger proportion of the wealth of great Britain than it has ever had in any ſubſequent time. But the premature and ſudden death of the king (16th March 1286), followed by that of Queen Margaret his infant grand-daughter (September 1290), and the ſanguinary convulſions which enſued, changed all this ſun-ſhine of national proſperity into a long night of warfare and devaſtation, the calamitous conſequences of which have been felt almoſt to the preſent day.

1288—Though the power of Edward was much greater and his government much more vigorous than what the Engliſh had been accuſtomed to for almoſt a century, they were not ſufficient to give full effect to his laws, eſpecially the late one for enforcing precautions againſt robbery. A powerful gang of banditti in the habits of monks and canons ſet fire to the populous commercial town of Boſton on the day appointed for a fair and a tourneament, murdered many of the merchants, who were endeavouring to ſave their property, and during the confuſion ſtole prodigious quantities of rich merchandize, which their accomplices received from them, and immediately carried off. The fire made ſuch deſtruction of the pretious articles brought to the fair, that ſtreams of melted gold, ſilver, and copper, were ſaid, in the exaggeration of popular report, to run down even into the ſea, and all the money in England was ſuppoſed inſufficient to make good the damage. The captain of the gang, a warrior of great reputation, and owner of many houſes in Boſton and of much ill-gotten wealth, was taken and hanged; but, ad-

leod held lands in Glenelg by the ſervice of finding one of twenty-ſix oars; and Torkil Macleod, for lands in Aſſynt, was to find one of twenty oars, when required, as appears by charters of David II. [*Robertſon's Index, p.* 100.] All theſe were probably renovations of charters, granted by Alexander III upon aſſuming the ſovereignty of the iſlands for the ſake of ſecuring the loyalty of the chiefs of the weſtern coaſt, who had much ſtronger connections with the Norwegians than with the Scots.

* See above, *pp.* 416, 425.—*M. Paris, pp.* 540, 573, 723, &c.—*Dugdale's Baronage, V.* i, *pp.* 65, 769.—*Ryley, Plac. parl. p.* 345.

† The annuity on the life of Margaret, then in her twenty-firſt year, was thus valued at ten years purchaſe. See the contract of marriage in *Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 1079. Eric was put in poſſeſſion of the lands, apparently the ſame which were afterwards given with King Robert's daughter.

hering to the point of honour among thieves, he obſtinately refuſed to betray his accomplices, who quietly enjoyed their plunder and the triumph of having trampled upon the laws. [*T. Wikes, p.* 117.—*Trivet, p.* 266.—*Knyghton, col.* 2466 *.]

This year the harveſt was ſo abundant in England, that the quarter of wheat was ſold in ſome places for twenty pennies, in ſome for ſixteen, and in others for twelve. [*Trivet, p.* 266.] Stow ſays, that in the weſt and north parts of the country it was ſold for eight pennies (being a farthing the peck) but in London, when at the deareſt price of the year, ſo high as three ſhillings and four pence. Such a monſtrous inequality in the price of an article of the firſt neceſſity in various parts of the ſame kingdom ſhows, that the home carrying trade, the greateſt, and by far the moſt important, in any well-regulated country, was ſtill almoſt unknown in England.

In the ordinance made this year for regulating the trade of Ireland there was one chapter (the third) which very much abridged the freedom of trade granted to that country in the firſt year of Edward's reign. Merchants were permitted to carry corn and other victuals and merchandize from Ireland, if not embargoed by the viceroy, only to England and Wales, on paying the cuſtoms and giving ſecurity that they ſhould not be carried to the king's enemies of Scotland † or any other of his enemies.

1290—In the year 1275 the parliament paſſed an act (not publiſhed in the *Statutes at large*) prohibiting the Jews from taking intereſt for money or receiving ſtolen goods, on pain of death. In 1287 a Jew was compelled by a tolerated perſecution to give up a mortgage; and in the ſame year all the Jews of both ſexes were ſeized on the ſecond day of May, and kept in priſon till they paid twelve thouſand pounds to the king. In the year 1290 all the Jews were ordered to leave England before the firſt of November, and never to return, on pain of death. They were allowed to carry their moveable property with them, except their bonds for money owing to them by Chriſtians, which were in the cuſtody of the king ‡, who alſo ſeized all their houſes and tenements. Tri-

* The robbery is dated in 1285 by Knyghton: but the other two authors are conſiderably earlier than him. If he were right, the laws for guarding againſt robbery might be ſuppoſed to have been enacted in conſequence of that outrageous inſult upon the juſtice and authority of the government.

† As a harmony, which for duration is perhaps unparalleled in the hiſtory of neighbouring kingdoms, had ſubſiſted between England and Scotland, and Edward was now particularly aſſiduous in cultivating the friendſhip of the regents of Scotland, in order to ſecure their infant queen, Margaret, with the kingdom for her marriage portion, for his ſtill younger infant ſon, Edward, the enemies of Scotland, herein excepted, could not be the nation at large, nor the regents. They muſt have been Robert Brus, the Stewart, and others connected with them, who, together with the earls of Glouceſter and Ulſter, had entered into a confederacy in September 1286, and had even taken up arms, apparently with a deſign to ſet aſide the young queen and diſappoint Edward in the favourite object of his ambition. [*Dugdale's Baronage, V.* i, *p.* 216. —*Symſon's Hiſt. of the houſe of Stuart, p.* 79.]

‡ The king exacted payment of the debts due to the Jews as his own property. But ſome others, as

vet and Walſingham ſay, that the king ſeized all their property, leaving them only as much as would bear their charges to France: but, according to Wikes, they carried enough with them to tempt the ſeamen to murder them on the paſſage for the ſake of their money. The number of Jews driven out of England at this time was reckoned to be 16,511: and the king had previouſly expelled them from his territories in France. Such was the general eagerneſs to get rid of the Jews, that the parliament granted the king a fifteenth of the property of the people for that purpoſe, though, as the expulſion was managed, it was able very amply to bear its own charges*.

1291, April—Now (and how long before is unknown) coal mines were worked in Scotland, as appears by a charter of William of Obervill, granting liberty to the monks of Dunfermline to dig coals for their own uſe in his lands of Pittencrief, but upon no account to ſell any. [*Chart. in Statiſt. account of Scotland, V.* xiii, *p.* 469.] From the donor reſtricting the monks from ſelling, it may be preſumed, that the ſale of coal was then a valuable object, which he reſerved for himſelf.

June 15th—The property of ſome Flemiſh merchants had been arreſted by the juſticiary, or viceroy, of Ireland in the ports of Waterford, Youghall, and Cork, on account of diſputes between England and Flanders. But the king, unwilling that any interruption ſhould be given to the trade, now deſired that it ſhould be reſtored. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 528.] Either thoſe merchants were in the carrying trade between Ireland and England; or the rigour of the law of the year 1288 was now relaxed.

Baptiſta Burgus, the panegyrical hiſtorian of Genoa, relates, that two gallies, commanded by D'Oria and Vivaldo, were fitted out from that city for the diſcovery of weſtern lands in the Atlantic ocean, but that they were never more heard of.

Soon after the expulſion of the weſtern pilgrims from Jeruſalem in the year 1187 they were confined to a narrow ſlip of the coaſt; and the maritime city of St. John de Acre (or Ptolemais) was the capital of the Chriſtian territory in the Eaſt. Being thus occupied by people from every European nation, it became a general emporium for the merchandize of the Eaſt and the Weſt; and commerce, conducted chiefly by the Venetians, Genoeſe, and Piſans, flouriſhed as much as a ſtate of frequent warfare with the neighbouring Mohamedans, and the diſtracted condition of a city wherein there were ſeventeen ſovereigns, or repreſentatives of ſovereigns and republics, no one of whom acknowledged himſelf ſubordinate to any other, could permit. Without entering into any detail of the bloody war between the Venetians and Genoeſe for

as might be expected, thought they had as good a right to a ſhare of the plunder. [*Ryley, Plac. parl. p.* 131.]

* See *Madox's Hiſt. of the exchequer, c.* 7, § 8, *notes r, s.*—*Trivet, pp.* 264, 266, 267.—*Wikes, pp.* 103, 114, 122.—*M. Weſtm. p.* 414.—*Walſingham, p.* 476.—*Rot. pat.* 18, 19 *Edw. I.*—*Ryley, Plac. parl. p.* 129.

the poſſeſſion of a monaſtery *, I ſhall only obſerve, that one conſequence of the anarchy was, that nineteen Syrian merchants, trading in time of peace under the ſecurity of the public faith, were plundered and ignominiouſly put to death by the people of Acre. The refuſal of ſatisfaction for the outrage brought upon them the vengeance of the ſultan Khalil, who took the city by ſtorm, carried all the remaining inhabitants into captivity, and made an end of the Latin dominion in Syria, and of the holy wars, which during two centuries waſted the blood and treaſure of Europe. [*Gibbon, V.* xi, *p.* 166, *and authorities quoted.*]

After the final loſs of Syria a ſolemn edict was iſſued (I preſume, by the pope) whereby the Chriſtians were prohibited from having any commerce with the ſubjects of the ſultan. Cruiſing veſſels were ſtationed to intercept thoſe, who, *ſetting aſide the fear of God*, preſumed to trade with them: the tranſgreſſors were declared infamous, and rendered incapable of performing any legal act: their property was confiſcated, and themſelves condemned to be made ſlaves to any perſon who ſhould apprehend them. [*Sanuto, ap. Geſta Dei per Francos, V.* ii, *p.* 28.]

1292—An order had been iſſued ten years ago for the officers employed on the ſea coaſt to guard againſt the importation of counterfeit and defaced money, [*Rot. pat,* 11 *Edw. I, m.* 4] which appears to have had but little effect; for now the trade and intercourſe of the country were ſo much injured by an inundation of bad money from foreign countries, that the currency of all money but that of England, Ireland, or Scotland, was totally prohibited: and all perſons arriving from abroad were required to ſubmit their money to the examination of officers appointed for that purpoſe in Dover, Sandwich, London, Boſton, Southampton, and the Cinque ports. Immediately after this another ſtatute was enacted for puniſhing thoſe merchants, chiefly foreigners, who brought defaced and counterfeit money into the kingdom, by forfeitures and other penalties: and all other people, poſſeſſing bad money, were directed to bring it to the mint to be recoined, on pain of forfeiture. The bad money, now ſmuggled into England, and generally put up in bales of cloth and other packages to elude the ſearch of the officers, conſiſted partly of light pieces ſtamped with mitres and lions, 20*ſ* of which weighed only 16*ſ* 4 of Engliſh money, and partly of counterfeits of Engliſh money, made of baſer metals and covered over with ſilver, which were coined at Avignon and elſewhere. [*Stat.* 4, 5, 6, *of* 20 *Edw. I.*]

The brighteſt ornament of England and of the thirteenth century was Roger Bacon, a Franciſcan friar of Oxford. This heaven-taught

* Platina, the biographer of the popes, ſays [*p.* 425, *ed.* 1664] that the quarrel of the Venetians and Genoeſe prevented Pope Alexander IV from proſecuting the *pious* and *neceſſary* Aſiatic war. It certainly was a very *profitable* war in many reſpects to the popes.

genius, ſoaring above the incomprehenſible jargon which was then called philoſophy, by the native force of his own mind made ſuch diſcoveries in real ſcience and experimental philoſophy, that the bare recital of them muſt aſtoniſh us. His works plainly ſhow, that many mathematical inſtruments, ſuppoſed the inventions of later ages, were known to, or invented by, him, though loſt at his death, till they were re-invented by ſeveral ingenious men of later times. His deſcription of ſpecula compounded of ſeveral glaſſes placed at proper diſtances, which enabled him to bring the ſun, moon, and ſtars, apparently near to him, and to read letters at a great diſtance, applies exactly to our modern teleſcopes. Our modern ſpectacles are ſurely no other than his reading glaſſes, which magnified the letters for the uſe of old men and thoſe whoſe eyes were weak. He underſtood the conſtruction of burning glaſſes, microſcopes, and the camera obſcura. In his writings he maintains, that greater wonders may be accompliſhed by the powers of nature, if properly known, than by the pretended arts of magic. He affirms, that chariots may be made to go without horſes; that machines may be made, by which a man may mount up in the air; others, by which he may walk at the bottom of the ſea; and others, by which one man may counteract the force of a thouſand. He compounded ſaltpetre, ſulphur, and charcoal, into a *powder*, by which he produced artificial thunder and flame, and by which a city or an army could be deſtroyed: and he knew many of the ſuppoſed-modern improvements in chymiſtry *. All the rules of arithmetic (not then, as now, a common ſcience) were familiar to him; and he diſcovered the exact period of the year, and methods for correcting the calendar. In ſhort, he was indefatigable in the proſecution of ſcience; and he expended upon experiments, by the aſſiſtance of his friends, no leſs than two thouſand pounds, a ſum fully equivalent to at leaſt fifty thouſand in the preſent time. This illuſtrious man would alone have been ſufficient to illuminate a dark age, if his ardour for diſcovery had not been repreſſed by the jealous deſpotiſm of ignorant prieſts, from whom he ſuffered much perſecution and ſeveral impriſonments, whereby the world was deprived of the fruits of many of the beſt years of his aſtoniſhing ingenuity and incomparable induſtry. After having made more diſcoveries in ſcience than any other man ever did in any age or country, he died in a good old age on the 11th of June, 1292; and after his death ſcience relapſed into a ſlumber of about two centuries. [See his own *Opus majus.—Wood's Hiſt. Oxon. L.* i.]

The commerce with France was interrupted by a ſquabble between

* Petrus Peregrinus, who wrote upon almoſt all the qualities of the magnet, is ſaid by ſome to be no other than Bacon under an aſſumed name. The ſame writer is quoted under the name of Petrus Pellegrinus by Baptiſta della Porta in his *Magia naturalis, L.* vii, *c.* 27.

ſome Engliſh and French ſailors for a well of freſh water, which was followed by ſanguinary and ruinous private hoſtilities, if, being ſo extenſive, they may be called private. The barons of the Cinque ports, in order to revenge the loſſes and ſlaughters of their countrymen, fitted out ſixty veſſels, wherewith they attacked a French fleet of two hundred, loaded with wine, and took them all, the whole of the people, to the number of about 15,000, being killed or drowned, except a few who got to the land in their boats. King Edward, as diſapproving the action, refuſed to accept any ſhare of the plunder. The king of France, rouſed by the cries of his people, ſent a very urgent letter for compenſation; and Edward, very deſirous of avoiding a war with France, ſent the biſhop of London with inſtructions to offer ſeveral propoſals for ſettling matters amicably.

1294—But the kings on both ſides having other cauſes of diſcontent, the negotiation proved fruitleſs, and both kings prepared for war. The king of France prohibited all commercial intercourſe between his kingdom and England: and King Edward ſeized the property of the French merchants in his dominions, which was expreſsly contrary to the proviſions of *Magna charta*, unleſs the king of France acted previouſly in the ſame manner. [*Trivet, p.* 274.—*M. Weſt. p.* 419.—*Wikes, p.* 126.—*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 659.]

The ſavage and predatory ſpirit of the age was continually breaking out in enormities; and the ſeamen of Bayonne, the Cinque ports, Blakney, &c. as well as thoſe of other countries, were frequently accuſed of acts of piracy and wanton cruelty. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *pp.* 607, 616, 617, 632, 667, &c.] It was ſaid, that ſome merchants of Bayonne were publicly plundered in the port of Liſbon; and many hoſtilities had paſſed between them, aided by their allies the ſeamen of England, and their neighbours of Spain; and in particular fifteen Spaniſh veſſels were taken and carried into an Engliſh port. But, by the intervention of the kings of England and Spain (who do not appear to expreſs any diſpleaſure at their ſubjects going to war without their authority *) it was agreed (in ſummer 1293) that all captures ſhould be reſtored on both ſides. The merchants of Spain and Portugal appear, however, to have been ſtill unwilling to venture themſelves or their property in Edward's dominions, till, by the interceſſion of his friend the earl of Flanders, he granted them ſafe-conducts (17th February 1294), to laſt only till the middle of October, on condition that the kings of Spain and Portugal ſhould act in the ſame manner to his ſubjects. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *pp.* 609, 610, 627.—*M. Weſtm. p.* 424.]

King Edward, preparing for his intended war againſt France, divided

* Mathew of Weſtminſter ſays, [*p.* 423] that in thoſe days there was neither king nor law for ſailors, but every one called, whatever he could plunder or carry off, his own.

his navy into three fleets, and appointed three *admirals*, viz. John of Botetourt admiral of the fleet of Yarmouth and the eaſt coaſt; William of Leyburn, of the Portſmouth diviſion; and an officer (not named) of Iriſh birth commanded the ſhips of the weſt coaſt and Ireland. [*Trivet, p.* 279.] This is believed to be the earlieſt appearance in England of the title of *admiral*, which had been ſome time before adopted, in imitation of the Saracens, by the maritime ſtates of Italy, for the commander of a fleet. And the title appears to be quite new and unſettled; for on the 3d of September William of Leyburn is ſtiled *captain of the ſeamen and mariners of the king's dominions* *, and in the following year the king calls John of Botetourt his *warden of the coaſt of Yarmouth.* [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *pp.* 654, 688.]

The great inconveniences produced by the circulation of bad money in England, in ſpite of all the laws and precautions againſt the importation of it, induced King Edward to appoint Maſter John of Glouceſter, and John of Lincoln merchant in Hull, to ſuperintend the payments of the merchants *throughout the whole kingdom*, and to compell all merchants to bring their money to be examined by them. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the exchеq. c.* 9, § 3.] Whether all the payments in England were made in their office, or they had deputies in every trading town, we are not informed: nor do we know how long their extraordinary commiſſion continued in force.

September 20th—King Edward, being engaged in a war with France, and at the ſame time very eager to make a conqueſt of Scotland and to ſuppreſs ſome tumults in Wales, demanded of the clergy one half of their incomes for the year, from the merchants living in walled cities and market towns one ſixth part, and from the reſt of the people one tenth, of all their poſſeſſions; but, I ſuppoſe, rather of their incomes. Theſe heavy taxes were rendered ſtill more diſtreſsful by a very ſcanty harveſt, occaſioned probably by the men being drawn off from agriculture to the army, whereby many of the poor actually periſhed for want. [*Trivet, p.* 279.—*M. Weſtm. p.* 422.]

1295—King Edward, being at war with France, compelled the maſters of neutral veſſels in the ports of England to give ſecurity that they ſhould not ſail to that kingdom, without drawing any line of diſtinction between contraband and lawful goods. Some citizens of Lubeck, not being able to find ſecurity in England, were obliged to have their caſe repreſented to the emperor, who wrote to Edward in their behalf, and

* The learned Spelman [*Gloſſ. vo. Admiralius*] by tranſlating the old French word 'ſayze' *ſix* inſtead of *ſixteen*, has dated the ordinance at Bruges (ſee *Fœdera, V.* ii, p. 759) in 1286 inſtead of 1296, and ſuppoſed the mention of William of Leyburn in it as the king's admiral of the ſea the earlieſt appearance of the title in England. For the derivation of the name, and nature of the office of admiral, ſee his *Gloſſary*, wherein he has given a ſeries of the admirals of England, which may now be greatly augmented from the *Fœdera* and other records publiſhed ſince his time.

in return was desired to have the required security taken in Germany, before the vessels should be permitted to move. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 679.]

A merchant of Bayonne, having taken in 174 baskets of almonds on the coast of Africa, and also 150 boxes * of Malaga raisins, and 490 frailes (' flayons') of Malaga figs, when proceeding with those and other goods to England, anchored on the coast of Portugal, where, notwithstanding the truce so lately made with the merchants of Spain and Portugal, he was taken by armed men, who carried him into Lisbon. There his property was sold, and the king of Portugal received a tenth part of it from the pirates, whereby the merchant was injured to the amount of £700 sterling. King Edward's lieutenant in Gascoigne thereupon granted to him and his heirs licence to seize the property of the Portuguese, and especially of the inhabitants of Lisbon, wherever he could find it, during five years to come, or till he should be reimbursed for his loss and all expenses. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 691.] This is, I believe, the earliest notice, to be found in English records, of letters of marque or reprisal.

September 28th—The king directed John of Botetourt, his warden of the coast of Yarmouth, to permit the people of Holland, Zeland, and Friseland (whose sovereign had engaged to assist him in his war against France) to fish freely on the coast near Yarmouth; and he desired him to make frequent proclamation, that no person should presume to injure or hinder them in their fishing, and that they should give them every requisite assistance, till the 11th of November †. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 688.]

Dantzick was now for the first time inclosed with a wall, which was made of planks, by Primislaus duke of Poland. In the year 1343 a stone wall was begun. But the houses were built with reeds and mud as late as the end of the fourteenth century, there being then only one brick house, wherein the magistrates assembled. [*Bertii Rer. Germ. L.* iii, *p.* 102.]

Nicolo and Matheo Polo, two brothers of a noble family in Venice, having gone upon a trading adventure to Constantinople and various parts of Asia, after a variety of fortune arrived at Cambalu in Cathay ‡, the residence of Cublai khan, the conqueror of China, who treated them very favourably, and retained them in his service. Being sent as his ambassadors to the pope, they arrived in Italy in the year 1269, and returned to the East in 1271 with letters from the pope, accompanied by Marco the son of Nicolo. Young Marco soon acquired the languages

* ' Confines,' which apparently ought to be *cofines*, boxes or baskets. The word *coffin* was not antiently restricted to a box for containing a dead body.

† This is doubtless the permission, dated by Selden in his *Mare clausum* in 1265, and copied from him by Schook in his *Dissert. de harengis*, § 38.

‡ There can be little doubt that *Cambalu*, which, Marco informs us, signifies the *city of the king*, is Pekin. Cathay is a name still used in Asia for the northern part of China.

of the Moguls and ſome other neighbouring nations, and became a great favourite with the khan, who employed him, and alſo his father and uncle, on many important embaſſies. On their return from one of them they found ambaſſadors at the court of Cublai from Argon, an Indian king, who had ſent them to procure a wife for him. Their return home being rendered dangerous by a war in the intervening countries, they requeſted the khan to allow them to convey the princeſs, his relation, by ſea, and to permit the three Venetians to accompany them on account of their ſkill in maritime affairs. The khan reluctantly conſented to part with his Venetian friends, and ordered fourteen veſſels to be provided for them, each of which carried four maſts and nine ſails *. In twenty-one months they arrived in Argon's dominions: and thence the three Venetians proceeded by the way of Trebiſond, Conſtantinople, and Negropont, to Venice, where they arrived in the year 1295, with more knowlege of the Oriental countries than any Europeans ever had acquired †.

From Marco Polo's faithful account of the many countries he had traveled through, and of thoſe deſcribed by him from the beſt information he could obtain, the following particulars, illuſtrative of their commerce and manufactures, are extracted.

Giazza, a city with an excellent harbour at the north-eaſt corner of the Levant ſea, and a ſettled mart for all the Eaſt, is much frequented by veſſels from Venice and Genoa for the ſake of the ſpices and other rich merchandize brought to it.

Zorziana (Gurgiſtan or Georgia) has abundance of ſilk; and all the ſtuffs of gold and ſilk, called muſleims, are made in the province of Moxul.

Baldach, or Bagdat, is ſituated upon the River Tigris, at the diſtance of ſeventeen days ſailing from the ſea. It has many manufactures of gold and ſilk, damaſks, and velvets with figures of animals. All the pearls in Chriſtendom are brought from that city.

In Tauris, a great and populous city of Hyrcania, there are manufactures of gold and ſilk; and many foreign merchants reſiding there acquire great riches.

Perſia abounds with ſilk, and has excellent artificers, who make wonderful things in gold, ſilk, and embroidery. Jaſdi, a city on the frontier of Perſia, has a great trade and many manufactures of ſilk.

Ormus, the capital of the kingdom of Kerman, ſituated on an iſland,

* The form of the ſails is deſcribed by Ramuſio in his account of Marco's travels.

† The travels of Plano Carpini and his aſſociates and followers, begun in the year 1246, thoſe of Rubruquis, or Ruyſbroeck, in 1253, and the work of Haitho, written about the time that the Polos were on their travels, though containing ſome particulars of Cathay agreeing with and confirmed by Marco, were of no great importance in themſelves, except as having ſome degree of influence in ſlowly arouſing the ſpirit of inquiry, without which no great object can ever be accompliſhed.

is a great mart, to which the merchants from India and other countries bring ſpices, pearls, pretious ſtones, and other rich articles, from India. The veſſels of Ormus are ſtoutly built, with one deck, one maſt, and one ſail.

Cambalu in the province of Cathay, two days journey from the Ocean, has been long the royal reſidence. The great khan removed the city to the oppoſite ſide of the river, where the palaces are. The new-built city, called Taidu, is a ſquare of ſix miles each ſide; and the ſtreets, interſecting each other, extend in ſtraight lines from gate to gate. In a great building in the center there is a very large bell, which tolls every night at a certain hour, after which no man muſt be in the ſtreets till next morning, unleſs in caſes of very urgent neceſſity, and then he muſt carry a light with him. Adjoining to each of the twelve gates there are ſuburbs three or four miles long, wherein the merchants and ſtrangers live, each nation having their own diſtinct ſtore-houſes, in which they reſide. The quantity and variety of merchandize of all kinds is aſtoniſhing, and the number of merchants, of whom a great proportion are Saracens, is wonderfully great. The money is not made of metal, but of the middle bark of the mulberry tree, cut in round pieces, and ſtamped with the khan's mark. It is death to counterfeit it, or to refuſe it in any part of the empire. Throughout the whole empire there are inns eſtabliſhed at proper diſtances, where the khan's ambaſſadors or meſſengers are ſure to find freſh horſes, proviſions, and lodgings; and ferry-boats are alſo ſtationed at the rivers and lakes. By theſe means letters are conveyed at the rate of 200 or 250 miles in a day. In years of abundance the khan lays up corn in his granaries, and in times of ſcarcity ſells it out for a fourth part of the current price. In Cathay they make a liquor of rice much ſtronger than wine. They dig up black ſtones (coals) which burn like wood, and keep on fire through the whole night. The khan has the tenth of all wool, ſilk, and hemp, and of all produce of the earth except ſugar and ſpices, which pay only $3\frac{1}{3}$ per cent, as does alſo the wine of rice (or arrack); and all mechanics are obliged to work for him one day in the week; and thence he clothes his army and the poor.*. The whole country is full of great, rich, and crowded, cities (many of which are named and deſcribed) thronged with manufacturers of ſilk, gold ſtuffs, and other rich or uſeful merchandize. The rivers and canals, eſpecially the great and magnificent one made by turning the river at the city of Singuimatu into two channels, one going towards Cambalu, and the other towards Mangi

* If our modern travelers have been well informed on the ſubject of taxation in China, and Marco has been correct in this part of his narrative, thoſe oppreſſive taxes are now lightened almoſt to annihilation. Perhaps Marco was here erroneous in his recollection; for it muſt have been a moſt prepoſterous policy to tax wool, ſilk, and hemp, the materials of induſtry, thrice as heavy as ſpiceries, a mere luxury, and arrack, the inſtrument of intoxication, idleneſs, and riot.

(the ſouth part of China) are continually covered with veſſels, which carry on a vaſt inland trade throughout the whole empire. At Trigui there is a great manufacture of porcelain diſhes, eight of which may be bought for the value of a Venetian groat. Many of the ports are frequented by veſſels from India, which pay a duty of ten per cent to the khan. At Zaitum, a famous port of Mangi, ſhips arrive from all quarters with merchandize, which is there reſhipped for every part of India. The quantity of pepper to be found there is an hundred times as much as all that comes to the Weſt by the way of Alexandria. Ships from Zaitum trade to an iſland (never ſeen by Marco) producing ſpices, lignum aloes, and pepper. They are a year upon the voyage out and in, having winds of two ſorts (monſoons) which keep their regular ſeaſons.

Zipangu (ſuppoſed to be Japan) is a large iſland, which the khan's forces were not able to ſubdue.

Java is ſuppoſed the largeſt iſland in the world. The merchants of Zaitum and other parts of Mangi import a great quantity of gold and ſpices from it.

Another iſland, called the Leſſer Java, contains eight kingdoms, ſix of which Marco traveled through. In one of them called Felh the people are converted to the religion of Mohamed by the vaſt number of Saracens trading to that country. In another of them there are nuts, as large as a man's head, containing within them a liquor preferable to wine *. Lambrai, another of thoſe kingdoms, produces trees from which meal is made †.

One thouſand miles weſt from Java is Zelan (Ceylon), 2,400 miles in circuit, but formerly 3,600, as appears in antient maps: but the north winds have made great changes, and ſunk much of it under the ſea ‡. Between Zelan and the main land of India there is a great fiſhery for pearls.

Sixty miles weſt from Zelan is Malabar in the Greater India. The kings of that country are ſupplied with horſes from Ormus and other places.

In Murffili, or Monſul, lying north from Malabar, there are mountains containing diamonds.

On the weſt coaſt of Malabar and in Guzerat there are many pirates, who ſometimes attack the merchants with fleets of a hundred veſſels. (We may thence infer, that the merchant veſſels were very numerous, and ſailed in ſtrong fleets, as the pirates thought ſo large a force neceſſary to attack them.) In Guzerat there is abundance of cotton; in

* Could coco-nuts be unknown to him till he was in that country?

† He proceeds to deſcribe the proceſs of making this meal, which is ſago.

‡ Marco, in his veneration for Ptolemy, rather ſuppoſes a very improbable event, than that his geography might be erroneous.

Canhau, ſtore of frankincenſe; in Cambaia, indigo, buckram, and cotton.

In Bengal the people live on fleſh, rice, and milk. They have great plenty of cotton, and carry on a vaſt trade in the manufactures of it. They have alſo abundance of ſpikenard, galingal, ginger, and other ſpices.

In Baſcia and Thebet, countries lying north from India, corals are reckoned more pretious than any other article *.

In Carandana, and many other provinces lying round it, an ounce of gold is exchanged for five ounces of ſilver †.

In the province of Chinchintalas there is a mountain containing mines of ſteel and andanicum ‡, and alſo ſalamander's wool (aſbeſtos), whereof a cloth is made, which fire cannot conſume.

Magaſter (Madagaſcar) is 1,000 miles ſouth from Socotora, and is one of the richeſt and largeſt iſlands in the world, being 3,000 miles in circuit. It is inhabited by Saracens; and vaſt quantities of elephant's teeth are brought from it.

Zenſibar (apparently the Zanguebar of modern maps) is alſo ſaid to be a very extenſive country.

The veſſels of India have many cabins on their decks, and each merchant has his own cabin. They carry from two to four maſts, which are ſet up and lowered at pleaſure. The hold is divided by water-tight partitions; ſo that, if a leak ſprings in one room, the goods in the others are not wetted by it. They are double-planked, and calked with oakum, nailed with iron, and covered with a compoſition of oil, lime, and hemp. They carry from five to ſix thouſand bags of pepper, and from 150 to 300 men. They row with oars, which require four men to each of them. They have ſmaller veſſels for tenders beſides the boats carried on their decks. Every year they put on a new ſheathing above the old; and after ſix ſuch courſes the ſhips are broken up §.

Theſe accounts of the vaſt and rich countries of the Eaſt laid open a new world to the curioſity and ſpeculation of the Europeans, and inflamed them with the deſire of diſcovering a way to reach them by ſea, which, after an interval of two centuries, was at laſt accompliſhed ‖.

* The great demand for corals in India, probably for the ſupply of thoſe countries, was noted by Pliny. See above, p. 167, note †.

† The well-informed author of the Periplus of the Erythræan ſea obſerved that there was a conſiderable profit made in India by exchanging one kind of money for another: (ſee above, p. 170) and there is ſtill a great difference in the proportions between the pretious metals in India and in Europe.

‡ This is believed to be that moſt excellent kind of ſteel, which in antient times was carried from India to Europe. See above, p. 160, note *.

§ Theſe ſhort-lived ſhips muſt have been built of timber very different from that of Tylos in the days of Theophraſtus, (ſee above, p. 59) or the very durable teek of the modern ſhip-builders of Hindooſtan.

‖ The narrative of Marco Polo proved a powerful ſtimulus to Chriſtopher Colon in his project of reaching India by a weſtern courſe, in which, according to the received geography, he ſhould ſail only 135 degrees weſt from the meridian of Ferro, inſtead of 225 degrees, beſides the great circuit round Africa, in ſailing to it by an eaſtern courſe: for India was his object; he had no conception of another great continent. [*Hiſt. del Almirante Don Chr. Colon, cc.* 7, 8; written by his ſon.]

Whoever compares the Periplus of the Erythræan ſea, the relations of Coſmas Indicopleuſtes, the Arabian travelers, Maſſoudi, Ebn Haukal, and Benjamin of Tudela, with the narrative of Marco Polo, will find them in many points ſtrongly confirmed and illuſtrated by him, as he is by the accounts of all ſucceeding travelers of veracity *. The cloſe reſemblance between the earlieſt accounts of the Indians (even thoſe obtained by Alexander's officers) and of the Chineſe, is particularly ſtriking. Both thoſe great nations had made conſiderable progreſs in ſcience long before it began to dawn upon the weſtern world: and both have continued, ever ſince the times in which we have the earlieſt knowlege of them, nearly ſtationary in ſcience, or rather in ſome reſpects retrograde. In the age of Marco Polo we find the Indians, and the people of Mangi, or the ſouthern Chineſe, navigating every part of the Indian ocean, as, we know, that in earlier ages, though colonies and commercial ſettlements of the Arabians, or Saracens, a people of ſuperior commercial enterpriſe and knowlege, were eſtabliſhed in every port of that extenſive ocean, and even in their own inland cities, they viſited every coaſt of it in their own veſſels, and took into their own hands the moſt of the maritime trade between the eaſtern and weſtern parts of the world. But afterwards both the Indians and the Chineſe, though better qualified in point of ſituation and valuable commodities and manufactures than any other people of Aſia to command an extenſive and lucrative trade to all parts of the world, have allowed the whole of their foreign trade to go into the hands of foreigners. The decline of navigation in China may perhaps be owing partly to the policy of the government, and partly to their ſeamen having loſt the knowlege of managing veſſels at ſea in conſequence of the great bulk of their trade being conveyed, without any danger from ſtorms or pirates, by inland navigation, ever ſince the great canal was made by Coublai.

1296—Hitherto the gallies in the Mediterranean had never had more than two men to row one oar; but now three men were put upon each

* Many other particulars, characteriſtic of the eaſtern nations, and ſtrongly proving the veracity of Marco's narrative, might be ſelected; ſuch as the Chineſe cuſtom of expoſing infants, 20,000 of whom were every year ſaved and bred up by Fanfur, the laſt king of Mangi; the policy, perhaps peculiar to China, of one city having authority over many others, no fewer than 140 being ſubject to the government of Quinſai (the city of heaven), the greateſt and richeſt city, and, before the conqueſt of it by Coublai, the capital, of Mangi; the plantations of mulberry trees in China for feeding the ſilk-worms; the reſpect paid to cows by the Indians; their principle of not putting any animal to death, and abſtaining from animal food; their widows devoting themſelves to the funereal fire along with the bodies of their deceaſed huſbands; their cuſtom of chewing a leaf (betel) which he calls *tembul*, with ſpices and lime; a ſmall city at the tomb of S^t. Thomas, frequented by Saracens as well as Chriſtians on account of devotion; the Chriſtians of Socotora and other places acknowleging the patriarch of Baldach for their chief or pope, nearly as it was in the time of Coſmas Indicopleuſtes, &c.

Having already given the compreſſed commercial ſubſtance of all the early writers upon Oriental affairs, it will not be neceſſary to pay much attention to any other travelers into the eaſtern regions, unleſs they add ſomething conſiderable to our ſtock of materials for commercial hiſtory.

oar in the larger gallies, which were thence called *terzaroli* *. [*Sanuto, apud Bongars. V.* ii, *p.* 57.] Probably the Polos, who had juſt returned from the Oriental ſeas where they had ſeen even four men on an oar, may have ſuggeſted this augmentation of force upon the oars of the gallies.

1297—In conſideration of an alliance againſt France, and of two political marriages between the families of Edward king of England and Guy earl (or cuens) of Flanders, the later obtained a very favourable commercial treaty, whereby his ſubjects were permitted to carry wool and other merchandize from Edward's dominions of England, Ireland, *Scotland*, and Wales, as freely as the Lombard, or even Engliſh, merchants. Guy even had intereſt to procure commercial favours in Edward's dominions for the merchants of Spain and Portugal, ſome of whom were immediately accuſed of piratically ſeizing two veſſels belonging to King Edward's city of Bayonne †. In one of the many treaties between England and Flanders it was agreed, that all the veſſels belonging to King Edward's Britiſh or French dominions ſhould carry his arms in their colours, and thoſe of the earl's territories ſhould in like manner carry his: and all veſſels ſhould have letters patent, ſealed with the common ſeals of the towns to which they belonged, teſtifying that they really belonged to ſuch towns. This is probably the earlieſt notice of national colours and ſhip's papers (as they are now called) to be found in Engliſh records ‡. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *pp.* 737-765.]

September 15th—King Edward levied an eight part of the property of all the laymen throughout the kingdom for the ſupport of his war with France: and in return, he renewed, or confirmed, the Great charter of the liberties of England and the Charter of the liberties of the foreſt §. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 793.—*Statut.* 25 *Edw. I.*]

October 10th—The parliament had granted the king an additional duty of forty ſhillings upon every ſack of wool, and five marks upon every laſt of hides, to be exported, during two years, or three years if the war ſhould laſt ſo long. But the impoſition was apparently found

* This word has apparently led ſome of the later Italian writers to aſſert, that *triremis* in antient times ſignified a veſſel with three men to every oar (whereas the antient veſſels never had more than one to an oar) and to apply that antient term to modern gallies; a licence utterly ſubverſive of the meaning of language.

† Perhaps the letter of marque, granted in the year 1295 to a merchant of Bayonne, was now recalled or forgotten, the merchant being reimburſed, or his intereſt not attended to.

‡ The diſtinguiſhing banners, &c. uſed in the fleet of Richard I, ſeem to have been thoſe of the military commanders, and *they were ſet up upon ſpears*. But in the year 1308 we ſhall find Caſtilian colours and Portugueſe colours, bearing the enſigns and arms of the ſovereigns, mentioned as things in common uſe. Some time before March 1315 the people remaining onboard a veſſel of Bayonne, which had been taken by ſome Flemiſh and Scottiſh cruiſers, and abandoned by them on the appearance of an Engliſh fleet, hoiſted the royal ſtandard of England *at their maſt head* as ſeeking their protection, and they were accordingly carried into Yarmouth. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 509.]

§ The Magna charta was repeatedly confirmed in the remaining part of Edward's reign. See *Blackſtone's Hiſtory of the charters*. But neither thoſe confirmations, nor the frequent impoſitions of the taxes called aids, need to be mentioned in this work.

intolerable, and the collection of it impracticable; for the king, by advice of his council, directed the collectors of the customs to remit the new duties, and take only those formerly established, already specified under the year 1282. [*Statut.* 25 *Edw. I.—Madox's Hist. of the exchеq. c.* 18, § 5, *note* (*t*).]

1298—The people of Hull used to pay certain duties to the city of York, and were also in some degree of subjection to the archbishop, till the twenty-sixth year of King Edward I, when, under the appellation of *the king's men of his town of Kingston upon Hull*, they petitioned the king, that their town might be made a free burgh, independent of the shirref, and have a fair and markets, with exemptions from several tolls and impосts (now obsolete) throughout all England. They paid 100 marks to the king, and their petition was granted. About the same time the men of Ravenfrod, or Ravenser, obtained a similar grant of privileges, exemption from the jurisdiction of York, from tolls, &c. And, if we are to judge by the sum they paid, which was £300 (or 450 marks) it must have been then a much more considerable place than Hull *. [*Rot. pat.* 51 *Hen. III, m.* 23.—*Ryley's Plac. parl. p.* 646.—*Madox's Hist. c.* 11, § 2.]

We find an officer appointed to measure and inspect cloths in the fairs throughout all England, to levy fines upon those whose cloths were not according to the assise, and to account for the fines to the exchequer. This officer must have had deputies all-over the kingdom. The origin of the office is not known †, the notice of it being occasioned by the

* Camden was mistaken, though deriving his information 'from the sacred archives of the king-'dom,' in saying that Edward *built* a town, which he called Kingston, upon a piece of ground called Wik, purchased by him from the abbat of Meaux; though he is pretty correct in the privileges granted. [*Britannia, p.* 578.] The new name, and probably some new buildings erected in consequence of the new privileges, have led him to suppose a new foundation: and his authority, which is deservedly great, has been implicitly followed.

Hull, if we may trust the representation of the archbishop of York, was a port of commerce in the reign of King Athelstan. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 272.] But, to come upon surer ground, Hull was evidently a port of some note at least a century before this time; we have seen that its customs amounted to £1,086 in the year 1282; and in the year 1294 we find a merchant of that town one of the two superintendants of all the mercantile payments in England. (*See above, pp.* 358, 371, 437, 454.) I find no record of the trade of Ravenfrod, nor indeed any mention of it whatever before this time. After being noted in history for the embarkation of Edward Balliol and his associates when he went to claim the kingdom of Scotland in the year 1332, for the landing of Henry duke of Lancaster when he came to take possession of the kingdom of England in 1399, and the landing of King Edward IV when he came to reclaim the kingdom in 1471, but without having ever attained any great commercial importance, it was entirely destroyed by the encroachments of the sea about the beginning of the fifteenth century (if not indeed before the landing of Henry); and even the place where it stood, which was on the Humber, and near the point called the Spurn, is not exactly known. [*Walsingham, p.* 358.—*Fœdera, V.* viii, *p.* 89.—*Stow, Ann. p.* 703.] But Hull (for the additional name of Kingston is now generally omitted) has become one of the most considerable ports on the east side of England.

† The office is probably co-æval with the law for regulating the breadth and goodness of cloth, which is at least as old as the reign of Richard I. There are some instances (in *Madox's Hist. c.* 14, § 15) of people being fined in the reigns of John and Henry III for their cloths being over-stretched and under breadth.

appointment (March 21st) of a new *keeper of the ulnary and aſſiſe of cloths foreign as well as home-made.* [*Madox's Hiſt. c.* 18, § 5, *note* (*a*).]

May 5th—The king, by letters ſent to the ſhirrefs of Cambridge, Huntendon, Nottingham, Derby, Bedford, Buckingham, Warwick, Leiceſter, Rutland, and Norfolk, ordered that all the wool, wool-fells, and hides, exported from all thoſe ſhires, ſhould be ſhipped only at Lynne, and there pay the duties. A trone (or beam) for weighing the wool, and alſo ſeals for the cocket, were ſent from the exchequer to the collectors of the cuſtoms at that port. For the ſame purpoſe collectors were alſo eſtabliſhed at the ports of Newcaſtle, Kingſton upon Hull, Boſton, Yarmouth, Ipſwich, Southampton, Briſtol, and London *. [*Madox's Hiſt. c.* 18, § 5, *note* (*r*).]

1299, May 15th—Notwithſtanding the late law of the parliament of England againſt the importation of bad money, and other ſubſequent precautions, the kingdom was ſtill very much diſtreſſed by the circulation of foreign coins of inferior value, known by the names of pollards, crokards, &c. Therefor the king, by the advice of the prelates, earls, and barons †, ordered that all importers of ſuch money ſhould be puniſhed with death and confiſcation of all their property; and all perſons arriving from abroad ſhould be very ſtrictly examined by wardens choſen in every port, and thoſe found guilty of importing bad money be impriſoned; that the foreign good money ſhould be carried to the king's exchange; and that all Engliſh money imported ſhould be tryed by the neareſt eſſayers, and, if found counterfeit, ſhould be ſeized. No perſon was to ſell wool, hides, ſkins, lead, or tin, but for good ſterling money, ſilver bullion tryed and ſtamped at the king's exchange, or good and ſufficient merchandize; and no money nor bullion was to be carried out of the king's dominions without his licence, on pain of forfeiture ‡. The king ordered that tables of the various coins, and of their value in ſterling money, ſhould be kept at Dover and the other ports which he ſhould ordain for paſſage, and that all perſons arriving in, or departing from, the kingdom ſhould there receive, in exchange for their own money, an equivalent quantity of the money of the country they were going to, ſufficient for their expenſes while in it. [*Statut.* 27 *Edw. I.*—*Rot. pat.* 27. *Edw. I. mm.* 13, 14, 24.—*Madox's Hiſt. c.* 9, § 9.]

* There is ſomething, either erroneous, or ſtrangely capricious, in the order obliging the wool of the eaſtern part of Norfolk to travel away from the neighbourhood of Yarmouth to be ſhipped at Lynne; and yet Yarmouth is one of the ports for ſhipping wool.

† Theſe were the members of a parliament, which ſat at Stebenheth (Stepney) in the houſe of Henry Walleis, then mayor of London. [*Stow's Annales, p.* 318.]

‡ It was the general notion of the European legiſlators of thoſe times, that they could controll trade, and command the balance of it to be in their favour, by ſuch laws: and, though reaſon, as well as experience, ought to have convinced them of their inefficiency, the deluſion laſted a prodigious time.

1300, April 11th—King Edward afterwards by the advice of his nobles ('procerum') entirely prohibited the currency of pollards and crokards, and all other money not of his own coinage *. He alſo iſſued orders to the magiſtrates of all the ports to allow no money, either Engliſh or foreign, nor any bullion, to be exported without his own ſpecial licence: and from the orders iſſued on this occaſion we obtain the following liſt of the ports of England, Wales, and that part of Scotland which was then under ſubjection to him, viz.

Dover,	Frome,	Ipſwich,
Sandwich,	Fowy,	Dunwich,
Romney,	Looe,	Orford,
Winchelſea,	Bodmyn,	Yarmouth,
Rye,	Wareham,	Blackney,
Hythe,	Falmouth,	Lynne,
Faverſham,	Briſtol,	Boſton,
Haſtings,	Haverford,	Wainfleet,
Shoreham,	Carnarvon,	Saltfleet,
Seaford,	Carmarthen,	Grimſby,
Portſmouth,	Lanpadermaur,	Hull †,
Southampton,	Conway,	Ravenſere,
Dartmouth,	Cheſter,	Scarburgh,
Lymington,	Bridgewater,	Tinemouth,
Weymouth,	Cardiff,	Newcaſtle upon
Poole,	Oyſtermouth,	Tine, and
Hamble,	Rocheſter,	Bamburgh;
Lyme,	Graveſend,	alſo
Sidmouth,	Northfleet,	Berwick upon
Chicheſter,	London,	Tweed, and
Teignmouth,	Harwich,	Dunbar ‡.

[*Ryley's Plac. parl. p.* 481.]

The merchants of Bourdeaux complained to King Edward, that they could neither ſell their wines, paying poundage, nor hire houſes or cellars to ſtore them in. The king thereupon directed a writ to the mayor and ſhirrefs of London, in conſequence of which many large houſes, with cellars for the ſtowage of wine, were erected on a part of the river's bank, formerly occupied by cooks. The place being called the Vintry, has

* Wikes [*p.* 127] ſays, that the king allowed pollards, crokards, and roſaries, to go for a halfpennie each, before he totally prohibited them. But that reduction is not mentioned by Trivet nor Mathew of Weſtminſter: nor does any ſuch reduction appear in the public records till the ſecond year of Edward II. [*Madox's Hiſt. c.* 9, § 3.]

† Hull is not called Kingſton. The new name had not yet made its way into all the public offices.

‡ It is reaſonable to believe, that there muſt have been more ports than thoſe here mentioned, though the letters ſent to them do not appear.—I have given all the names in modern ſpelling.

communicated its name to the adjacent wharf, and alſo to the ward wherein it is ſituated *. [*Stow's Survey, p.* 438.]

Edmund earl of Cornwall (who died this year) gave the people concerned in working the tin mines of Cornwall a diploma, containing a ſpecification of their liberties, and the ſtipulated duty to be paid for the tin to him as ſuperior lord of the country, together with a code of laws for their regulation, which are known by the name of the *Stannary laws.* [*Camdeni Britan. p.* 134.]

A ſtatute was enacted, which ordained, that all wares made of gold and ſilver, ſhould be of good and true allay; gold of the ſtandard of Paris, and ſilver of the ſterling allay †, or of better, if deſired by the employer. It alſo directed, that ſilver work ſhould be marked with a *leopard's head* by the wardens of the craft ‡. [*Statut.* 28 *Edw. I, c.* 20.]

While King Edward was carrying on his warlike operations in the ſouth part of Scotland, he received from Ireland a conſiderable number of cargoes of wheat, oats, malt, and ale, which were moſtly brought by the merchants of Ireland, and in Iriſh veſſels. This year the mayor and community of Drogheda made the king a preſent of eighty tuns of wine, and chartered a veſſel, belonging to their own port, to deliver it to him at Kirkcudbright. [*Liber garderobæ Edw. I, pp.* 120, *et ſeqq.*] I do not find that Ireland ſupplied the Engliſh army with any animal food, which in the preſent age is a principal branch of the trade of that country.

At the ſame time Galloway, being then moſtly under the dominion of Edward, ſupplied him with horſes, apparently of the breed known by the name of the country, for which it has long been famous. [*Liber garderobæ, paſſim.*]

The number of veſſels arriving in the year ending on the 20th of November 1299, in London, and the other ports of England, except the Cinque ports which were exempted from the priſe, and bringing cargoes of wine conſiſting of above nineteen tuns, from which, by an antient law or cuſtom, the king had a right to take two tuns at the fixed price of twenty ſhillings, was 73; and the number in the year ending on the 20th of November 1300 was 71; the priſe wines (which appear by the accounts to have been but a ſmall part of thoſe conſumed in the king's houſehold) being 146 tuns in the former, and 142 in the later, of theſe years §. [*Liber garderobæ, p.* 356.] It is, however, very pro-

* The ward was ſo called at leaſt as early as the year 1304. [*Madox, c.* 17, § 5, *note h.*]

† The appointment of the ſilver money of the kingdom to be the ſtandard for ſilver work, and the ſtandard of a foreign country to be followed in gold work, together with the ſilence concerning gold money, ſtrengthen the conjecture in p. 408, that a continued coinage of gold had not been kept up after the year 1257.

‡ By an act of the year 1299, ingots of ſilver were to be marked by the king's aſſayers, before they could be paid away in place of money. In thoſe days *leopards*, not *lions*, were the armorial enſigns of England.

§ In the 47th and 48th years of Henry III the priſe wines ſeem to have been only 235 tuns during both years. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the exchеq. c.* 18, § 2.]

bable, that the Cinque ports, being exempted from priſage, and alſo better provided with ſhipping than moſt of the other ports, imported more wines than all the reſt of the kingdom.

The money of France, from the time of Charlemagne, who corrected an abuſe of Pepin in coining 264 *pennies out of a pound of ſilver, and reſtored* the old rate of 240 pennies, remained with little or no variation of weight or fineneſs till the reign of Philip I, who, about the year 1103, mixed one third of copper with two thirds of ſilver in his deniers or pennies. [*Le Blanc, Traité des monnoyes de France, p.* xvii.] It is not my intention to purſue the money of France through all its ſubſequent depretiations of weight and quality, which have been many and great.

1301—The firſt diminution of the weight of the Engliſh money of account (if we except the money coined by Stephen, which, together with that coined by the barons in his reign, was all deſtroyed by Henry II) was now made by King Edward, who coined *two hundred and forty-three* pennies out of the pound of ſtandard ſilver *. A defalcation of three pennies from the value of the pound of account was probably thought a very trifling matter; and the people knew nothing of their money being one and a quarter per cent deficient of the juſt value. But it was a departure from the antient, ſtrict, and honourable, adherence to the integrity of the national money; and a breach, once begun, was with leſs ſcruple enlarged by the ſucceeding kings.

Robert king of Scotland followed the example ſet by Edward in England; and he went ſomewhat beyond him: for, expecting that the pennies of both kingdoms would continue, as formerly, to paſs indiſcriminately †, he coined *two hundred and fifty-two* pennies from the pound weight, the ſtandard quality of the ſilver being the ſame in both kingdoms. [*Statut. Rob. III, c.* 22, § 5, 6.]

In all the diminutions which have taken place in England and Scotland, as well as in France and other countries, the denominations of the money of account have ſtill remained the ſame, viz. twelve pennies in the nominal ſhilling, and twenty ſhillings in the nominal pound, as well as when the pound of account contained a real pound of twelve ounces Troye weight of ſtandard ſilver ‡.

* This is taken from Folkes, [*on Engliſh coins, pp.* 8, 142, *ed.* 1763] who copied the agreement made with the coiner, and may therefor be deemed more authentic than even the table of weights and meaſures, printed among the public ſtatutes of the year 1303, which ſtates twenty pennies to be in the ounce as formerly. The continuator of Trivet's Annals ſays, [*p.* 2] that the money of Edward I was held in very low eſtimation ('admodum tenebatur in regno vilis') immediately after his death, though I do not ſee for what reaſon, unleſs there has been ſome debaſement of the quality of the ſilver, which has eſcaped the reſearches of the nummarian antiquaries.

† They did paſs indiſcriminately till the year 1355, as appears by the proclamation of Edward III. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 813.] The exact year in which Robert began the diminution of the money of Scotland is not known. His reign commenced in 1306.

‡ There was no ſuch coin as a ſhilling till the year 1504, and there never was a piece of ſilver money of the weight of a pound in Great Britain.

Having noticed the firſt breaches upon the integrity of the money of account, I refer the reader for the ſucceeding changes of the value of the Engliſh and Scottiſh money, which were many, both in weight and purity, to the table of money

The reductions of the current money, from which the princes blindly expected great advantages, were ruinous to themſelves and the landholders, and productive of unſpeakable confuſion and embarraſſment in commerce and dealings of every kind. Le Blanc, the hiſtorian of the French money, goes ſo far as to aſcribe the victories of the Engliſh in France to the impoveriſhed ſtate of the French gentlemen, occaſioned by the diminution of the money; for, ſays he, 'a knight reduced to 'poverty, and ill equipped, is already vanquiſhed.'

The manufactures of Flanders in time recovered from the ſanguinary check they received in the war between the rival ſons of the counteſs Margaret in the middle of the thirteenth century; and, in conſequence of their proſperity, the wool of England again found its uſual ready market. Flanders being the ſeat of the beſt manufactures to the northward of the Alps and Pynenæan mountains, and conſequently crowded with people, the greateſt agricultural exertions were neceſſary to make the fields as productive as poſſible; and the encouragement afforded by ſo numerous a population was a moſt powerful ſtimulus to the induſtry and ingenuity of the farmers. It is generally allowed, that the other countries of the weſt part of Europe have been inſtructed in agriculture and horticulture by the Flemings, and have been earlier or later in their improvements in thoſe arts, in proportion to their intercourſe with thoſe ſuperior cultivators. Literature and the polite arts were alſo more flouriſhing in Flanders than in the neighbouring countries, during the proſperous ages of their manufactures and commerce. So true is it, that plenty and politeneſs are produced and nouriſhed by the genial influence of well-directed induſtry *.

The firſt interruption to the proſperity of the Flemiſh manufactures proceeded from the rigour of ſome regulations of the halls, which were intended for preſerving the character of the manufactures and guarding againſt frauds, but chiefly operated as compulſive laws, to confine the manufactures to the cities, and ſubject them to the trammels of monopolizing corporations. The conſequence, however, as generally happens with compulſive laws in matters of trade, was the reverſe of what was intended by the legiſlators; for many of the manufacturers, in order to avoid the reſtraints, ſettled in the villages, from which they were driven out by the wars between France and Flanders, and forced to take ſhelter in Tienen and Louvain in Brabant, where they were alſo ham-

in the Appendix, which exhibits them in one clear chronological view.

* In our own iſland we have the teſtimony of Diodorus Siculus [*L.* v, § 22] and Cæſar, [*Bell. Gall. L.* v, *cc.* 13, 14] that the people of Cornwall and Kent, as having the chief commercial intercourſe with the continent in antient times, were more poliſhed and improved than the other natives of Britain, and our own dayly obſervation of the vaſt difference between the diſtricts which are the ſeats of commerce and manufactures, and thoſe which are remote from their invigorating influence, in the cultivation of the earth, and the politeneſs and comfortable ſubſiſtence of the people.

pered by reſtrictions and impoſts. In the year 1301 theſe harſh meaſures provoked a tumult in Ghent, wherein two of the magiſtrates and eleven other inhabitants loſt their lives. In the following year above 1,500 people periſhed in the ſame way at Bruges: and at Ypres the whole of the magiſtrates were killed. Similar tumults were raiſed afterwards at Louvain and other places in Brabant by the cloth-weavers and others, who thought themſelves oppreſſed by the reſtrictive laws; and many of them emigrated to England and other countries, as we ſhall afterwards ſee. [*De Witt's Intereſt of Holland, p.* 47, *Engl. tranſl.*]

The cataſtrophe at Bruges ſeems to have been, at leaſt partly, occaſioned by the intemperance of ſpeech of a fooliſh woman. In May 1301 Philip the Fair, king of France, with his queen, made a progreſs through Flanders, which, he alleged, had devolved to him as ſuperior lord. They were everywhere received with the greateſt demonſtrations of reſpect, and the people of every city made the moſt pompous diſplay of opulence and magnificence. At Bruges the ſplendour of the ladies gave great offence to the queen, who peeviſhly exclaimed, 'I thought 'I was the only queen here, but I ſee there are many hundreds more.' After their departure a diſturbance aroſe among the citizens concerning the payment of the public expenſes, incurred by their reception of their royal viſitors, which they muſt have thought very ill beſtowed. The deacon of the weavers, who was called King Peter, with twenty-five other conſiderable men, were put in priſon by the prætor, but inſtantly releaſed by the populace. Many other diſturbances enſued; and finally the French were driven out of Bruges. [*Meyeri Annales Flandriæ, f.* 88 b.] If the queen had had the good ſenſe to rejoice, that the people, who were to be her huſband's ſubjects, were enjoying the due rewards of their honeſt induſtry, or could have only commanded her temper ſo far, as to aſſume an appearance of gratiouſly accepting the reſpect paid to her, which would have coſt her nothing, inſtead of diſplaying her childiſh envy and littleneſs, there would perhaps have been no oppoſition to her huſband's claim *.

1302, November 7th—King Edward, by ſummonſes to the warden of the Cinque ports, and to the magiſtrates of Dover, Sandwich, Rye, Winchelſea, Romney, Hythe, Pevenſey, and Faverſham, ordered their quota of fifty-ſeven veſſels to be ready at Are (or Ayr on the weſt coaſt of Scotland) on next Aſſumption day, in order to act againſt the Scots. But, as he wanted men more than veſſels, he deſired they would ſend only twenty-

* She died with a very bad character—'altera 'Jeſabel, magnaque pars cauſæ hujus tragædiæ et 'cruentiſſimi belli.' [*Meyer, f.* 108 a.]—Iſabel, the ſiſter of Henry III, when ſhe went over to be married to the emperor, by indulging the people of Cologne with a ſight of her face, won the hearts of the ladies of that great city. [*M. Paris, p.* 415.] How cheaply may thoſe of high rank attach the people to their intereſt!

five veſſels, with the full number of men belonging to the fifty-ſeven. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 911.]

Auguſt 13th—The king gave the wine-merchants of his duchy of Aquitaine a charter, licencing them to import wines, and other merchandize, into all his dominions, and to ſell them in wholeſale in the cities, burghs, and market towns, either to natives or foreigners. He exempted them from the antient priſe of two tuns of wine out of every ſhip, and promiſed, that no part of their wine, or other goods, ſhould be taken for his uſe, without being paid for at the fair price paid by others. He alſo ordained, that, as the ſeller was obliged to make up any deficiency of the ſtandard gauge of the wine, ſo the buyer ſhould pay for the ſurplus quantity when it exceeded the meaſure, and that the buyer and ſeller ſhould each pay a halfpenny for the gauge. The wine-merchants, in conſideration of theſe privileges, which, the king declared, ſhould be perpetual*, conſented to pay an additional duty of two ſhillings upon every tun of wine: and this duty, together with ſome new regulations in their charter, reſpecting their trade, the recovery of their debts, &c. were very ſoon after extended to all foreign merchants, and will therefor be found in the charter of merchants, to be preſently recited. [*Fœdera, V.* ix, *p.* 868.]

1303, February 1st—It was undoubtedly from a deſire of participating in the privileges granted to the merchants of Aquitaine, that all the foreign merchants trading with England, offered to pay additional duties, in conſideration of obtaining a charter, wherein their privileges ſhould be duely defined. The king accordingly now gave a general charter to all foreign merchants, whereof the following is the ſubſtance.

The king being deſirous, that the merchants of Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Navarre, Lombardy, Tuſcany, Provence, Catalonia, Aquitaine, Tholouſe, Quercy, Flanders, Brabant, and all other foreign countries, reſorting to his dominions, may enjoy tranquillity and ample ſecurity, eſtabliſhes the following regulations, to be obſerved by himſelf and his heirs for ever.

All foreign merchants may come ſafely into England and our other dominions with all kinds of merchandize, free from any demands for murage, pontage, or pavage †.—They may ſell, by wholeſale only, to our ſubjects, and alſo to foreigners, in all the cities, burghs, and market towns, of our dominions; and they may alſo retail ſpices and the wares called mercery, as formerly.—After paying the due cuſtoms, they may export to any country not at war with us, whatever they bring into our dominions, or purchaſe in them, except wine, which muſt not be carried out of our dominions without our ſpecial licence.—They may reſide, and keep their goods, in any of our cities, burghs, and towns, as they

* The charter was confirmed by Henry IV and Henry V. [*Fœdera*, V ix, *p.* 868.]

† Explanations of theſe terms will be found under the year 1317.

ſhall agree with the owners of the houſes.—Every contract for merchandize ſhall be firm and ſtable, after the earneſt-penny is given and accepted by the contracting parties: but, if any diſpute ſhall ariſe, it ſhall be determined by the cuſtoms of the fair or town where the contract was made.—We promiſe, that we will make no priſe, nor arreſt or detention on account of priſe, upon their merchandize or goods, upon any occaſion, againſt their will, without firſt paying the price which they might get from others, and that no price or valuation ſhall be ſet upon their goods by us.—We order that all bailiffs and officers of fairs, cities, burghs, and market towns, on hearing the complaint of the merchants ſhall do juſtice without delay, according to the merchant law; and in caſe of delay, even though the merchant recover his damage, we will puniſh the bailif, or officer; and this we grant, that ſpeedy juſtice may be done to ſtrangers *.—In all pleas between a merchant and any other perſon whatever, except in caſes of capital crimes, one half of the jury ſhall conſiſt of the men of the place, and the other half of foreign merchants, if as many can be found in the place.—We ordain, that our weight ſhall be kept in every fair and town, that the weigher ſhall ſhow the buyer and ſeller that the beam and ſcales are fair, and that there ſhall be only one weight and meaſure in our dominions, and that they be ſtamped with our ſtandard mark.—A faithful and prudent man, reſiding in London, ſhall be appointed juſticiary for the foreign merchants, before whom they ſhall plead ſpecially, and recover their debts ſpeedily, according to the merchant law, if the mayor and ſhirrefs neglect or delay their cauſes.

In conſideration of theſe liberties, and the remiſſion of our priſage, the merchants, conjunctly and ſeverally for themſelves and all others of their countries, have unanimouſly agreed to pay to us and our heirs, within forty days after landing their goods, for

		£	s	d
every tun ('dolium') of wine imported	beſides the old cuſtom	0	2	0
every ſack of wool exported,		0	3	4
every laſt of hides exported,		0	13	4
every 300 wool-fells exported,		0	3	4
every ſcarlet cloth, or cloth dyed in grain,		0	2	0
every cloth dyed partly in grain,		0	1	6
every cloth without grain,		0	1	0
every hundred weight of wax,		0	1	0

and for fine goods, ſuch as ſtuffs of Tarſus, ſilk, cindal, 'ſeta' (probably ſatin), and alſo horſes and other animals, corn, and other articles not enumerated, a duty on importation of three pennies in the pound of the value, according to their invoice, or their oaths if they have no invoice; alſo for every article, not enumerated, upon exportation, three pennies in the pound of the value, beſides the former duties.

* Hakluyt, in the margin of his tranſlation of this charter, aſks, what is become of this law now?

Foreign merchants may ſell wool to other foreign merchants within our dominions without paying any duty: and, after they have paid cuſtom in one part of our dominions for their goods, they ſhall not be liable to pay it in any other part.

Henceforth no exaction, priſe, loan, or burthen of any kind, ſhall ever be impoſed upon the merchants or their goods. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 361, *and V.* ix, *p.* 72.]

About this time a table of weights, meaſures, &c. was made up by authority, as follows.

Weights.

20 pennies (of money) 1 ounce,
12 ounces 1 pound of London,
12½ pounds 1 ſtone of London,
14 ſtones - 1 weye,
2 weyes (of wool) - 1 ſack,
12 ſacks - - 1 laſt.

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15 ounces of *lead* - 1 pound,
12 pounds - 1 ſtone,
5 ſtones 10 pounds 1 fotmal,
30 fotmals - - 1 car.

But ſome reckon only 12 weyes to a car; and in the Peek country (owing, no doubt, to the ſteepneſs of the roads) the car is much leſs.

Flax, *tallow*, and *cheeſe*, are ſold by the weye of 14 ſtones, as well as lead and wool.

Of *wax*, *ſugar*, *pepper*, *cumin*, *almonds*, and *alum*,
15 ounces - - 1 pound,
8 pounds - - 1 ſtone,
13½ ſtones 1 hundred-weight.

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5 pounds of *glaſs*, 1 ſtone,
24 ſtones - 1 ſeem.

Meaſures.

8 pounds of *corn* 1 gallon,
8 gallons 1 buſhel of London.

Numbers.

25 *herrings* - 1 glen,
15 glens - - 1 rees:
120 herrings - 1 hundred,
10 hundreds - 1 thouſand,
10 thouſands - 1 laſt.
25 *eels* - - 1 ſtick,
10 ſticks - - 1 bind.
160 *mulvels* and *dry fiſh* 1 hundred.
10 *hides* - 1 dacre,
20 dacres - - 1 laſt.
40 *ſkins of conies* or *griſe* 1 timber,
32 timbers - 1 bind.
10 pairs of *gloves* - 1 dacre.
20 *horſe-ſhoes* - 1 dacre.
30 pieces of *ſteel* - 1 ſheaf.
13 ells of *fuſtian* - 1 cheef.
10 ells of fine linen ('findon') 1 head.
Of *flax*, *hemp*, and *linen*,
120 go to - 1 hundred.

The pound of twelve ounces is uſed only for money, ſpices, and electuaries, and the pound of fifteen ounces for all other things *.

* I have extracted the ſenſe of this ordinance, which is deficient, redundant, intricate, and ſometimes contradictory, as well as I could. It is publiſhed with the Statutes, and entitled 'Tractatus 'de ponderibus et menſuris, anno 31 Edw. I.'—The pound of *fifteen ounces* appears alſo in the laws of Scotland. It has probably been increaſed to *ſixteen*, for the ſake of a more convenient ſubdiviſion.

May 20th—In a treaty of peace with France, liberty was granted to the merchants on both ſides to trade freely in all kinds of merchandize, on paying the duties; and each of the contracting powers agreed to give no relief, not even victuals, to the enemies of the other. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *pp.* 927, 935.]

The abbat of Weſtminſter, 48 of his brethren, and 32 other perſons, were impriſoned in the Tower, on a charge of robbing the king's treaſury in Weſtminſter abbay of *a hundred thouſand pounds.* [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *pp.* 930, 938, 940.] The ſum is almoſt incredibly great.—How could they carry off ſuch a *load* of ſilver *, or what could they do with ſuch a maſs of money.

The Venetian writers fix the year 1303 for the termination of the youthful age of their republic, which, they ſay, has ever ſince proceeded with the gravity and prudence of mature age; and, being a happy mixture of monarchy, ariſtocracy, and democracy, it is likely, with the aſſiſtance of the *gods*, to endure to *eternity.* [*Craſſi Notæ in Donat. Jannot. p.* 466, *ed. Elz.*] Eternity belongs not to human affairs.

1304, April—King Edward, having made peace with the king of France, entered ſo warmly into his intereſts, that he took part with him againſt his old friend the earl of Flanders, and at his own expenſe lent him twenty of the beſt and largeſt ſhips to be found in all the ports between London and the Iſle of Wight, Dover excepted, each of them carrying at leaſt forty fencible men, and properly equipped for war. And, further to gratify his new friend, he baniſhed all the Flemiſh merchants out of England, Wales, and Ireland, and ordered home all his own ſubjects who were in Flanders, thereby aboliſhing the very beſt trade, or rather almoſt the whole trade, of his ſubjects †—on condition that the king of France would baniſh his enemies, the Scots, out of his kingdom. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *pp.* 943-946.]

King Edward having written to Eric king of Denmark, requiring ſatisfaction for a ſhip loaded with wine and other goods, belonging to Yarmouth, Eric anſwered, that the owner, or his agent, ſhould have juſtice whenever he would apply, and that any Engliſh ſubjects viſiting his dominions, ſhould be favourably treated. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 949.]

The town of Pera (formerly called Galata) on the north ſide of the harbour of Conſtantinople, with ſome adjacent grounds, which the Genoeſe had occupied ſince the reſtoration of the Greek emperors in the year 1259, was now fully ceded to them by the emperor Andronicus; and it was rendered equal to many cities in the ſtrength of its fortifica-

* The robbery was committed in the end of May, when the nights are very ſhort.

† In the year 1297, the nobles, in their petition to the king, aſſerted that the wool of England (which was moſtly carried to Flanders) was nearly equal to the half of the land in value. [*Trivet, p.* 304.]

tions and the beauty of its buildings. [*Stellæ An. Gen. ap. Muratori Script. V.* xvii, *col.* 1021.]

1305—Either the trade of England was conſiderably increaſed ſince the year 1205, or the duty called the quinzieme was now more ſtrictly collected. In that year it amounted only to £4,958 : 7 : 3½ for the whole kingdom: and now the barons of the Cinque ports agreed to pay 2,000 marks (£1,333 : 6 : 8) for the farm of the quinzieme of the towns under their juriſdiction, Haſtings undertaking to pay 700, and Dover, Sandwich, Romney, and Hythe, the remaining 1,300. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the excheq. c.* 15, § 11.]

King Edward, in his great eagerneſs to cruſh the independent Scots, whom he called *rebels*, clogged the letters of ſafe conduct, which he gave to the merchants of Flanders, with a condition that they ſhould not permit the Scots to procure arms or proviſions in their country. But Robert earl of Flanders declined accepting the favour on thoſe terms, and wrote to Edward, that he and his ſubjects had no intention to encourage the Scots in their war or rebellion, and he had even proclaimed, that no one in his dominions ſhould give them any aſſiſtance in their rebellion or hoſtilities againſt him. But he added, that as his country had from remote ages been ſupported by merchandize, and been open to merchants reſorting to it from all quarters, he could not with propriety, and ought not, to exclude the Scots, or any other people, from exerciſing their lawful and juſt merchandize in his country, but was rather bound to defend them from all unjuſt oppreſſion, while they carried on their trade without any fraud. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 963.] By perſevering in ſuch an impartial line of conduct, and avoiding wars as much as poſſible, Flanders long enjoyed the greateſt part of the commerce of the weſtern countries of Europe.

1306—It was the law, or cuſtom, in England to make every individual of the merchant ſtrangers in the kingdom liable to arreſt for the debts, and even for the crimes, of any other foreigners, and to treat them in many other reſpects with much rigour, unleſs when they obtained the protection of the kings, either for particular ſervices done to themſelves or their favourites, or in conſequence of recommendations from the popes for ſervices done to them. In the year 1301 a perſon belonging to the houſe of the Spini of Florence was killed in a ſquabble with ſome other people belonging to the ſame houſe; and the guilty perſon having abſconded, the officers of juſtice ſeized the bodies and goods of other perſons belonging to the company, and alſo, luckily for the merchants, a ſum of money collected by them in Ireland for the pope, and ſome merchandize purchaſed for his account, who immediately ſent a bull to the king, requiring the liberation of the people and property arreſted. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 891.] In the year 1306 ſeveral

foreign merchants were called before the king's council, who inquired how many merchants of each foreign company were in England, and ordered them to give in an account of all the money and goods they poſſeſſed, and to give ſecurity that none of them ſhould leave the kingdom, or export any thing, without the king's ſpecial licence. Next day, not being able to find ſecurity, they were all committed to the Tower, from which they were afterwards liberated on becoming ſureties for each other *. [*Madox's Hiſt. c.* 22, § 7.]

1307, February 4th—A ſum of money having been collected in England for the pope, the king ordered that it ſhould be given to merchants within the kingdom for bills of exchange to be remitted to the pope (' per viam cambii dicto domino ſummo pontifici deſtinare'), becauſe he would allow no coined money nor bullion to be carried out of the kingdom on any account. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 1042.] Did he not know, that ſuch a tranſaction muſt either carry out money, or prevent it from coming in, which is nearly the ſame thing?

The uſe of coal (called ſea-coal, as being brought by ſea) for fuel was prohibited in London and Southwark †. [*Stow's Survey of London, p.* 925.]

The ſociety of the New temple in London had erected ſome mills upon the Thames, near Caſtle Baynard, with a quay beſide them, in virtue of a grant from King John, and they ſeem alſo to have drawn off the Water of Fleet from its channel. It appeared by an inqueſt, that thoſe erections had deſtroyed the navigation of the Fleet, upon which ſmall boats (' batelli'), loaded with merchandize, uſed to go up as far as Holburn bridge ‡; and the Templars were ordered to reſtore the brook to its natural channel. Stow ſays, that the mills were removed, and the channel cleaned out; but the antient breadth and depth never were recovered, and there were mills upon it again in his time. [*Rot. pat.* 35 *Edw. I*; 1 *Edw. II, amb. a tergo.*—*Ryley, Plac. parl. p.* 340.—*Stow's Ann. p.* 326; *Survey, pp.* 687, 688.]

1308, March 15th—Edward II, having married a daughter of the king of France, granted permiſſion to the merchants of that kingdom to

* This illiberal and impolitic treatment of foreigners was not put an end to by law till the year 1353, and not by practice till long afterwards.

† In June 1307 the king ſent an order to the mayor and ſhirrefs of London to proclaim that no perſon ſhould preſume to light fires (' rogos illos ' præſumat accendere') in London, or near the Tower, becauſe the queen was going to reſide in it, and ſuch fires were apt to corrupt and infect the air. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 1057.] The word *rogus*, which ſignifies a funeral fire, is evidently miſapplied, and the meaning of the order is rendered obſcure by it. It is probable that the prohibition was directed only againſt fires of coal, the ſmoke of which was long ſuppoſed pernicious: (See *Evelyn's Fumifugium*, publiſhed in the year 1661] for the king ſurely did not propoſe to hinder the citizens from dreſſing their victuals; and that this prohibition is the ſame that is noticed by Stow.—But quere, if *rogos* be written inſtead of *focos*, and one of the innumerable blunders of Rymer's amanuenſes, which diſgrace that great and valuable theſaurus of national records?

‡ The name of Batel-bridge ſeems to infer, that boats have at ſome time proceeded even as high as that place, which is more than a mile above Holburn bridge.

come to England with money and merchandize; and, after tranſacting their buſineſs, to return with their goods, horſes, and even money, notwithſtanding his father's law againſt carrying money or bullion out of the kingdom. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 70.]

March 22[d]—The ſtatute of merchants, and the charter granted to the foreign merchants, ſeem both to have been inſufficient to procure juſtice for them: for we find that, on a complaint of the merchants of Brabant, the king iſſued general orders to do them juſtice in all their juſt claims. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 71.]

Some Caſtilian pirates, under Portugueſe colours, had taken ſeveral Engliſh veſſels, whereupon the commercial harmony, which had ſubſiſted for ſome time between the merchants of England and Portugal, was interrupted, till the affair was explained by a letter from the king of Portugal, who alſo requeſted letters of ſafe conduct for the merchants of his kingdom to trade in the dominions of King Edward, which were granted (October 3[d]), on condition that they ſhould trade fairly, pay the uſual cuſtoms, and give obedience to the laws of the land while reſiding in it. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 107.]

1309—The merchants, or rather the ſeamen, often took it upon them to carry on hoſtilities againſt thoſe of other countries or cities, and to enter into treaties of peace or truce with them (as has already been partly obſerved) without the ſovereigns on either ſide being concerned in the quarrel, unleſs ſometimes as mediators, or umpires, between the belligerent ſeamen. Many complaints having been made of piracies and ſlaughters, committed during a truce of two years between King Edward's ſubjects of Bayonne and the ſubjects of Caſtile, the kings on both ſides, after a negotiation of conſiderable length, commiſſioned two judges out of each country to ſettle the damages, do juſtice, and puniſh ſome of the firſt movers. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *pp.* 112, 122, 131, 132, 153, 169, 170, 178, 181.]

Other ſeamen, called Eſterlings (people of the Baltic ſea), taking advantage of the troubled ſtate of Scotland, committed ſome depredations there; whereupon Edward, who conſidered himſelf the ſovereign of that kingdom, having heard that the pirates had ſailed for the Swyn, wrote to the earls of Namur and Flanders, and the magiſtrates of Bruges, requeſting them to do juſtice upon them. There were alſo complaints about this time of Engliſh ſubjects being maltreated in Norway. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *pp.* 131, 154, 215.] But the reader, I dare ſay, will gladly excuſe me from entering into a tedious and diſguſting recital of the atrocities perpetrated upon the ſea and the ſhores in thoſe ages of ferocity and rapine, and alſo from narrating many of the ſhort-lived and unimportant treaties, which were made, almoſt every year, profeſſedly for the purpoſe of guarding the intereſts of commerce.

1310, June 16th—King Edward ordered the following ports to ſend ſhips of war, ſufficiently equipped and manned, to Dublin, in order to tranſport the earl of Ulſter and his forces to Scotland.

Shoreham, to ſend	1	Plymouth -	1	Grimſby -	1
Portſmouth -	1	Colcheſter -	1	Ravenſere -	1
Lymington and Eremouth	1	Harwich -	1	Hull - -	2
		Ipſwich - -	2	Scarburgh -	1
Poole - -	1	Dunwich -	1	Hertlepool -	1
Wareham -	1	Orford - -	1	Newcaſtle upon Tine	1
Weymouth -	1	Yarmouth -	6		
Melcomb -	1	Little Yarmouth	1	Newby - -	1
Lyme - -	1	Snyterley -	1	Glouceſter and Briſtol	2
Exmouth and Exeter	1	Burnham and Holkham	1		
				Bridgewater -	1
Teignmouth -	1	Boſton - -	1		
Dartmouth -	1	Lynne - -	4	[*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 212.]	

There are no orders to London or the Cinque ports *. The great number taxed upon Yarmouth affords a ſtrong preſumption, that the fiſhery, the chief, or rather the only, buſineſs of that port, was then in a very flouriſhing condition. But of the ports, taxed at one veſſel each, ſome muſt have differed greatly from others in commercial importance.

1311—The king of France wrote to King Edward his ſon-in-law, requeſting that he would remit to the French merchants, and eſpecially to thoſe of Amiens, the new duty of three pennies in the pound of the value of their goods. But Edward anſwered, that the duty had been granted in his father's time in a full parliament, and at the deſire of the foreign merchants themſelves, in conſideration of liberties and immunities, from which they had reaped great advantages; and that he could not remit it without the advice of parliament †. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 269.]

There can be little reaſon to doubt that the conſtruction and uſe of the glaſſes for aſſiſting weak or dim eyes, now ſo generally known under the name of ſpectacles, were known to the great Roger Bacon. But in thoſe days the knowlege of improvements was ſlowly propagated, and for want of printing, the great preſerver as well as diſſeminator of knowlege, was often entirely loſt. We may therefor very well believe, that the invention of ſpectacles at Piſa, or Florence, or both, might be real original diſcoveries. Dominicus Maria Mannus of Florence, in an eſſay on ſpectacles, ſeems to prove, that they were invented by Salvino of that

* It appears from a ſecond mandate iſſued in a few weeks after, wherein the king ordered all the veſſels to proceed immediately for the coaſt of Argyle without calling at Ireland, that the Cinque ports were alſo called upon for their ſhipping at this time. The ſecond orders contain, beſides the Cinque ports and all thoſe in the firſt ones, the port of Southampton. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *pp.* 222, 265.]

† The ſame requeſt was again made at the inſtance of the merchants of Amiens by Charles the Fair in the year 1323; and a ſimilar anſwer was returned. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 1014.]

city, who died in the year 1317. And Peccioli, in his Chronicle of Piſa, ſays, that Alexander de Spina, a monk of Piſa, (who died in the year 1313) ſeeing that ſome perſon (probably Salvino) who had invented ſpectacles of glaſs, refuſed to communicate the art of making them to others, diſcovered the ſecret by his own ingenuity and application, and liberally imparted the knowlege to others. [*Muratori Antiq. V.* ii, *col.* 396.] Spectacles being certainly known about this time in two principal commercial cities of Italy, it may be preſumed that the uſe of them became general throughout Europe in the early part of the fourteenth century. The ſubſequent improvements upon the formation of the glaſſes, whereby they are adapted to the long-ſighted and the ſhort-ſighted, as well as thoſe whoſe ſight is weakened by age, render ſpectacles one of the moſt beneficial and important diſcoveries that have ever been made to a very great proportion of mankind, among whom are comprehended many of the moſt valuable individuals.

1313, February 15th—King Edward wrote to the earl of Flanders, complaining that his ſubjects ſtill traded with the Scots, and ſupplied them with proviſions, armour, and other neceſſaries. On the 1st of May he again wrote him, that he underſtood, thirteen Flemiſh ſhips had recently ſailed from the Swyn for Scotland with arms and proviſions. Whether it was on account of his demands for the abolition of the trade with Scotland not being complied with by the earl, whoſe anſwers I do not find, or for any other cauſe of diſpleaſure, the king iſſued orders (June 19th) to arreſt all the Flemiſh veſſels in England. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *pp.* 386, 403, 419.]

That the people of England, or at leaſt thoſe of Lynne, reſorted to the ſouth coaſt of Norway about this time for the purpoſe of catching herrings, we learn from the too-common complaints of piratical depredations and other enormities, which diſgrace the naval hiſtory of every nation of Europe in the middle ages. About the ſame time eleven Norwegians of diſtinction, who had been invited to dine onboard an Engliſh veſſel from Berwick, were murdered by the crew, in conſequence of which, according to the general law then eſtabliſhed, ſome other Engliſh veſſels were ſeized, whereupon King Edward wrote a letter to Hacon king of Norway, repreſenting that it was contrary to reaſon, equity, juſtice, and law, that thoſe, who were not guilty, nor of the ſociety of the guilty, ſhould ſuffer for the crimes of others *: and he requeſted the reſtoration of the veſſels, which, as they ought to be at all times ready for his ſervice, he could not quietly ſuffer to be out of the kingdom.—In the ſame year the treaſurer of the king of Norway took for his maſter's uſe cloth, fiſh, and other merchandize, to the value of

* However contrary it might be to reaſon, equity, or juſtice, it certainly was agreeable to the law or cuſtom then eſtabliſhed in his own kingdom. We ſhall preſently ſee a ſlight relaxation of the cruelty of this barbarous law granted as a very particular favour.

£1,494 : 5 : 0 ſterling, from ſeven merchants of Lynne, while they were at North Bergen, for which they received no payment *. This merits notice only as it ſhows, that England had then ſome cloth to ſpare for exportation. The fiſh were probably caught on the Norwegian coaſt.— But it would be tedious and diſguſting to detail all the outrages and enormities, which conſtituted the chief matter of the negotiations between the princes of Europe in thoſe ages. [See *Fœdera, V.* iii, *pp.* 395, 397, 400, 401, 449, 556, 566, 571, 577, 783.]

The advocates for the antiquity of the ſociety, or company, of the merchants of the Staple aſſert, that they exiſted as a corporate body in the 51st year of King Henry III. What is, perhaps, more eaſily aſcertained, is, that in two letters from Edward II to Robert earl of Flanders, both dated 15th February 1313, it appears, that Richard Stury, *mayor of the merchants of England*, had juſt returned from the earl's court, to which he and Sir William of Deen had been ſent as ambaſſadors, in order to accommodate all differences between the ſubjects of both princes (not between the princes), and to concert meaſures for maintaining friendſhip and amicable intercourſe. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 386.] In this year we find a patent of King Edward for ordaining a certain place upon the continent as a ſtaple for the merchants of England, and for defining the liberties (or powers) veſted in their mayor: and there was alſo a ſecond patent ſoon after 'in favour of *the mayor and merchants of the Staple.*' [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 6 *Edw. II, m.* 5; and *prim.* 7 *Edw. II, m.* 18.] There was moreover a charter, dated the 20th of May in this year, wherein the king ſets forth, that, as the merchants, natives as well as foreigners, made a practice of carrying the wool and wool-fells bought in his dominions to ſeveral places in Brabant, Flanders, and Artois, for ſale, he, in order to prevent ſuch damages, had ordained, that all merchants, whether natives or foreigners, buying wool and wool-fells in his dominions for exportation, ſhould carry them only to *one* certain ſtaple in one of thoſe countries, to be appointed by the mayor and community of the ſame merchants of his kingdom †, who might change the ſtaple, if they thought it expedient. He alſo granted to *the mayor and council* of thoſe merchants authority to puniſh all merchants, natives or foreigners, carrying wool or wool-fells to any other place, by fines, which ſhould be levied by his officers for his uſe upon the property of the delinquents. And he ordered this charter to be publiſhed in all the maritime ſhires of England. [*Hakluyt's Voiages, V.* i, *p.* 142.] There can be no doubt, that the perſon, called in the king's letters, the firſt patent, and the

* They had received no payment in June 1319, when King Edward dunned the king of Norway for them.

† 'Per majorem et communitatem eorundem 'mercatorum de regno noſtro ordinandam.' Theſe words infer, that, though foreign merchants exported wool and wool-fells, only Engliſh merchants ſhould be members of the ſociety. It appears from a multitude of facts and documents, that the mayor and community continued the ſtaple at Antwerp.

charter, *the mayor of the merchants*, was the ſame who is called *the mayor of the ſtaple* in the ſecond charter *; and that the origin of the company of the merchants of the Staple may moſt truely be dated in this year †. The inſtitution of the company, or perhaps, more properly ſpeaking, community, who conſtituted ſuch a ſociety at Antwerp as the merchants of the German gildhall did in London, infers that the merchants of England now began to ſee the propriety of taking into their own hands at leaſt a ſhare of the active commerce of their own raw materials. This was a firſt ſtep towards obtaining the full benefit to be derived from poſſeſſing valuable materials by firſt working them up, and then exporting them in a manufactured ſtate.

December 3d—King Edward, at the requeſt of his ſiſter the counteſs dowager of Holland, granted, with great formality, to the burgeſſes and merchants of Dordrecht (or Dort), the capital of Holland, an exemption, during the life of the counteſs, for themſelves and their property, from being arreſted on account of any debt or crime, unleſs they themſelves, or *ſome perſon of their community*, were principal debtors, or ſureties, or charged as guilty, on condition that they ſhould carry on fair trade and pay the due cuſtoms. And that ſo great an indulgence might not be abuſed, they were required to bring an indenture (or manifeſt) of their cargoes, with the value appraiſed by merchants of character and the magiſtrates of the city, and alſo by the procurator of the counteſs and her preſent huſband the earl of Hereford and Eſſex, and ſealed with the ſeal of the city and that of the earl and counteſs ‡. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 458.]

1314—The king of France wrote to King Edward, that formerly he had granted permiſſion to the Engliſh importers of wool, who had their ſtaple at Antwerp, to bring their goods to his town of St. Omer's, and hold their ſtaple there, for which purpoſe he had given them ample liberties and privileges, hoping that conſiderable benefit would redound to himſelf and his ſubjects: but that now they gave up carrying their wool to the annual fairs at his town of Liſle, as they uſed to do when their ſtaple was at Antwerp, and alſo enticed other merchants to do the ſame, whereby his ſubjects ſuffered great loſs. Therefor he now requeſted his ſon-in-law to induce his ſubjects, and, if neceſſary, to com-

* I have already had occaſion to obſerve, that ſtrict uniformity of titles or appellations was not attended to in thoſe days.

† Gerard Malynes, in his *Center of the circle of commerce*, ſays, that the merchants of the Staple in the reign of Queen Elizabeth produced proof, that there was a wool-ſtaple and officers belonging to it in the reign of Henry III. But whether that would prove the antiquity of that company of Engliſh merchants of the Staple, whoſe high antiquity, dignity, and uſefulneſs to the ſtate, he ſo zealouſly celebrates, I do not pretend to judge. His work, being written in the bitter ſpirit of controverſy, muſt be read (if any body will now-a-days take the trouble of reading it) with great allowance for his partiality.

‡ A ſimilar indulgence was granted to the factors and ſervants of the biſhop of Nidaros (Drontheim) in Norway, when he became a merchant, and engaged in the trade to England in the year 1316. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 551.]

pell them, to frequent the fairs as formerly. So important an object was the acquiſition of Engliſh wool. King Edward in return wrote him (from Berwick, July 16th) that, as the matter concerned all the merchants of his kingdom and many others of his ſubjects, he could give no final anſwer, till he ſhould take advice upon it. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *pp.* 482, 488.]

July 26th—Peace being concluded between the king of France and the earl of Flanders, the later informed King Edward, that he had proclaimed throughout his dominions, that all merchants of France, England, and other countries, with their merchandize, ſhould be protected in his territories, and have abſolute liberty of returning to their own countries, without their perſons or properties being ſubject to arreſt or hinderance, and that the merchants of England might have their ſtaple for wool and other goods at his city of Bruges. In return he requeſted King Edward to give orders that the Flemiſh merchants might enjoy ſimilar privileges in England agreeable to the grants made by his anceſtors and himſelf. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 490.]

1315, March 14th—In a liſt of orders addreſſed to the prelates, nobles, and communities, of Ireland, the only towns mentioned are Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Roſs, Drogheda, Trim, and Kilkenny, [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 511] which may thence be preſumed to have been at this time the chief towns of the iſland.

September 1st—The king of France, being again at war with Flanders, required King Edward, according to treaty, to baniſh the Flemings out of his territories, and to aſſiſt him with a fleet againſt them. Edward thereupon iſſued orders to the ſhirrefs of London, and of every ſhire in the kingdom, for obliging all the Flemings, except thoſe who were married and ſettled in the country, to depart from the kingdom; and he commanded that none of his ſubjects ſhould give them any aſſiſtance *. He alſo ordered two of the admirals of the fleet ſent againſt the Scots to draw off their diviſions in order to act againſt the Flemings, and apologized to his brother of France, that he could not ſend the whole fleet to his aſſiſtance, becauſe he was very hard preſſed by his enemies of Scotland, who, not content with driving his people out of their own country and invading the northern parts of England, had lately made a formidable attack upon Ireland. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *pp.* 525, 531, 533, 535, 536.] Thus it was ſo ordered, that the exertions of the Scots, in defence of their own independence, were alſo inſtrumental in ſupporting the liberty and independence of other nations, and particu-

* The orders were probably not very rigorouſly enforced; for we find new orders in November for ſtrict ſearch to be made for thoſe Flemings, who had remained beyond the time appointed for them to leave the country. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 541.] Both the Engliſh and the Flemings knew how indiſpenſibly neceſſary their commerce was to each other.

larly, at this time, of the moſt commercial nation in the weſtern parts of Europe.

Notwithſtanding the friendſhip between England and France, four veſſels, loaded with wool and other merchandize from London for Antwerp, were attacked on the coaſt of France by two-and-twenty armed veſſels from Calais, and one of them, valued at 2,000 marks ſterling, was taken and carried into that port. On the complaint of the merchants King Edward wrote to the king of France (November 2^{d}), expreſſing his wonder, that redreſs had not been given for that enormity, eſpecially as the French merchants were treated in his dominions as well as his own ſubjects. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 539.]

The ſame Calais pirates ſent their boats to attack a veſſel lying upon the ground at low water near Margate, alſo loaded with wool from London for Antwerp, and carried her over to Calais, together with John Brand citizen and merchant of London, the owner and commander of her, and three merchants of the HANSE of Germany, the owners of the cargo, who lived in England in the enjoyment of the antient privileges granted by the preceding kings. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 540.] What renders this event particularly worthy of notice, is, that it contains the earlieſt mention, that I have been able to find in Engliſh records, of the name of Hanſe being applied to the community of German merchants, who made ſo conſpicuous a figure under that appellation for at leaſt two centuries after this time. And that the application of that name to them was new at this time, appears from a grant in the patent rolls [*ſec.* 7 *Edw. II, m.* 12] to the merchants of *Germany* ('mercatores Alemanniæ') of the liberty of coming ſecurely into the kingdom and ſelling their merchandize, which is dated 23^{d} April 1314; and even ſome years afterwards (viz. 7th December 1317) we find privileges granted to the merchants of the *Teutonic gild*, wherein the apparently-new name of Hanſe is omitted *. [*Fœdera, V.* ix, *p.* 76.]

It is evident, that there muſt have been conſiderable woollen manufactures in the northern parts of the French dominions, as the late King Philip was ſo deſirous of having the Engliſh wool carried to S^{t}. Omers and Liſle: and now his ſon Louis very earneſtly requeſted King Edward to appoint a ſtaple for the ſale of Engliſh wool in ſome part of France between Calais and the River Seine. Edward, before he would come to any determination, ſummoned a number of the moſt prudent and experienced Engliſh merchants to deliberate with the parliament, to be held at Lincoln in the enſuing January, upon what would be moſt proper to do in the matter (December 16th): and this aſſembly of merchants may be called at leaſt the firſt rudiments of a council of trade. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 543.] It may here be obſerved, that there

* After this time the name of Hanſe, or Haunze, occurs pretty frequently, for example, *Rot. pat. prim.* 20 *Edw. III, m.* 17; *ſec.* 20 *Edw. III, m.* 11; *prim.* 26 *Edw. III, m.* 15.

muſt have been more than one ſtaple, ſome of them, ſuch as St. Omers and Liſle being apparently ſubſidiary to the chief one, which was fixed at Antwerp, though the earl of Flanders had endeavoured to get it ſettled at Bruges.

England was this year afflicted by a famine, grievous beyond all that ever were known before, which raiſed the price of proviſions far above the reach of the people of middling circumſtances. The parliament, in compaſſion to the general diſtreſs, ordered that all articles of food ſhould be ſold at moderate prices, which they took upon themſelves to preſcribe. The conſequence (which, it is very wonderful, they did not foreſee) was, that all things, inſtead of being ſold at, or under, the *maximum* price fixed by them, became dearer than before, or were entirely withheld from the markets. Poultry were rarely to be ſeen; butcher meat was not to be found at all; the ſheep were dying of a peſtilence; and all kinds of grain were ſold at moſt enormous prices. Early in the next year (1316) the parliament, perceiving their miſtake, repealed their ill-judged act, and left proviſions to find their own price. [*Walſingham, pp.* 106, 107.]

In the time of the famine ſome corn was imported from France, Sicily, and Spain; and ſeveral Spaniſh ſhips, carrying proviſions and arms to the Flemings, were ſeized by the conſtable of Dover caſtle, upon which the king of France requeſted his ally of England to confiſcate the veſſels and cargoes to himſelf, and to make the men his ſlaves. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *pp.* 542, 544, 564.]

1316—A great dromund of Genoa, loaded with corn, oil, honey, and other proviſions, for England, to the value of £5,716 : 12 : 0 ſterling, and having the king's protection and ſafe conduct, was attacked, when lying at anchor in the Downs near Sandwich, by a fleet under the command of a French admiral, who carried her into Calais. The deprivation of ſo large a cargo of proviſions in a time of famine was a national calamity; and King Edward applied both to the king of France, and to the admiral who had taken the ſhip, requiring her to be brought back to the Downs. The king of France being dead, he repeatedly wrote to the regents, and to ſeveral French noblemen individually, upon the ſame buſineſs, but without effect *. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 564, 894, 985.]

Immediately after his application for the recovery of a Genoeſe veſſel, Edward, having learned by intercepted letters, that two citizens of Genoa were in treaty with Robert king of Scotland to furniſh gallies and arms for his ſervice in the war againſt himſelf, wrote to the community of the city (July 18th), expreſſing his ſurpriſe that they ſhould enter into friendſhip with his capital enemy, ſeeing that he had ſhown every kind of favour to the Genoeſe, and friendſhip between his anceſ-

* The papers in the Fœdera, here quoted, ſhow that no compenſation was made in January 1323.

tors and theirs had been inviolably preſerved from antient times *; and concluding with a requeſt that thoſe two citizens might be puniſhed for an example to others. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 565.]

1317, January 30th—King Edward, deſirous of procuring ſome Genoeſe veſſels for himſelf, employed Leonardo Peſſaigne of Genoa to hire from his fellow citizens five gallies fitted for war, and ſufficiently armed, manned, and victualled, to be employed in his war againſt Scotland. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 604.] Many other inſtances might be adduced, if neceſſary, of the princes of Europe applying to the Genoeſe for naval aſſiſtance, which they, more frequently than any other of the Italian ſtates, granted, without being, however, any other way concerned in the quarrel than as mercenary auxiliaries.

June 20th—The king granted the merchants of Brabant permiſſion to trade in his kingdom with the uſual conditions; and he alſo added the ſame exemptions from being liable for the debts and crimes of ſtrangers, which he had granted to the citizens of Dordrecht in the year 1313. And a ſimilar grant was made (November 20th) to the merchants of Bermeo, Bilboa, and the other towns of Biſcay, with the ſame exemption; and, at the requeſt of their ſovereign the king of Caſtile, it was declared that they ſhould not even be liable for the debts or crimes of the people of any other kingdom or province of Spain. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *pp.* 647, 678.]

July 6th—Edward, having occaſion to thank the duke of Bretagne for doing juſtice to ſome Engliſh ſubjects in his territories, aſſured him, that any of his ſubjects aggrieved by the Engliſh ſhould have ſpeedy juſtice, and even favour; and if they choſe to trade in his dominions, they ſhould be treated as he would wiſh his own merchants to be treated in a foreign country. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 656.]

Some Engliſh merchants having been plundered many years before by ſome Hollanders, it was determined, in the courſe of a dilatory and interrupted negotiation, that there was due to Walter Ken and Company of Lincoln the ſum of £954, and to Richard Wake and John Wype £259, as compenſations for damages ſuffered by them. As a fund for their payment the earl of Holland propoſed, and King Edward ratified it (July 3d), that the money ſhould be levied from all the merchants, fiſhermen, and mariners of Holland arriving in the ports of England, at the rate of twenty ſhillings annually from every veſſel bringing herrings or other fiſh, (ſo antient at leaſt is the very profitable Dutch trade of ſupplying the London market with fiſh †) and ten ſhillings

* This has been adduced as a proof of a very antient commerce between England and Genoa. But ſuch allegations of *antient* friendſhips have generally as little meaning with reſpect to time paſt, as *perpetual* and *everlaſting* treaties of friendſhip and alliance have with regard to time coming.

† The Engliſh had been accuſed by the Dutch fiſhermen of taking their fiſh, which they brought to ſell on the coaſt of England, and paying them as much or as little as they pleaſed, and when they pleaſed, or not at all. In Auguſt 1309 the king ordered the warden of the Cinque ports and the ſhirreſs

each voyage from veſſels bringing any other kinds of merchandize, and alſo a duty upon the goods imported. [*Fœdera*, *V.* iii, *pp.* 19, 67, 83, 143, 144, 150, 151, 152, 163, 469, 650.] Thus did the crafty Dutchman dexterouſly diſcharge a debt due by individuals in his own dominions, or by himſelf, by a tax, which was in reality paid by the conſumers in England.

It is vexatious to obſerve, that almoſt the only materials to be found in the public records of the middle ages, which in any way concern commerce and navigation, conſiſt of a ſhameful and diſguſting ſucceſſion of piracies and murders committed by the ſeafaring people of almoſt every maritime country of Europe. From the detail of ſuch unpleaſant matters I gladly excuſe myſelf, except thoſe which happen to contain any thing illuſtrative of the progreſs or ſtate of commerce; and therefor I have paſſed over moſt of the perpetual conteſts of the Gaſcons with their French and Spaniſh neighbours, many of the ſquabbles with Holland, and many of the innumerable accuſations of rapine between the Engliſh and the Flemings, who, though they had many quarrels, well knew that neither could ſubſiſt without the other. I have alſo omitted ſeveral of the commiſſions for adjuſting compenſations with thoſe, and ſome other, nations, as moſt of them contain nothing intereſting. Neither is it worth while to record all the hoſtilities of the ſeamen of the Cinque ports, who were this year at war with the Flemings, and ſeem to have acted generally as a confederacy of independent ſtates.

December 17th—The merchants of the Teutonic gildhall in London obtained a new charter from the king, whereby he confirmed to them their former liberties, and alſo, in conſideration of a ſum paid to him, granted that they and their property ſhould have the now-uſual exemption from arreſt for the debts and crimes of other foreigners beyond the circle of their own community; and he engaged, that neither he nor his heirs ſhould impoſe any new undue cuſtoms upon their goods, and that their goods ſhould be exempted for ever from paying pontage, pavage, and murage *, throughout the whole kingdom, provided they did not paſs the goods of others, not belonging to their gild, as their own †. [*Fœdera*, *V.* ix, *p.* 75.]

The king licenced the prior of Birkhead to build houſes or inns ('hoſpitiis') near a branch of the ſea at Liverpool. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 11 *Edw. II*, *m.* 14.] This was apparently an acceſſion of growth to a

ſhirreſs of the eaſtern maritime ſhires to prevent that abuſe. [*Fœdera*, *V.* iii, *p.* 163.] It ſeems very probable, that thoſe fiſh were caught by the Dutch fiſhermen upon the coaſt of England.

* *Pontage*, a duty for making or repairing bridges. *Pavage*, a duty for paving the ſtreets. (The printer has made it panagium, a rent for the paſture of hogs, which it is not probable that foreign merchants ſhould have any concern with.) *Murage*, a duty for upholding the walls of towns.

† They had already (7th June 1311) obtained from Edward II, for a fine of £100, a renovation of his father's charter, without the additional immunities now granted. [*Fœdera*, *V.* iii, *p.* 268.]

village, deſtined to become the chief ſeat of commerce on the weſtern ſide of England.

1318, January 28th—The citizens of Montpelier, a city in the ſouth part of France, appear to have carried on a very extenſive trade, as we may judge from their having dealings in London, the voyage to which, coaſting round the whole of the great peninſula of Spain, muſt then have been reckoned a very long one. In the year 1282 Ferrand, ſon of the king of Aragon, recommended Bertrand de Creſuels, a merchant of that city who uſed to trade to England, to the favour of Edward I. And now we find that a company of merchants of Montpelier conſigned various articles of merchandize to three merchants in London; and I am ſorry to add, that it is to a breach of faith in the conſignees that we owe the knowlege of the trade. [*Fœdera, V.* ii, *p.* 201; *V.* iii, *p.* 693.] The ſtrict mercantile probity and honour, which are now ſo eminently the characteriſtics of the merchants of London, were then but little known in the world.

June 29th—The community of the city, or burgh, of Perth obtained from King Robert a confirmation of a prerogative claimed by them, whereby no veſſel entering the River Tay was allowed to break bulk without going up to the bridge of Perth, except veſſels loaded with goods belonging to Dundee, and that only in the time of the fairs of Dundee. This monopoly of the river, which probably was the cauſe of the many ſquabbles between Perth and Dundee, was often confirmed by ſucceeding kings, and even ſo late as the year 1600. [*Chart. in Append. to Cant's Muſes Threnodie, p.* 9.]

July 13th—The quarrels between the Engliſh and Flemings (not the king of England and the earl of Flanders) had got to ſuch a height, that the commercial intercourſe between them was entirely ſuſpended for ſome time. But ſuch an interruption being exceedingly diſtreſsful on both ſides, the two ſovereigns interpoſed, and brought about a *peace*: and thereupon King Edward now wrote to the ſhirrefs of London and all the maritime counties from York-ſhire to Cornwall incluſive, and to all bailifs and others, deſiring them to allow the Flemings to enjoy freedom of trade without any moleſtation, till next Chriſtmas. In the enſuing November, however, there was another order, addreſſed to *all* the maritime counties of England: but whether it was in conſequence of a ſubſequent rupture and accommodation, we are not informed. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *pp.* 718, 720, 741.] So very uncertain were the merchants in thoſe days, whether they ſhould be received as friends, or ſeized as enemies, in the country they were ſailing to.

A veſſel called the Little Edward, valued at only £40 ſterling, loaded with 120 ſarplars * of wool, valued at £10 each, the property of ſix-

* Sarplera lanæ, half a ſack, or forty tods, of wool. [*Ainſworth's Dict. Vocab. in jure Angl.*] In Scotland wool was reckoned by the ſerplath, which, if Ainſworth is correct, was much larger than the ſarpler of England. See *Skene de verb. ſign. in voc.* or below under the year 1425.

teen ſhippers, which was bound from London to Antwerp, had been taken near Margate by the commander of a French fleet, who alſo landed at Margate and carried off the ſail and rudder *, which the ſeamen had brought on-ſhore. Compenſation not being obtained, though ſentence had been given in favour of the Engliſh owners by the conſtable of France, then the regent of the kingdom, and the king of France had been repeatedly applied to on the buſineſs, King Edward at length ordered the French property in England to be arreſted, which produced a promiſe from the king of France that the merchants ſhould be ſatisfied before the firſt of November. But they had received no compenſation even in April 1323, the reaſon aſſigned for which was, that the veſſel and cargo were the property of the Flemings, who were at war with France at the time of the capture; and, indeed, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that a capture, made by a commiſſioned officer of high rank, could not be a mere act of piracy. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *pp.* 730, 1014.]

October 20th—By the ſtatute of York [*c.* 6] the officers of cities and burghs, whoſe duty it was to keep aſſiſes of wines and victuals, were prohibited from dealing in thoſe articles.

The king being deſirous of conſulting with judicious and prudent merchants concerning the eſtabliſhment of the ſtaple of wool in Flanders, and other commercial matters, John of Cherleton, citizen of London and mayor of the merchants of England †, who was furniſhed by the king's council with a particular ſtatement of the matters to be conſidered, together with two merchants choſen out of every city and burgh throughout the kingdom, were ſummoned to meet at London in the octaves of St. Hilary, in order to deliberate upon thoſe matters. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 740.] This is, properly ſpeaking, the earlieſt *council of trade* known in Engliſh hiſtory or record, as the merchants appear to have formed a board of themſelves, whereas thoſe ſummoned to Lincoln in the year 1315 ſeem to have been called only to give information, and perhaps advice, to the king's council, or parliament.

December 7th—As the merchants of England ſuffered great hardſhips in conſequence of the wars between the earls of Flanders and Holland, King Edward ſent ambaſſadors to endeavour to bring about an accommodation, and alſo wrote to both of them, and even to their friends, earneſtly exhorting them to make peace. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *pp.* 744, 745.]

1319, March 25th—King Edward wrote a long letter to Robert earl

* 'Velum et gubernaculum.' *Velum*, in the ſingular number, muſt mean only one ſail.

† The ſeveral notices concerning this gentleman put it out of doubt, that *mayor of the merchants of England*, the official title here given to him, and *mayor of the Staple* were ſynonimous terms. In the year 1321 he is called *mayor of the Staple;* and on the 30th of July 1326 the king gave him a new appointment to the office of *mayor of the Staple.* [*Rot. pat. fec.* 15 *Edw. II, m.* 3; and 20 *Edw. II, m.* 27.] He muſt not be confounded with another John of Cherleton, his contemporary, who was a courtier and ſometimes a rebel. But he is probably the perſon from whom the king demanded a loan of £1,000 in the year 1346. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 492.]

of Flanders, complaining that many of his enemies of Scotland were favourably received in the earl's dominions, where they obtained ſupplies of men, armour, and proviſions, and that many of the Flemings alſo carried proviſions, arms, and merchandize, to Scotland: and he earneſtly entreated him to prohibit all intercourſe with the Scots, who were laid under the ſentence of the greater excommunication and an interdict, ſo that no good catholic could have any intercourſe with ſuch excommunicated rebels without involving himſelf in the penalties of the ſame ſentence. He alſo informed him, that, though he had hitherto, from friendſhip to him, diſmiſſed the Flemings, who were taken on their paſſage to Scotland, without any puniſhment, he ſhould in future ſtation a ſufficient number of ſhips of war to intercept all who ſhould preſume to trade with thoſe excommunicated rebels, and ſhould treat the Flemings as rigorouſly as the Scots. He concluded by admoniſhing the earl to reſtrain his ſubjects from keeping up a damnable and perilous intercourſe, leſt their folly ſhould diſturb the harmony and mutually-advantageous commerce between England and Flanders.—He alſo wrote letters of the ſame import to the duke of Brabant, and to the magiſtrates of Bruges, Daan *, Newport, Dunkirk, Ypres, and Mechlin. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 759.]

There could be no doubt, that, if the Flemings could have been compelled to relinquiſh the commerce, and abide the hoſtility, of either nation, that the trade of the Scots would not have been ſo valuable, nor their enmity ſo formidable, as thoſe of the Engliſh. But, as the Venetians in the beginning of the twelfth century had their ideas raiſed, by commercial intercourſe with various nations, above the apprehenſion of the papal thunder, ſo neither were the Flemings, who were now the moſt enlightened traders in the weſtern parts of Europe, as the Venetians had been in the Mediterranean, to be terrified by excommunications, which, they knew, could have little effect, but what they ſometimes derived from the ſimplicity of thoſe againſt whom they were fulminated †, nor to be prevented by papal bulls, or even the menaces of the Engliſh king, from proſecuting their commerce with all nations: and they well knew, that the wool, leather, and lead, the deſirable objects of their trade with England, muſt infallibly find their way to *their* market, as being the beſt one, in ſpite of prohibitions and cruiſers. Therefor the earl in his anſwer to the king informed him (as he had already told Edward I) that Flanders being a country common to all mankind, he could not deny free acceſs to merchants, agreeable to an-

* I believe, this name ought rather to be Damm, a town between Bruges and the ſea.

† I ſay *ſometimes*, becauſe the Venetians, in the inſtance now alluded to, diſclaimed the pope's authority in their temporal affairs: and on this occaſion neither the Scots, though they thought it decent and expedient to court the pope for a reverſal of his ſentence, nor ſeveral foreign princes in alliance with them, paid any attention to it.

tient cuſtom, without bringing deſolation and ruin upon his country: but that, though the Scots frequented his ports, and his ſubjects traded to the ports of Scotland, he had no intention to take part with them in their war, nor to encourage them in their errors or crimes *. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 770.]

The duke of Bretagne more obſequiouſly informed his uncle, King Edward, that he knew of no intercourſe between his ſubjects and the Scots, and that he had prohibited all trade and intercourſe with them in his territories. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 766.]

The magiſtrates of Mechlin wrote a moſt complaiſant and flattering letter, aſſuring the king, that they were very much diſpleaſed with the Scots for their offences againſt him, and that they had never admitted them into their town, but had ſuffered much upon the ſea from the Scots and their accomplices. Therefor they requeſted that he would be favourable to their burgeſſes, who would never carry any thing to the coaſt of Scotland, unleſs they ſhould be driven upon it by ſtreſs of weather. The anſwers received from the magiſtrates of Bruges and Ypres were nearly of the ſame nature with that of the earl, thoſe of Ypres adding, in order to ſooth their royal correſpondent, that, though they had no authority to controll their fellow citizens, who were *general merchants*, they would *adviſe* them not to go Scotland, nor have any intercourſe with the Scots. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *pp.* 765, 771.]

1320, June 18th—The king underſtanding that his ordinance for carrying wool and wool-fells only to one ſtaple on the continent had been very generally neglected †, and the payment of the fines eluded, though he had appointed inquiſitors in various parts of the kingdom to diſcover who were liable to fines for tranſgreſſions, ſent orders from Dover, where he now was on his way to France, to the collectors of the cuſtoms on wool and wool-fells in the ports of London, Southampton, Weymouth, Boſton, Kingſton upon Hull, Newcaſtle, Yarmouth, Lynne, and Ipſwich, to be very ſtrict in ſwearing the exporters, that the wool and wool-fells entered for exportation were not entered under a falſe name, alſo in taking ſecurity for being anſwerable to the king for the fines which might be incurred, and in receiving the cuſtom duties before they ſhould permit the goods to be ſhipped. [*Hakluyt's Voiages, V.* i, *p.* 142.—*Rot. pat.* 13 *Edw. II, m.* 8.]

Auguſt 7th—King Edward, at the requeſt of the king of France,

* In the letter he repeatedly mentioned the *king of the Scots*, which muſt have been peculiarly offenſive to Edward, who called the Scots his own ſubjects.—Notwithſtanding the firmneſs of this denial, Edward again (April 1322) attempted to perſuade the earl, that it would be for his honour and advantage to prohibit the Scottiſh trade. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 947.]

† Malynes quotes a record in the office of the clerk of the pipe to prove that there were a mayor and company of *ſtaplers* at Antwerp in the twelfth year of Edward II. [*Center of the circle of commerce, p.* 93.] We have already ſeen ample proof of their exiſtence ſix years earlier.

granted to the merchants of Amiens the privilege of being exempted, together with their merchandize, from arreſt for any debts due to merchants of England by the king of France, their ſovereign. [*Fœdera*, *V.* iii, *p.* 844.]

There were perpetual cauſes of complaint between the ſeamen of England and thoſe of Flanders. At a convention of deputies from both countries the Flemings repreſented, that ſome of their merchants, coming home from various countries with wines and other merchandize, had been robbed upon the ſea of England near Crauden by ſome Engliſh malefactors, who carried their merchandize on ſhore in England; and they prayed the king, as '*lord of the ſea*,' in virtue of his ſeigneury and royal power, to puniſh the crime committed within the bounds of his dominion. The king and parliament granted, that juſtices ſhould be appointed by the king to try the cauſe, and to determine according to law and reaſon: and at the ſame time meaſures were concerted for redreſſing all grievances and damages on both ſides. [*Fœdera*, *V.* iii, *p.* 852.] Here it may be noted, that the dominion of the ſea is aſcribed to the king of England by the miniſters of a foreign prince, though not, indeed, a prince of the firſt, or royal, dignity: and it may be added, that the ſame was alſo done before by the deputies of ſeveral other nations, when they wanted to induce King Edward I to make a common cauſe with them in recovering the veſſels and cargoes ſeized by Grimaldi, the Genoeſe admiral in the ſervice of France *. [See *Selden's Mare clauſum*, *L.* ii, *c.* 27.] But theſe matters lead to a controverſy improper to be touched upon in this work.

The fiſhmongers, who kept ſhops upon Fiſh wharf, uſed to ſell herrings and other fiſh, brought by land and by water, to the inhabitants, and to hawkers who carried them through the ſtreets. But the other fiſhmongers having entered into a combination to prevent the ſale of fiſh by retail at that wharf, thoſe of the wharf obtained the king's order to the mayor and ſhirreſs of London to permit them to continue to ſell herrings and other fiſh, either in wholeſale or retail, to all who choſe to buy. [*Ryley*, *Plac. parl. p.* 399.]

1321, May 3d—By the articles of a truce, lately concluded between England and Scotland, it was ſtipulated that the ſubjects of the two kingdoms ſhould have no intercourſe during the truce; and that, if any Scottiſh veſſels ſhould be driven by ſtreſs of weather upon the coaſt of England, or wrecked, they ſhould be reſtored, unleſs the king or any other perſon might have a right to them as wreck. Agreeable to that article, King Edward now ordered the magiſtrates of Ravenſrode (or Ravenſere) to inquire, whether the men and merchandize in a veſſel,

* Whether Edward I or Edward II ever aſſumed the character of ſovereign of the ſea, does not, I believe, appear, from any authentic voucher: but we ſhall ſee Edward III, when preparing for war with France in the year 1336, claiming an antient hereditary right to that dominion.

lately arreſted by them, were really Scottiſh, and driven upon their coaſt by ſtreſs of weather, and if ſo, to releaſe them inſtantly. A veſſel belonging to Dieppe in France, returning from Scotland, was alſo obliged to take ſhelter in the ſame port, where ſhe was arreſted by the zealous magiſtrates, becauſe ſhe had been trading to Scotland. At the requeſt of the king of France, Edward reſtored the veſſel and cargo, for this time, to the owners, though he had a right to puniſh them as adherents to his enemies. But at the ſame time he begged the king of France to prohibit his ſubjects from having any intercourſe with Scotland. [*Fœdera*, *V.* iii, *pp.* 879, 880.]

After the total expulſion of the Chriſtians from Syria, Egypt again became the entrepot of the greateſt part of the trade between the eaſtern and weſtern regions of the world: and the ſovereign of that country took the advantage of what was almoſt a monopoly in favour of his ſubjects to charge very heavy duties upon the tranſit of merchandize through his dominions. Marino Sanuto, a noble Venetian, moved by the hardſhips thereby brought upon the European traders, and burning with catholic zeal, addreſſed to the pope a work, entitled *The ſecrets of the faithful* *, wherein he propoſed to ſuppreſs the Egyptian trade by an armed force; and to that work we are indebted for an ample account of the Indian trade, as it was then conducted.

He ſays, that formerly Indian goods were brought by the Perſian gulf to Baldac (or Bagdad), and thence, by inland navigation and land carriage, to Antioch and Licia on the Mediterranean ſea. In his own time the ſpiceries and other merchandize of India were moſtly collected in two ports, which he calls Mahabar and Cambeth †, and thence tranſported to Hormus (or Ormuz), to a ſmall iſland called Kis, and to a port (Baſſora) on the Euphrates, all which were ſubject to the Tatar ſovereigns of Perſia. But the great bulk of the trade was conducted by the agency of the merchants of the ſouth part of Arabia (who had now recovered the trade of their remote anceſtors) at the port of Ahaden, or Aden, believed to be the antient city of Arabia Felix. From Aden the goods were conveyed to Chus on the Nile, near the antient Coptos, and thence forwarded by river craft to Babylon; and from it they were floated down the river, and along an artificial canal to Alexandria. By this route all bulky goods of inferior value, among which, however, are reckoned not only pepper and ginger, but alſo frankincenſe, and cinnamon, were conveyed. The duty charged by the ſultan on ſpiceries was equal to one third of their value: and, as he permitted no Chriſtians to

* The work of Sanuto forms the ſecond volume of the collection, edited by Bongarſius under the title of *Geſta Dei per Francos*; and we are informed in the preface, that it was begun in the year 1306, and preſented to the pope in 1321.

† He probably means by Mahabar the *coaſt* of Malabar, the chief *port* of which was Calicut; and by Cambeth, the *country* of Cambay.

paſs through his territories, and his ſubjects had thereby a monopoly of all the trade in that channel, the prices of India goods were now much higher in Europe, than when they were chiefly conveyed by the inland route of Bagdad and Antioch. The moſt valuable goods, ſuch as cubebe, ſpikenard, cloves, nutmegs, and mace, ſtill continued to be brought from Bagdad and Thoriſium * to various ports on the coaſt of the Mediterranean: and by that route many Chriſtian merchants had already penetrated to India. Though this conveyance was more expenſive, ſome of the articles, ſuch as ginger and cinnamon, were from 10 to 20 per cent † better than thoſe brought by the longer water carriage, eſpecially the ginger, which was apt to heat and be waſted, if kept long onboard the veſſel.

Sanuto, envying the ſultan and the Saracens the great revenues and profits they derived from ſilk and ſugar, obſerves, that the later grows in Cyprus, Rhodes, Amorea, and Marta ‡. He adds, that it would grow in Sicily and other Chriſtian countries, if there were demand for it §. Silk, he ſays, is produced in conſiderable quantities in Apulia, Romania, Sicily, Crete, and Cyprus, and the quantity might be increaſed. Though flax abounds in the Chriſtian countries, the Egyptian ſpecies, on account of its ſuperior quality, is carried to the fartheſt extremities of the Weſt; and the Egyptian manufactures of linen, and of ſilk, and others of linen mixed with ſilk, as alſo dates and caſſia-fiſtula, are carried in Chriſtian and Saracen veſſels to Turkey ‖, Africa, the Black ſea, and the weſtern parts of Europe.

He obſerves, that the ſultan's dominions produce no gold, ſilver, braſs, tin, lead, quickſilver, coral, or amber, which are carried to them by the Mediterranean ſea, and bring in a vaſt revenue in duties paid upon them at Alexandria, which are, on gold $6\frac{2}{3}$ per cent; on ſilver at Cairo 10 per cent, but to ſome, by favour, only $3\frac{1}{2}$; on braſs about 25; tin 20, &c. and thoſe are the articles, which are moſt valuable to his ſubjects in their trade with Ethiopia and India. Great quantities of oil, honey, nuts, almonds, ſaffron, and maſtic, all of them paying heavy duties at Alexandria; alſo ſilk, cloth, wool, and other goods, are carried to the ſultan's dominions, and contribute to enrich him and his

* Thoriſium, according to De Guignes, [*Mem. de litt. V.* xxxvii, *p.* 507] was Tauris in Adherbigian, the antient Media.

† 'A decem ad viginti pro centenario.' Here and elſewhere in his work we have the modern way of rating at ſo much per cent. Earlier authors generally reckon by one twentieth, one tenth, one fifth, one third, &c. and Sanuto ſometimes does the ſame. For the firſt undoubted appearance of the calculation *per cent*, ſee above, p. 393.

‡ Theſe are apparently the Morea and Malta. But I cannot at preſent determine the exact time, when the name of Morea ſuperſeded that of Peloponneſus.

§ He did not know that ſugar had been cultivated in Sicily long before.

‖ Turkey muſt here mean Aſia Minor, at this time occupied by the Turks. Sanuto elſewhere ſays, that Turkey was antiently called Greece: but the application of that name to the coaſt of Aſia, is, I believe, ſcarcely warranted by any antient authority.—Quere, if the blundering correction of a tranſcriber?

ſubjects. Sometimes the failure of the overflow of the Nile occaſions a famine in Egypt, as happened after the loſs of Acon and Syria. In ſuch a calamity, the Egyptians, if not ſupplied with corn carried to them by the Mediterranean, muſt emigrate or periſh *. As Egypt produces no timber, iron, or pitch, and procures all thoſe materials for building veſſels by the Mediterranean ſea, if the importation of them were withheld, the ſultan would loſe his duties of one fourth of the value paid on thoſe articles, and three byſants annually from every veſſel, whether large or ſmall; and the merchants and artificers in Babylon, and alſo the ſultan with his admirals and army in Cairo, would ſtarve for want of the corn, which is brought by water from all parts of the country.

Sanuto, having endeavoured to prove, that the Egyptians were dependent upon the Chriſtians for the ſupply of their wants, as well as for the ſale of their redundant native commodities and manufactures and their imported merchandize, propoſes that, in order to transfer the commercial advantages, now engroſſed by them, to the Chriſtians, and to accompliſh the pious work of recovering the Holy land, the prohibition of trading with the ſubjects of the ſultan (ſee above, p. 451) ſhould be moſt rigorouſly, and univerſally, enforced by ſtationing a ſufficient number of armed gallies upon the ſea; and he alſo recommends a military force in proper places upon the land, becauſe gallies cannot keep the ſea in ſtormy weather, nor do they willingly keep out in winter nights, and even in ſummer they cannot be many days at ſea without landing for freſh water, and alſo, becauſe tranſgreſſors, laying aſide the fear of God, go to the ſultan's territories, where they are kindly received, and find no difficulty in landing their cargoes on their return.

The prohibition of trade ought alſo to extend to all Africa and the Saracen dominions in Spain, the conſequence of which would be a conſiderable diminution of the trade of the ſultan's dominions, which is very much ſupported by the trade with thoſe countries. Neither ought any trade to be carried on with the coaſt of Turkey, which was antiently called Greece; for there many veſſels are loaded with timber, pitch, Chriſtian and pagan boys and girls, and other merchandize, for the ſultan's dominions, and in return import ſugar, ſpiceries, and linen, ſufficient for the ſupply of other countries as well as their own.—And, as the only means to prevent ſmuggling, let no Chriſtian purchaſe or receive any ſpicery or Indian merchandize, ſilk, ſugar, or linen, which may be ſuſpected to come from the ſultan's dominions. Let the captain of the holy church carry on a perpetual and univerſal perſecution againſt

* Sanuto did not ſuppoſe that there exiſted any perſon in Egypt, endowed with the foreſight of Joſeph, to make the redundance of one year provide for the deficiency of another.

the Saracens and thoſe perfidious Chriſtians who infringe this *moſt bleſſed command:* and let him take eſpecial care that no iron be carried to Armenia, which is adjacent to the ſultan's country. Let ten gallies be commiſſioned, till your Holineſs can provide more. They will coſt 15,000 florins, and, allowing 250 men for each galley, the whole expenſe, including pay, proviſions, and other neceſſaries, for nine months, will amount to 70,000 florins: and, in order to quicken their diligence, let all prizes be ſhared entirely among themſelves.

He proceeds to ſtate the complement of men of every deſcription for a galley, and gives many eſtimates and nautical inſtructions, together with a vaſt deal of information reſpecting the veſſels of the age, which the brevity neceſſarily ſtudied in this work will not permit me to enter upon any further than juſt to note the places, from which he propoſes to draw the beſt ſeamen for manning his fleet. Beſides thoſe of Italy, he ſays, good ſeamen may be found in Germany, and eſpecially in the fartheſt parts of the archbiſhoprick of Bremen, in Friſeland, Holland, and Zeland, Holſtein, and Slavia (where he himſelf had been, probably Sleſwick) Hamburgh, Lubeck, Wiſmar, Roſtock, Xundis, Guſpinal, and Sectin *, and alſo in Denmark, Sweden, and Norway †. He has alſo an eſtimate of the expenſe of a land army, which, however, muſt be carried by water; and he gives ample directions for providing arms, and warlike engines; ſo that he may juſtly be called the Vegetius of the middle ages.

But his project of depriving the Mohamedans of their trade by the operation of ten gallies, which were to keep the ſea only nine months, and only during the day-light, while he acknowleges the ſultan's marine to be very ſtrong, is much like Captain Bobadil's ſcheme, in the play, of killing a whole army by the proweſs of twenty gentlemen like himſelf. Both forget, that their adverſaries will not *conſent* to be driven out of their trade or to be killed.—But ſuppoſing it had been poſſible for the pope, by the ſtrength of his own treaſury, or by drawing the princes of Europe into a new cruſade, to have muſtered a ſufficient force, what was the object to be accompliſhed? To pervert the free courſe of trade, which as naturally flows in the channel which preſents the lighteſt charge or cheapeſt purchaſe (and that by his own account was Alexandria) as water glides into the vallies ‡. It is ſurpriſing that a Venetian ſhould have conceived ſuch contracted anticommercial ideas, ſo un-

* Xundis and Guſpinal are places unknown to me. Sectin is probably Stettin.

† The natives of our Britiſh iſlands, and even the Catalans, who, as Mediterranean navigators, ought to be well known to him, and who had on ſome occaſions rode maſters of the Mediterranean, and made the emperors of Conſtantinople tremble for the exiſtence of their empire, are entirely omitted in his enumeration of maritime nations.

‡ A ſimile uſed (I mean abuſed) by himſelf, p. 23.

like the general liberality of mind and commercial wiſdom of his countrymen *.

1322—Among the various orders for collecting proviſions for the army ſent againſt Scotland, we find one for nine thouſand quarters of wheat and other proviſions †, to be ſent from Ireland. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 16 *Edw. II, m.* 20.] This of itſelf, if it was really accompliſhed, was no trifling exportation of grain from Ireland, conſidering the ſtate the country muſt have been in, after being the theatre of war between the Engliſh and the Scots.

May 7th—King Edward, after having again attempted to perſuade the earl of Flanders, that it would be for his honour and advantage to prevent his ſubjects from trading with the Scots, and finding that the Flemings were ſo far from being perſuaded by his arguments, that they rather acted as the allies of the Scots by taking the veſſels, which were carrying proviſions to his army, now ordered the magiſtrates of Yarmouth and the barons of the Cinque ports to have the ſhipping of their diſtricts ready to act againſt the Flemings upon the ſhorteſt notice. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *pp.* 947, 949, 951.]

1323, April—Robert, the ſteady earl of Flanders being dead, his grandſon Louis was more pliant to the requiſitions of King Edward, and promiſed to debar the Scots from trading in his territories, and to prohibit his ſubjects from furniſhing any ſupplies to them. The king, in return, granted the Flemings all the freedom of trade they had formerly enjoyed in England, and moreover exempted them from being liable for the debts of others, or for bypaſt tranſgreſſions againſt the charter of the ſtaple. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *pp.* 1006, 1007.]

This year the ſame earl eſtabliſhed the magiſtracy and court-houſe of the Franconates at Bruges, which he declared to be the fixed emporium of his territories. He alſo decreed, that no cloth ſhould be manufactured nor ſold at Sluys; and he preſcribed what kinds of merchandize ſhould be ſold at Sluys, and what kinds at Damm, Honks, and Monachorede. [*Meyeri Ann. Flandr. f.* 125 b.]

April 16th—The people belonging to five Venetian gallies lying at Southampton had lately got into a ſquabble with the inhabitants of that

* Some of his countrymen went to the oppoſite extreme, and ſupplied the Saracens with arms, and proviſions, for which they were puniſhed by Edward prince of England, when they fell into his hands in the year 1270, probably in conſequence of the bull iſſued by Pope Gregory X, prohibiting all communication with the infidels, and particularly with the ſultan of Egypt. In the year 1274 James I, king of Aragon, at the deſire of the ſame pope, prohibited the exportation of iron, arms, ſhip timber, corn and other proviſions, to the Saracens. [*Walſingham, p.* 471.—*Capmany, Mem. hiſt. de Barcelona, V.* i, *Com. p.* 47.] Sanuto himſelf informs us, that a more vigorous prohibition had been ordered immediately after the expulſion of the Chriſtians from Paleſtine. So it appears, that there was nothing new in his propoſal.

† 'Frumenti ac al' victual.' In the Latin of thoſe ages *frumentum* generally ſignifies wheat, and *victual'* may be other corns. In many parts of the country *victual* is ſtill a general term for all kinds of corn.

town and the Iſle of Wight, and much miſchief had been done to the country, and ſeveral lives had been loſt on both ſides. The merchants of Venice, dreading the revenge of the country, or the rigour of the law, which, they knew, would take hold of any of them, as well as of the individuals really guilty, abſtained from trading to England till the affair could be accommodated. For a ſum of money they had already obtained from John of the Iſle of Wight an engagement that neither he nor any of his dependents ſhould ever take vengeance, or demand any further ſatisfaction, for the murders and robberies committed on that occaſion. The king alſo, unwilling to loſe the advantage of their commerce, granted them an ample pardon, with aſſurance of ſecurity in trading in his dominions, as long as they carried on fair trade, and paid the due cuſtoms *. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *pp.* 1008, 1011.]

May 30th—A truce was concluded between England and Scotland for thirteen years, wherein the articles of the former one, prohibiting intercourſe between the two nations, and reſpecting the ſhips of the Scots, and their property in other ſhips, forced upon the coaſt of England by ſtreſs of weather †, were the ſame as in the preceding truce, with the additional condition, that no merchants belonging to any other country, except countries at war with England or Scotland, ſhould meet with any obſtruction in trading to either kingdom. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 1022.]

June 4th—It is probable, that the veſſels of Majorca traded to Flanders, as we find, that, in conſequence of a complaint, made by the king of that iſland, of his ſubjects being plundered upon the ſea by the Engliſh ‡, King Edward promiſed to give every kind of juſtice and favour to any merchants of Majorca, who ſhould trade to England. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *p.* 1028.]

November 24th—In an ordinance for the ſtate of Ireland, all merchants, natives or foreigners, are authorized to carry corn and other proviſions and merchandize to England and Wales, unleſs they ſhould be taken by the juſtice (or viceroy) by advice of the council in a caſe of neceſſity, on paying the due and uſual cuſtoms, and giving ſecurity that they ſhould not go to Scotland or any other country at war with England. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 24.]

1324, March 10th—The king ſummoned the maritime towns on the ſouth coaſt to aſſemble their largeſt veſſels at Portſmouth, ſufficiently manned and provided with landing bridges and *clays* §, for carrying ſol-

* The pardon was ratified in parliament on the 10th of March 1324 by the king, prelates, and nobles. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 39.]

† There is no reciprocal ſtipulation for the protection of Engliſh veſſels thrown upon the coaſt of Scotland. It was apparently ſo far out of the tract of Engliſh trading veſſels, that no ſuch accident was expected ever to happen.

‡ This is the ſame violence which the king of Aragon alſo complained of, the two gallies taken being the property of ſubjects of Majorca, and the cargoes belonging to a ſubject of Aragon, who ſtated that he had put goods onboard them in Flanders. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *pp.* 15, 82, 83, 130.]

§ 'Clayas,' a word not well underſtood: perhaps hurdles (*clayes* in French) for making temporary

diers and horſes at his expenſe over to his duchy of Aquitaine. The following are the quotas ordered from each port.

Southampton	6 veſſels	Seaford	1	Boldre	1
Sandwich	4	Shoreham	2	Yarmouth in Wight	2
Winchelſea	6	Weymouth	10	Poole and its members	4
Rye	2	Portſmouth	1		
Faverſham	1	Hamelhok	1	[*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 40.]	

July 22[d]—Afterwards, underſtanding that warlike ſhips were getting ready in all the ports of Normandy, he iſſued orders to *all* the ports of England to equip *all* their veſſels to act as ſhips of war againſt the French. He at the ſame time deſired that they would lay aſide all animoſities againſt their fellow ſubjects of England or of his city of Bayonne, and that they would moleſt no veſſel belonging to Flanders or any other country not ſubject to the king of France *. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 73.]

This year the king reſumed the prerogative of ſeizing wrecks for his own uſe †, which had been relinquiſhed by Henry I and ſeveral other kings, and alſo claimed all the whales and great ſturgeons taken in the ſea, except in certain privileged places. [*Act* 17 *Edw. II, c.* 11.]

1325, January 5[th]—King Edward, being very deſirous to obtain the friendſhip of the king of Caſtile (or Spain) to ſupport him in the war with which he was threatened by France, granted to all the nobles, merchants, maſters of ſhips, mariners, and other ſubjects of that king, permiſſion to trade freely in his Britiſh and French dominions, they paying cuſtoms and other uſual charges, and being anſwerable for all contracts and tranſgreſſions. And in order further to gratify the Spaniſh king, he promiſed that his ſubjects ſhould not be liable to arreſt for any matters formerly in diſpute. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 118.]

February 26[th]—The king renewed the grant of freedom of trade to the Venetians, and added the now-uſual exemption from arreſt for the debts and crimes of others. But he alſo added a condition, that they ſhould have no communication whatever with his enemies or opponents. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 138.]

May 7[th]—A veſſel having ſailed to Portugal with goods in order to take in return a cargo of corn and other proviſions to carry to Aquitaine, King Edward took ſo much concern in the ſucceſs of the voyage,

porary ſtalls for the horſes; perhaps cleats (croſs bars) nailed upon the bridges to prevent the horſes from ſlipping.—In *Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 6, we find the king orders the ſhirrefs to provide timber and bruſh ('buſcam') for conſtructing clays, bridges, boards, racks, &c. for tranſporting horſes; and in *p.* 814, he orders 2,500 clays ('claias') along with eight bridges of 20 feet long, and ſeven of 14 feet, for ſhipping horſes.

* Walſingham [*p.* 507] ſays, that the navy of England this year took a hundred veſſels belonging to the one province of Normandy. But he often exaggerates.

† An article in the truce with Scotland in the year 1319 gives room to believe, that the cruel prerogative of wreck had been reſumed before that time. See above, p. 489.

that he wrote to the king of Portugal, and alſo to his mother, to ſolicit their favour to the owner. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 146.] This deſerves notice chiefly as a proof of the Portugueſe then having corn for exportation, which has ſeldom, if ever, been the caſe, ſince their wine came into general demand in this country.

May—The great manufacturing and trading cities of Flanders acted in ſeveral reſpects as communities, or republics, independent of their earl, whoſe power was very far from being abſolute. At this time the magiſtrates and community of Bruges appear as principals in a negotiation for a ſolid peace and accommodation of all damages, homicides, and quarrels, between the ſubjects of the king of England and thoſe of their dearly beloved lord the earl of Flanders, for the benefit of commerce; and they engaged, for themſelves and the good towns of Ghent and Ypres, to ratify whatſoever ſhould be agreed by their burgomaſter, whom they deputed as their procurator. King Edward, by his commiſſioners, agreed with him and the procurators of Ghent and Ypres to continue the truce with thoſe cities and all the people of Flanders till Eaſter 1326 (and it was afterwards prolonged) and gave them permiſſion to trade during the truce, as uſual, in England; and he moreover granted them exemption from arreſt for debts or crimes not their own, and for any tranſgreſſions againſt his charter of the wool ſtaple, on condition that equal indulgences ſhould be granted to his ſubjects in Flanders. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *pp.* 147, 151, 188, 199, 207.] As this ſtipulation for reciprocal advantages does not appear in the grants made to the merchants of the more diſtant countries of Venice, Majorca, or even Spain, the abſence of it affords at leaſt a preſumption, that no Engliſh veſſels ſailed, or were expected to ſail, ſo far from home. But it is alſo omitted in grants to the merchants of nearer countries, to which Engliſh veſſels did ſail: and it muſt be obſerved, that thoſe writings are not *treaties* between contracting powers, but *grants* conceived in the language of favour, and conſequently the only reciprocity, that there could be in ſuch caſes, muſt have been expreſſed alſo in *grants* from the other parties, which may have exiſted, though now loſt.

The coals of Newcaſtle were now known and deſired in foreign countries, as appears by a voyage made this year by a merchant of France to that town with a cargo of corn, in return for which he carried home a cargo of coals. [*Brand's Hiſt. of Newcaſtle, V.* ii, *p.* 254.]

1326, July 20th—King Edward, being driven, by misfortunes crowding upon him, to fluctuation in his counſels, had revoked the charter for holding the ſtaple upon the continent, and appointed ſome places in his own kingdom * for the ſale of wool, wool-fells, hides, and tin; and

* I do not find the names of any of them except Cardiff in Wales, a town belonging to Hugh Deſpenſer. [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 19 *Edw. II, m.* 5.] But that eſtabliſhment, being a meaſure of favouritiſm, probably came to nought upon the fall of the favourite, which enſued almoſt immediately after.

he now gave orders, that all foreign merchants, except the ſubjects of the king of France, ſhould have freedom of coming and going in ſafety; and to that intent he ordered the ſhirrefs to take ſufficient ſecurity from the ſeamen of every veſſel before they ſailed, that they ſhould not commit hoſtilities againſt any friendly veſſels. He gave his admirals the ſame inſtructions for preſerving inviolate peace with all neutral nations, and eſpecially with the Flemings and Bretons, whom he had taken under his protection. In a few weeks after he ordered all the ſhipping of the eaſt coaſt of the kingdom from the mouth of the Thames northward to Holy iſland *, doubly furniſhed with arms and proviſions for one month, to be ready at Erewell (or Orewell) to receive his further orders for proceeding againſt his enemies. [*Fœdera*, *V.* iv, *pp.* 218, 219, 225.]

We have now the firſt certain knowlege of repreſentatives from the cities and burghs forming a conſtituent part of the parliament of Scotland.—In the firſt treaty upon record between France and Scotland, in the year 1295, John king of Scotland mentions the communities, or corporations, of the towns; but they do not appear as compoſing any part of the legiſlative body. In a parliament, held by King Robert I in 1323, the burghs do not appear to have been repreſented: and in the confirmation of a truce with England, in the ſame year, Robert ſays, it is done with the conſent of the biſhops, earls, and barons; but he has not a word of any repreſentatives of burghs. [*Fœdera*, *V.* ii, *pp.* 696, 698; *V.* iii, *p.* 1030.] But in a parliament of the ſame king, held this year, we find the burghs forming the third eſtate in parliament, and conſenting to an aid granted to the king †. [*Stat. Rob. I, in Kames's Law tracts, append. n°.* 4.]

1327, April 29th—In early times the aldermen of London were proprietors of the wards, which were conveyed by hereditary ſucceſſion or purchaſe ‡. They, together with the mayor, ſhirrefs, and ſome electors

* There are forty ports mentioned in the ſummonſes: but as there are no rated quotas of veſſels to ſhow their relative importance, I have not thought it worth while to inſert their bare names.

† It ought, however, to be recollected here, that in the year 1209 the burghs *granted* King William a ſubſidy of 6,000 marks. (*See above, p.* 375.) But whether they did ſo of duty, as holding lands of the king in their corporate capacity, or as a ſpontaneous mark of their affection to their ſovereign, or as occaſional members of the legiſlative body, does not appear. The burgeſſes of Scotland, mentioned by Wyntown, [*Cronykil, V.* i, *p.* 385] as expreſſing, along with the barons and prelates, their diſapprobation of ſome negotiations with the king of England, muſt not be ſuppoſed a collective, or legiſlative, body. They are not noticed in the Chronicle of Melros; and Bowar, [*Scotichron. V.* ii, *p.* 90] when copying Wyntown's narrative, and comparing it with two other authorities, alſo omits the burgeſſes. It may be remembered, that burgeſſes were not then introduced into the parliament of England. Under the year 1357 the earlieſt known liſt of Scottiſh towns repreſented in parliament will be given.

‡ Stow begins his account of the ward of Farringdon by a deduction of the property of it, as follows. It belonged ſucceſſively to Ankerin de Avern, Ralph Arderne, his ſon Thomas Arderne, Ralph le Feure by purchaſe in 1277, John le Feure, William Farendon by purchaſe in 1279, and his ſon Nicolas Farendon, and his heirs, whoſe name the two wards formed out of it ſtill retain. Thoſe whom Fitz-Stephen, in his affected Latin, calls *conſuls* of the regions of the city in the reign of Henry II, were probably proprietary

deputed from each ward, elected the mayor, and other city officers *. But they do not appear to have been noticed, at leaſt by the kings, as principal conſtituent members of the corporation of the city, all writs or mandates (at leaſt as far as I can find from any acceſſible records) being addreſſed to the mayor and bailifs (or bailies, ' balivis'), till now †, that the king ordered the mayor, aldermen, and whole community of London, and the mayor and bailifs, or the bailifs, of other cities and towns, to provide as many men as they were able, properly furniſhed with arms and horſes, for his ſervice. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 287.]

July—Gun-powder, which was undoubtedly made by Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century, is ſaid to have been invented in the year 1330 by Barthold Schwartz, a German apothecary, whoſe proceſs of making it became public, and was ſoon followed by the invention of cannons, then called bombards. That the invention, or rather re-invention, of it was earlier, is evident from the uſe of it in war being now known in England, as appears from the Scottiſh poet Barber, who (in his *Life of King Robert*, p. 408, *ed.* 1758) relates, that the Engliſh now had guns of ſome kind, which he calls *cracks of war*, at the battle, or ſkirmiſh, on the banks of the Were, and that the Scots had never before heard any ſuch *cracks*. But in the year 1339 the Scots uſed cannons to batter the walls of Stirling caſtle, which they probably received from France ‡. [*Froiſſart, L.* i, *c.* 74.]

proprietary aldermen. In the year 1266 the aldermen of London, together with the bailifs, became bound for the payment of £500, due by the king to ſome merchants of Doway. [*Madox's Firma burgi, p.* 136; *and ſee alſo p.* 14.]

* See *Brady on burghs, p.* 22, who quotes the records in the city's archives, as does alſo Strype in his *Survey of London, B.* v, *p.* 73. Both theſe authors wrote after the great fire, which deſtroyed ſome of the records. But thoſe ſtill remaining, are, by ſubſequent misfortunes, and removals in conſequence of new buildings, in ſuch a confuſed ſtate (as they appeared when I ſaw them by the favour of Mr. Woodthorpe, the city clerk) that they will require the labour of a perſon verſed in antiquarian literature to arrange them, and make a catalogue of them, before they can be rendered uſeful.

† The laſt writ I find addreſſed to the mayor and bailifs of London, is dated 28th September 1326. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 234.] But the other cities and towns, as far as I can ſee, were governed by bailifs, either in conjunction with, or without, a mayor: nor was the title of bailif generally ſuperſeded by that of alderman, till many years after this time. [*See above, p.* 438, *and Fœdera, V.* iv, *pp.* 40, 234, 288, 668, 718, &c. &c.] In the year 1336 we find the mayor, the bailif, and two aldermen, of Cambridge; and aldermen of Oxford and ſome other towns appear afterwards. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 10 *Edw. III, m.* 32; *prim.* 20 *Edw. III, tergo*, 30.—*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 253, 254.—See alſo *Spelman, Gloſſ. vo. Aldermannus civitatis.*

It may be obſerved, as a curious circumſtance, that England and Scotland have in ſome degree made an exchange of the titles of magiſtracy, every city and town in the former being at preſent governed by a mayor and ſeveral aldermen, and almoſt every one in the later by a provoſt and ſeveral bailies, the titles of mayor and alderman being utterly forgotten. See above, *pp.* 297, 446, and below, under the year 1357.

‡ Some have aſſerted that the firſt appearance of guns of any kind was in the year 1350; others ſay that they were firſt uſed at the battle of Creſſy in 1346 by the Engliſh; and Polydore Vergil was ſo ill informed as to ſay that they were firſt uſed in the year 1380 by the Venetians, who were taught by the diſcoverer of gun-powder. That man wrote a book expreſsly upon the *Inventors of things*, and alſo a *Hiſtory of England*, without knowing any thing of the date of ſo important a change in the method of carrying on war. The Mooriſh king of Grenada in the year 1331 had guns, which ſhot balls of iron capable of throwing down walls. [*Zurita, Annales de Aragon, V.* ii, *f.* 99 b.] The uſe of guns was even common before the year 1334, as appears from a curious dialogue

King Edward this year granted a patent in favour of the manufacturers of ſtuffs made of worſted in Norfolk: and ſoon after an inſpector and meaſurer of thoſe ſtuffs was appointed. [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 2 *Edw. III, a tergo*, and *prim.* 3 *Edw. III, m.* 1.] This is probably the earlieſt extant notice of a manufacture which has become an object of great importance in that part of the country *.

There is ſome diſcordance in the various accounts of the introduction of ſilk-worms and the manufacture of ſilk in Italy. When the Venetians became maſters of thoſe provinces of the Greek empire, which were the chief ſeats of the ſilk trade, they ſurely did not neglect to tranſport the manufacture at leaſt, if not alſo the worms, to their own Italian or Dalmatian territories: and it is alſo reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the Genoeſe, when they got poſſeſſion of Galata, did not fail to tranſplant ſuch lucrative branches of induſtry to their mother country. It is certain, that in the year 1306 the buſineſs of rearing ſilk-worms was ſo far advanced in Modena, that it yielded a revenue to the ſtate; and as the ſilk of Modena was then eſteemed ſuperior to that of the other cities of Lombardy, it is evident, that other cities alſo cultivated that branch of induſtry. In 1327, whether the ſilk trade of Modena was then falling off, or the magiſtrates were deſirous of augmenting the revenue derived from it, they made a law, that every proprietor of an incloſure in the city's territory ſhould plant at leaſt three mulberry trees, and that all the cocons ſhould be publicly ſold in the ſtreet, the buyer and the ſeller paying each one ſhilling to the city. The Bononians (or Bolognians) alone poſſeſſed the machinery for twiſting the ſilk; and the Modeneſe were obliged to ſend their ſilk to be thrown by them till the beginning of the ſixteenth century, when they acquired the art of fabricating ſuch machinery for themſelves; and from them it has ſpread to the other cities of Italy, and in time to other countries. We are told, however, that after the year 1300 the ſilk manufacture flouriſhed chiefly at Florence, where

dialogue in Petrarch. [*De remedio utriuſque fortunæ, p.* 84, *ed. Baſil.*] About the year 1344 gunners made a part of the military eſtabliſhment of Edward III king of England. [*Spelman, Gloſſ. vo. Bombarda.*] And the idea of them was ſo familiar in his reign, that Chaucer (aſcribing, as then uſual with poets, the manners of his own age to antient times) introduces guns in his deſcription of Antony's ſhip, and alſo in his book of Fame. [*ff.* 200 a, 282 a, *ed.* 1598.] Gun-powder and cannons are ſuppoſed by ſome to have been uſed by the natives of India againſt Alexander the Great. But this I ſhall not pretend either to affirm or deny.

Theſe brief hints of ſome of the early notices of gun-powder and guns, though more ſtrictly belonging to military than commercial hiſtory, will not be deemed impertinent by thoſe who conſider how important and univerſal a revolution they have effected in human affairs, and that they have in no ſmall degree contributed to confer upon Europe, a pre-eminence over the larger quarters of the world, and eſpecially to give the Britiſh navy an acknowleged ſuperiority upon the Ocean, whence the Britiſh commerce derives a protection and ſafety beyond that of every other nation, in every quarter of the globe.

* Camden ſays, that the Dutch, flying from the perſecution of the duke of Alva in the ſixteenth century, *firſt* introduced the manufacture of light ſtuffs at Norwich. [*Britannia, p.* 347.] And the preſident De Thou [*Hiſt. ſui temporis, L.* xlvi] ſays the ſame. But the teſtimony of both thoſe reſpectable writers muſt give way to the ſurer evidence of records.

many thouſand people were employed in it. But Textrini ſays, that before the pillage of Luca in the year 1314 the ſilk manufacture flouriſhed *only* in that city *, which thereby abounded in riches; and that from it the workmen were diſperſed through the other cities of Italy, particularly Venice †, Florence, Milan, and Bononia; and ſome went even to Germany, France, and Bretagne ‡. [*Muratori Antiq. V.* ii, *coll.* 406, 408, 895, 896, 897.]

1328, January—The magiſtrates of London having repreſented to the king, that criminals uſed to ſet juſtice at defiance by paſſing over to Southwark, to which their authority did not extend, he gave them a grant of the bailiwick of that burgh, at the uſual yearly rent of ten pounds §. But Southwark was not properly incorporated with London till the 23d of April 1549, ſoon after which it was made one of the wards of the city, and had an alderman and the other officers of a ward. [*Chart. in camera Lond. quoted in Strype's ed. of Stow's Survey, V.* ii, *p.* 1.]

This year the ordinance of the ſtaple was annulled by parliament; and entire liberty was given to all merchants, ſtrangers or natives, to go and come with their merchandize, according to the tenor of the Great charter. [*Act.* 2 *Edw. III, c.* 9.]

The king and his council (or parliament) enacted, that all foreign cloths ſhould be meaſured by the king's meaſurer in preſence of the magiſtrates of the place where they were landed. The ſtatute meaſure for cloth of raye ‖ was 28 elns in length, meaſured by the liſt, and 6½ quarters in breadth, and for cloth of colour 26 elns in length, meaſured by the ridge or fold, and 6½ quarters in breadth, to be meaſured without opening (' ſanz defoler') the cloth ¶. The mayor and bailifs of the towns where the cloth was landed, were required to attend, when called by the meaſurer, and to mark the cloths found agreeable to the ſtand-

* Muratori heſitates in giving credit to Textrini.—' Si fides Nicolao Textrino'.—And indeed his account is completely confuted by the laws of Modena, which are copied from the originals by Muratori himſelf. But ſome families of ſilk-weavers undoubtedly went from Luca to Venice; [*Sandi Iſt. de Vinezia, V.* i, *pp.* 247, 256] and thence they have been ſuppoſed the founders of the ſilk manufacture there, juſt as the Flemiſh woollen manufacturers, who removed to England in the reign of Edward III, have almoſt obliterated the memory of the earlier Flemiſh colony in the reign of William the Conqueror.

† We learn from Doctor Moſeley, [*Treatiſe on ſugar, p.* 267, *ed.* 1800] that the buſineſs of a ſilk manufacturer, and thoſe of a glaſs maker, and of an apothecary and druggiſt, are the three trades which do not contaminate nobility in Venice.

‡ ' Ad Gallos Britannoſque.'—In thoſe ages *Britannia* and *Britanni* ſcarcely ever ſignified the iſland and people of Great Britain.—The reader, who deſires to have information concerning the various ſpecies of ſilk goods made in the middle ages, may peruſe the twenty-fifth diſſertation of Muratori's Antiquities, wherein all the luxury of dreſs is diſplayed.

§ That rent was far below what it paid in the time of William the Conqueror.

‖ Striped cloth, as it is explained by Stow, [*Survey of London, at the year* 1352, *in his liſt of temporal governors*, and as the word *raye* is ſtill uſed in French.] Thomas earl of Lancaſter (according to an account of the expenſes of his houſehold in the year 1314, given by Stow, p. 134) had ' four ' clothes ray for carpets' in his hall. And this is probably the earlieſt notice of the uſe of carpets in England.

¶ We are thus informed that the coloured cloths were doubled as broad cloths are now, and that the cloths of ray were folded or rolled ſingle, as narrow cloths, called yard-wides, are at preſent.

ard, without any charge upon the merchants: and the meaſurer was directed to ſeize thoſe which were deficient in the preſence of the magiſtrates, and to account for the value of them to the exchequer. [*Act.* 2 *Edw. III, c.* 14.] This law appears to have been productive of much delay and trouble to the importers. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 79.]

Auguſt 8th—The merchants of Aragon, Catalonia, and Majorca, having petitioned the king that they might partake of the privileges beſtowed upon foreign merchants by King Edward I, he granted that they ſhould for ever enjoy all the liberties, immunities, and accommodations, conferred by his grandfather upon other foreign merchants *. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 364.]

The merchants of Dantzik appear to have had ſome trade with England before this time, for this year the king granted them a *confirmation* of their liberties. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 3 *Edw. III, m.* 18.]

1329, May 9th—The king, underſtanding that John of Rous and Maſter William of Dalby had made ſilver by the art of alchymy ('alkemoniæ'), and thinking, if they really poſſeſſed ſuch an art, that it would be of great benefit to him and the kingdom, gave orders to bring them, with all their inſtruments, to his preſence. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 384.] We do not hear of any creation of ſilver by thoſe artiſts.

December 12th—At the requeſt of his mother, the king gave the merchants and burgeſſes of Deeſt (or Dieſt, an inland town of Brabant) a charter, permitting them to come, remain, and depart, and to trade freely with their merchandize, provided they paid the due and uſual cuſtoms, and had no communication with his enemies. He exempted them and their property from being ſeized for any debts or crimes but their own, or on account of any war, unleſs the lord of their town ſhould be at war with him, in which caſe they ſhould be allowed forty days to depart from the kingdom with their property. Neither ſhould their property be ſeized for any tranſgreſſions of their ſervants entruſted with it, nor upon the death of ſuch ſervants. They ſhould be exempted from paying pontage, pavage, or murage, for their goods, provided they did not paſs the goods of any others for their own, and did nothing contrary to his father's ordinance for keeping the ſtaple in England †. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 408.] This charter, except that it was to be in force only during the king's pleaſure, breathes ſomewhat of a more liberal ſpirit than had hitherto appeared in any ſuch grants, though far ſhort of the liberality wherewith all commercial intercourſe ought to be conducted.

The merchants of Byerflete in Flanders, who appear to have already had a grant of liberties in trading to England, had thoſe liberties now

* Why they applied to the king, I do not ſee, as the charter of Edward I was to *all* foreign merchants without exception.

† As the ordinance of the ſtaple was annulled in the preceding year, this clauſe muſt have been inſerted by miſtake.

amply confirmed to them by the king. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 4 *Edw. III, m.* 50.]

The whole of the old and new cuſtoms of all England were farmed to the merchants of the company of the Bardi of Florence for a rent of £20 per day; which, if Sundays were not reckoned, amounted only to £6,260 a-year. Next year the rent was raiſed to 1000 marks each month, or £8,000 a-year. [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 4 *Edw. III, m.* 7; *tertia* 5 *Edw. III, m.* 4.] We have ſeen the cuſtoms for the year 1282 amount to £8,411 : 19 : 11½. Had the trade of England fallen off now, or were the king's miniſters very ill informed, or blinded?

1330—The firſt clock we know of in this country was put up in an old tower of Weſtminſter hall in the year 1288; and in 1292 there was one in the cathedral of Canterbury. [*Selden, pref. to Hengham.—Dart's Canterb. Append. p.* 3.] Theſe were probably of foreign workmanſhip; and it may be doubted, if there was even now any perſon in England, who followed the buſineſs of making clocks as a profeſſion. There was, however, one very ingenious artiſt, Richard of Wallingford, abbat of S^t^. Albans, who conſtructed a clock repreſenting the courſes of the ſun, moon, and ſtars, and the ebbing and flowing of the ſea. That this wonderful piece of mechaniſm might be of permanent utility to his abbay, he compoſed a book of directions for the management of it. And Leland, who appears to have ſeen it, ſays, that in his opinion all Europe could not produce ſuch another *. [*Lel. de Script. V.* ii, *p.* 404; *Collect. V.* iii, (*or* iv) *p.* 27.—*Willis's Mitred abb. ap. Lel. p.* 134.]

The wars in Italy between the Guelfs, who aſſerted that the pope ought to be the ſovereign of the world, and the Gibellines, who maintained that the emperor ſhould be ſovereign of the empire, of which they reckoned Italy a principal part, had now reduced that country to the moſt deplorable exceſs of miſery. In the principal cities the people waged cruel war againſt their fellow citizens, and at ſea they took each other's ſhips †. The formerly-flouriſhing commercial city of Genoa

* There is a watch in the poſſeſſion of his Majeſty, which has a convex plate of horn inſtead of a glaſs, and *Robertus B. Rex Scottorum* marked upon the dial-plate, and has thence been believed to have belonged to Robert I king of Scotland. (See *Archæologia, V.* v, *p.* 419.) If genuine, it muſt have been made before this time, and it ought to be noticed as the firſt known production of the chronometric art in a more advanced ſtate. But it is now known that the dial-plate was fabricated by the roguiſh ingenuity of a pedlar, in order to paſs off the watch at a high price, as a relique of the great King Robert. [See *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1785, *p.* 688.] It is univerſally allowed that watches were invented long after clocks: and it is pretty certain, that clocks were far from being common at this time. In Genoa, where the arts were ſurely more advanced than in the weſtern parts of Europe, a clock that ſtruck the hours was ſet up in the year 1353, and was a new ſight to the Genoeſe. [*Stellæ Ann. Gen. ap. Muratori Script. V.* xvii, *col.* 1092.]

† During the civil wars, the commander of a galley, who was chaſed by another of ſuperior force in the evening, ſet up a lantern on a ſhield, which he left floating on the water, and thereby eſcaped in the night from his enemy. [*Stella, col.* 1061.] The ſame ſtratagem, ſomewhat improved, was re-invented by Commodore Walker in the year 1746, (ſee his *Voyages, V.* ii, *p.* 12) and is now common. It is not probable that either Walker or the Italian had read Ammianus Marcellinus, [*L.* xviii] who himſelf managed a ſimilar eſcape from the Perſians by a light fixed to a horſe.

was driven to ſuch a ſtate of wretchedneſs, that marriage was neglected, women were debauched, the people were ſold for ſlaves, and almoſt all were ſunk in poverty. Such was their condition, till the republic became ſubject to Robert king of Sicily (September 1331), to whom both parties had ſent advocates, entreating him to be a mediator, or umpire, between them, in conſequence of which he fixed a garriſon of his own ſoldiers in Genoa, to the commander of whom the magiſtrates were obliged to ſubmit. As a proof of the prodigious wealth of ſome of the citizens of Genoa, even in thoſe diſtracted times, it is proper to notice, that a ſhip taken by a fleet of Gibelline gallies in the year 1330, loaded with wool and other goods, was valued at £60,000 of Genoa money; and a Genoeſe galley from Flanders, taken by a Genoeſe pirate in 1344, loaded with cloth and other valuable merchandize, was reckoned worth £70,000. But ſo dangerous was navigation in this unhappy age, that when ten trading gallies ſailed from Genoa for Greece and Syria, it was thought neceſſary, though they were armed themſelves, to ſend ten warlike gallies to protect them. So large a convoy made very dear freights. [*Stellæ Ann. Gen. ap. Muratori Script. V.* xviii, *coll.* 1054-1080.]

Neither were the other ſtates of Italy exempted from the miſeries which follow in the train of the dæmon of civil war. Piſa was ruined by the factions of the Raſpanti and Bergolini. Ravenna, formerly flouriſhing and powerful, was brought to nothing by external war and internal diſcord. Naples, which about the year 1280 abounded in riches, was reduced to ſuch a wretched condition by the wars, that many women of once-powerful families became proſtitutes, and all the inhabitants were almoſt periſhing for want. [*Stell. col.* 1063.] Such are the fatal effects of people fighting in quarrels wherein they have no concern, and for they know not what.

The coal mines in the neighbourhood of Newcaſtle now became a ſource of revenue to their proprietors, as appears from the chartulary of the monaſtery of Tinemouth, which contains accounts of leaſes of coal-works, in ſeveral parts of the lands belonging to that community, to various people, at the annual rents of £2, £4, £5, and £5 : 4, in the years 1330, 1331, and 1334. In the year 1338 the ſame monaſtery leaſed a ſtaith (or coal wharf) at Newcaſtle at 40*s* per annum. [*Brand's Hiſt. of Newcaſtle, V.* ii, *p.* 255.]

1331, March 3d—In a ſet of articles, drawn up by the king for the uſe of his miniſters in Ireland, the following are the only ones which might have ſome influence on the commercial ſtate of that country.—There ſhould be the ſame laws for the Iriſh as for the Engliſh, only excepting the ſervices of the betaghs * to their lords, ſimilar to that of the

* Lhuyd ſpells the word *biatach*, and tranſlates it *a farmer*, i. e. *one who provides food*. We ſee here the authority of King Edward to prove that ſuch farmers were in the ſame condition with the villeins in England.

villeins in England.—Fines ſhould no longer be levied in cows, but in money.—The collectors of the king's cuſtoms ſhould not be ſtrangers, but ſome of the moſt opulent and prudent burgeſſes of the towns in which the cuſtoms were to be collected. [*Fœdera*, *V.* iv, *p.* 475.]

May 23[d]—King Edward, at the requeſt of John Pultney, then mayor of London, a renowned and opulent citizen, and for other cauſes, gave the merchants of Louvain in Brabant a charter of free trade, with the now-cuſtomary exemption from being arreſted for any other debts or crimes than their own, provided the lord of their town ſhould not make war upon him, or be aiding to his enemies. The merchants of Louvain, however, allowed at leaſt ſeven years to elapſe, before they began to avail themſelves of this charter; [*Fœdera*, *V.* v, *p.* 77] a circumſtance which ought to put us on our guard againſt preſuming a great trade with every nation or community, to whom we find ſuch charters granted, which were more frequently intended to ſerve the intereſt of, what are called, politics than of commerce.

July 23[d]—The diſcontents among the manufacturers of Flanders ſtill continued; and King Edward availed himſelf of the opportunity to hold out to them an invitation to tranſport themſelves into England. The firſt perſon who thereupon removed into this country to carry on his buſineſs, and alſo to inſtruct thoſe who deſired to learn it, was John Kempe, a weaver of woollen cloth, whom, together with his apprentices bred to the buſineſs, and his ſervants, his goods and chattels, the king took under his protection. And in the ſame grant he promiſed the like favour to other cloth-weavers, and alſo to dyers and fullers, willing to ſettle in his kingdom. [*Fœdera*, *V.* iv, *p.* 496.] This ſmall, but valuable, colony, though not (as ſome have ſuppoſed) the original founders of the woollen manufacture of England, may very juſtly be conſidered as the founders of the manufacture of *fine* woollen cloths, which has for ſome centuries been cheriſhed with the moſt anxious foſtering care, as the moſt important branch of the induſtry of the country *.

September 30[th]—Fairs, which were the ſcenes of moſt of the inland trade of the kingdom, were frequently protracted beyond the time limited by their charters. That irregularity was forbidden by parliament in the year 1328; and now the ſame prohibition was repeated, with the addition of a penalty upon the merchants, who ſhould neglect to cloſe their booths and ſtalls ('ſcudes et eſtaux') at the due concluſion of the fairs. [*Acts 2 Edw. III*, *c.* 15; *and* 5, *c.* 5.]

October 14[th]—The king having, by an act of parliament (which does not appear in the ſtatute books) renewed his grandfather's law for pre-

* Mr. Anderſon aſcribes the introduction of the Netherland cloth-workers to the king's reſentment againſt the earl of Flanders. If that was his motive, it was a ſingularly happy inſtance of the people of England deriving a real and permanent advantage from a quarrel of their ſovereign with a foreign prince.

venting the exportation of money, and for obliging all perſons arriving in, or departing from, England, to exchange their money with his exchangers ſtationed at the ſeveral ports, (ſee above p. 463) now, by his own authority, licenced fiſhermen bringing in herrings and other fiſh for the ſuſtenance of the people of the country, to receive money in payment for their fiſh, and carry it away without being obliged to carry it to the exchangers, provided they gave ſecurity not to act contrary to the tenor of the ordinance, or act, referred to. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 500.] Thoſe fiſhermen were apparently foreigners, and more ſkilful than the fiſhermen of England.

December 29th—A taſte for foreign horſes appears to have long prevailed with the kings and nobles of England. In the year 1212 King John paid no leſs than 58 marks for two Lombard horſes, bought for him by the agency of a Flemiſh knight; and next year he bought 100 great horſes from the counteſs of Flanders. [*Rymer's Coll. ms. V.* i, *n.* 62.—*Rot. pat.* 15 *Johan. a tergo.*] In 1241 the earl Marſhal rode an Italian horſe, by which he was killed; and we may ſuppoſe that Spaniſh and Italian horſes were pretty common at this time in England, as it was thought worthy of remark, that the army of Scotland in 1244 had good horſes, though they were not Spaniſh or Italian. [*M. Paris, pp.* 565, 645.] But even the Scots, according to the Norwegian account of Hacon's expedition, had many Spaniſh horſes at the battle of Largs in 1263*. In 1309 King Edward II ſent to Lombardy for thirty war horſes ('dextrariis') and twelve draught horſes ('jumentis'). In 1313 he ſent a merchant to Spain to purchaſe thirty war horſes; and at another time he commiſſioned two Spaniards to buy war horſes for him in Spain, and put a thouſand marks into their hands. But the death of one of them having put a ſtop to the buſineſs, Edward III, now deſiring to have it accompliſhed, ſent an agent to recover the money, and to purchaſe fifty horſes†: and in order to forward the buſineſs, and obtain leave to bring the horſes out of Spain and through France, he wrote to the king of Spain, the magiſtrates of Burgos, the ſurviving agent employed by his father, the executors of the deceaſed one, and to the king of France. He alſo ſent for ſix war horſes, or courſers, from Sicily in the year 1335. [*Fœdera, V.* iii, *pp.* 124, 394; *V.* iv, *pp.* 505, 561, 658.] By ſuch ſelections of choice horſes out of every country has the Engliſh breed of horſes been gradually brought to that degree of perfection, that they are now eagerly ſought for in many parts of the continent, and contribute to ſwell the vaſt amount of the Britiſh exports.

* The Arabian horſe belonging to Alexander I, king of Scotland, in the beginning of the twelfth century, was probably a ſolitary rarity.

† If he allowed 1000 marks for 50 horſes, the price was very liberal indeed: no leſs than £13, 6*s*, 8*d* for each. They muſt have been very coſtly horſes by the time of their arrival in England. Many prices of horſes in the time of Edward I, ſome as high as 70 marks, may be found in *Liber contrarot. garderobæ Edw. I, p.* 173 *et paſſim.*

December 23d—Though we know that the Saracens had ſome veſſels of very great burthen, as appears by the number of men ſaid to have been onboard them *, we know nothing of their conſtruction. The Catalans, who ſucceeded to their maritime eminence in their port of Barcelona, as has already been noticed, had alſo very large veſſels, of the kinds called cogs and ſhips, ſome with two, and ſome with three, decks, before the year 1315; and, from the mention of caſtles on the decks, it appears moſt probable that each of the three decks ran the whole length of the veſſels, as in modern three-deck merchant ſhips. By the original articles of agreement, preſerved in the archives of Barcelona, it appears that thirteen of the citizens undertook to man a cog ('cocha') of three decks, called the Sent Climent, belonging to the community of the city, in order to cruiſe againſt the Genoeſe and other enemies, the magiſtrates agreeing to furniſh bread for the crew, and to receive one third of the prizes to be taken, or, in caſe of loſs, to bear one third of it: and the citizens engaged to ſhip and pay from four to five hundred men, to find all other proviſions except bread, and to put no cargo onboard her for commercial purpoſes, her deſtination being merely warlike. From a very copious inventory of the ſtores, delivered to them along with the veſſel, it appears that ſhe was well furniſhed with bows, arrows, ſpears, and defenſive armour. But there is no mention of fire-arms. One of the thirteen citizens was formally commiſſioned by the other twelve to be their *captain* of the cog ('capitaneum noſtrum dictæ cochæ'), and alſo to command the other veſſels of an armada fitted out by them againſt the enemy. The city's third of the prize-money amounted to £1,163:18:9 for a Genoeſe cog, and £332:3:11 for a Piſan galley, taken by the Sent Climent during her cruiſe. [*Capmany, Mem. hiſt. de Barcelona, V.* i, *Mar. p.* 46; *V.* ii, *Col. dipl. pp.* 77, 406, 408, 415, 417.] Some of the Catalonian veſſels carried ſtill greater numbers of men. In the year 1334 four of them, carrying 1,980 fighting men beſides the ſeamen, and alſo women and horſes, and having moreover cargoes of cloth and other goods onboard for Sardinia, being fitted for trade as well as war, were taken, after *a battle of ten days*, by ten Genoeſe gallies. [*Stellæ Ann. Gen. ap. Muratori Script. V.* xvii, *col.* 1066.]

1332, April 13th—In conſequence of ſome diſſenſions between the people of England and the foreign merchants, the later had for ſome time withdrawn from the kingdom. In order to remove their apprehenſions, the king now publiſhed a confirmation of the charter given by his grandfather to the foreign merchants in the year 1303, and added an aſſurance that they ſhould not be ſubjected to any undue priſes, exactions, or arreſts, and that nothing ſhould be taken from them for his uſe without their conſent. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 516.]

* See particularly above, p. 335.

July 25th—The king, intending to paſs over to Ireland, ſent orders to the juſticiary (or viceroy) to preſs all the veſſels in that country, and to ſend them to attend him at Holyhead, properly provided with bridges, clays *, and other neceſſaries; and he deſired him alſo to make agreements for the freights to be paid for them. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 524.]

The king ordained that ſtaples for wool, hides, &c. ſhould be held in various places within the kingdom. [*Rot. pat. tert. 6 Edw. III, m.* 6.]

1333, April 27th—King Edward, having reſolved to make another attempt for the conqueſt of Scotland during the infancy of the king of that country, wrote two very polite letters to the earl of Flanders, repreſenting that ſome of his (the earl's) ſubjects had confederated with the Scots, his enemies and rebels, and were committing hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh upon the ſea, which he begged he would put a ſtop to; and he ſhould find him ready to do every juſtice to the Flemings, and every pleaſure to himſelf. He afterwards begged that the earl would releaſe ſome Engliſhmen, whom he had arreſted becauſe ſeveral Flemiſh veſſels had been taken by Engliſh pirates, repreſenting the injuſtice of making the innocent ſuffer for the guilty, and the ſad condition of merchants, if they muſt be liable to ſuffer for the crimes committed by thieves and pirates upon the ſea (which, however, was the law, or practice, of Europe at the time †). As the magiſtrates of the three principal towns had nearly as much authority as the earl, if not more in matters relating to commerce, he alſo wrote to thoſe of Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres, upon the ſame buſineſs. A negotiation enſued, in which mutual reſtitution was promiſed. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *pp.* 556, 560, 561, 576.]

Auguſt 6th—One effect of the renewal of the war againſt Scotland upon the commerce of England was, that many foreign merchants, apprehending that their veſſels and goods would be arreſted, deſiſted from trading to England. King Edward, unwilling to forego the benefits flowing from their trade, thereupon ordered all the ſhirrefs to proclaim that foreign merchants ſhould not be abridged of any of their privileges on account of the war, and that nothing ſhould be taken from them without their conſent, nor without due ſatisfaction. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 574.]

October 5th—The kings of France and Aragon, ſenſible of the great

* Clays, a word already noticed in an order of the year 1324, as of uncertain meaning.

† Is not the property of merchants upon the ſea ſtill expoſed to capture, and themſelves to ruin, in quarrels of which they were not the authors? In the barbariſm of the beginning of the fifteenth century, and even in the thirteenth century at Leipſick, (*ſee above, p.* 418) there was a nearer approach, *in this reſpect*, to the civilization of warfare (if ſuch a term be not incongruous) than there is now amidſt all the refinement and illumination of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. (The ſentiment of Rapin, the hiſtorian of England, upon the ſubject, will be quoted in a note under the year 1407.) It remains for a conſtellation of ſtateſmen of ſuperior illumination and virtue, endowed with courage ſufficient to break through a barbarous cuſtom, to aboliſh this licenced piracy, at leaſt with reſpect to what are called *innocent goods*. Then, and not till then, may they boaſt, that war is diveſted of its ſpirit of ferocity and depredation.

interruption of commerce, and the many other abuſes, proceeding from the practice of granting letters of marque to empower individuals to procure redreſs by means of armed veſſels for injuries ſuffered, or alleged to be ſuffered, by them, had repeatedly made regulations for obtaining juſtice to the parties aggrieved by an amicable procedure, and agreed to give no letters of marque, unleſs juſtice ſhould be denied by the ſovereign of the aggreſſors. [*Capmany, Mem. hiſt. de Barcelona, V.* ii, *Col. dipl. p.* 100.] James III, the late king of Aragon, having no ſuch regulations ſettled with England, a country with which he conſidered his dominions as no way connected by neighbourhood or commercial intercourſe, had given a letter of marque againſt England to Berenguer de la Tone, who duely proved in his court (according to the mode of proceeding ſettled between Aragon and France) that he had been plundered upon the ſea by an Engliſh pirate of property to the amount of £2,000 Barcelona money, beſides which there were found due to him 11,333 ſhillings and 4 pennies for intereſt, and £100 for the expenſe of ſeveral journies to England. Alfonſo, the preſent king, having liberated an Engliſh officer in the ſervice of King Edward, who had been arreſted at the inſtance of Tone's heirs, took the opportunity of writing to the king of England, and again requeſting redreſs for his ſubjects: whereupon King Edward, who by no means wiſhed to ſtir up any new enemies, now anſwered, that his father, King Edward II, had offered to do juſtice to Tone, who had himſelf neglected attending further to the buſineſs. He argued that neither equity nor juſtice warranted letters of repriſal in ſuch a caſe; and he profeſſed his readineſs to do ſpeedy juſtice, even with favour, to the parties, if they would apply for it. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 577.]

October 6th—It is ſcarcely worth while to notice ſo common an event as the appointment of two Engliſh and two Flemiſh commiſſioners to ſettle all claims of redreſs between the two nations. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *pp.* 578, 579, *&c.*]

King Edward having got poſſeſſion of Berwick, and being deſirous that it ſhould be repeopled, proclaimed that all merchants, who would ſettle in it, ſhould have burgages for their reſidence; and ſome time after he gave the burgeſſes an aſſurance, that they ſhould pay no more than the antient cuſtoms, which thence appear to have been more moderate than thoſe of England. [*Ayloffe's Calendar of charters, pp.* 146, 207.] But it may be doubted, if Berwick, even in the preſent day, be equal to what it was in the peaceable and proſperous reign of Alexander III, when it was the principal port of the flouriſhing trade of Scotland, and the ſeat of a company of Flemiſh merchants reſembling the merchants of the Teutonic gildhall in London.

1334, March 3d—In a parliament, held at York, the king, at the requeſt of his people, determined to aboliſh the ſtaples, which had been

eſtabliſhed in various parts of England, Wales, and Ireland, for wool, wool-fells, and hides. [*Rymer's Acta manuſcr. Edw. III, V.* ii, *n°.* 75.]

April 5th—The king of England and the earl of Flanders allowed free intercourſe of trade to the ſubjects of each-other, which was, however, to continue only till the 15th of Auguſt. But as it would not be worth while for merchants to fit out their veſſels for a privilege of eighteen weeks, it was afterwards prolonged to Chriſtmas 1336. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *pp.* 607, 661, 662.]

1335, Spring—The knights, citizens, and burgeſſes, repreſented to the king the hardſhips ſuffered by the public in conſequence of the people of cities, burghs, and ſea-ports, engroſſing the purchaſe of wines, 'aver du pois,' fleſh, fiſh, and other victuals and merchandize, uſeful to the prelates, nobles, and commons. The king, with the aſſent of the prelates, nobles, and commons, thereupon ordained, that all merchants, aliens or denizens, ſhould have perfect liberty in all cities, burghs, towns, ſea-ports, fairs, markets, and elſewhere, within franchiſes or without, to ſell corn, wine, 'aver du pois,' fleſh, fiſh, and other victuals, wool, cloth, and all kinds of merchandize, to all perſons, natives or foreigners, except the king's enemies. The mayors and bailifs of corporations, and the lords of unincorporated places, were required, under the penalty of forfeiting their privileges, to protect the merchants in the exerciſe of their trade; and the perſons actually obſtructing them were made liable to double damages, and alſo to be puniſhed by impriſonment and fine. All ſtrangers and denizens had alſo equal liberty to buy and carry away any articles whatever, except wine *, agreeable to the terms of their charter. And all charters of franchiſe, which might be alleged in oppoſition to the general freedom of trade, were declared to be of no force, as being prejudicial to the king, prelates, and great men, and oppreſſive to the commons. [1 *Stat.* 9 *Edw. III, preamble and c.* 1.]

June-Auguſt—In the war between England and Scotland there was more of maritime hoſtility than might have been expected in a conteſt between the two parts of the ſame iſland. Edward, having heard that ſome ſhips were fitting out in Calais by the Scots and other *malefactors* to infeſt his coaſts by land and water, ordered the warden of the Cinque ports and the magiſtrates of Yarmouth to diſcover the truth of the report, and to ſend out a ſufficient force to deſtroy them. Theſe precautions, however, did not prevent a veſſel belonging to Southampton with a cargo of wool, wool-fells, hides, &c. from being taken in the mouth of the Thames by ſome malefactors of Normandy and Scotland. King Edward, being informed by his vaſſal, Edward Balliol, whom he had ſet up as a duplicate king of Scotland in order to divide and diſtract that kingdom, that ſome foreigners, at the inſtigation of the Scots, were

* Though wine is excepted from exportation, corn is left free to be exported at pleaſure.

fitting out a great navy to tranſport men at arms and armour to Scotland, ordered his ſteward of Gaſcoigne, and the magiſtrates of Bayonne and Bourdeaux, to equip all the proper veſſels in all the ports of the province with good men, arms, and proviſions, to oppoſe the malice of his and his vaſſal's enemies. He alſo wrote repeatedly from Perth to the parliament aſſembled at London, to the magiſtrates of that city, and to John Pultney and Reginald of the Conduit, opulent citizens who had borne the office of mayor, that he underſtood, ſeveral fleets of warlike ſhips, filled with men at arms, were coming to invade his kingdom, and he deſired them to fit out all the veſſels capable of carrying forty tuns ('dolia') or more of wine, with able men and arms, without delay. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *pp.* 651, 652, 656, 658, 659, 665.]

Many of the Engliſh veſſels, and particularly thoſe belonging to Yarmouth, Briſtol, Lynne, Kingſton upon Hull, and Ravenſere, were now diſtinguiſhed as ſhips of war ('naves guerrinæ'). But whether they were of a different conſtruction from others, or only the largeſt and ſtrongeſt of the mercantile veſſels, we are not informed. We know, however, that they were not the property of the nation at large, as they are called the warlike ſhips of Yarmouth, of Briſtol, &c. [*Ayloffe's Calendars of charters, pp.* 139, 140, 142, 154, 155, 156.]

The king, obſerving that counterfeits of the Engliſh money were made abroad, enacted that no man of religion or other perſon whatever ſhould carry any Engliſh money out of the country, or any ſilver plate, or any veſſels of gold or ſilver, without the king's licence; and that no perſon ſhould import counterfeits of Engliſh money. But all perſons might carry bullion and wrought ſilver, and ſilver money of any kind, except counterfeits, to the exchanges, and there be accommodated with convenient exchange. It was declared unlawful to melt ſterlings or pennies, half pennies, or farthings, for making any veſſel of ſilver. The currency of black money was totally prohibited. The king and his council were empowered to eſtabliſh exchanges at proper places. Pilgrims were ordered to take paſſage only at Dover. All perſons going from, or arriving in, the kingdom, were to be ſearched to prevent them from ſmuggling money; and the inn-keepers were to be ſworn to ſearch their gueſts. [2 *Stat.* 9 *Edw. III.*]

September 21ſt.—In conſequence of this act the king eſtabliſhed exchanges at Dover, London, Yarmouth, Boſton, and Kingſton upon Hull *, to which he ordered all florenes and other money to be carried; and he ſtrictly commanded, that none ſhould be carried out of the kingdom or clandeſtinely exported. He appointed all the exchanges

* From this very ſhort liſt we ſhould ſuppoſe, that there were no money tranſactions worth notice on the ſouth or weſt coaſts: and yet Southampton was one of the chief ports of England, and Briſtol had a pretty good ſhare of trade.—From *Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 697, and many other records, it is certain, that there was alſo an exchange at Canterbury.

to be under the management of William de la Pole, who was to be anſwerable, for his deputies as well as for himſelf, to the exchequer for the profits of the exchange. And he gave notice of the eſtabliſhment to the magiſtrates of

Yarmouth,	Chicheſter,	Southampton,
Dover,	Hertlepool,	Norwich,
London,	Scarburgh,	Lynne,
Boſton,	York,	Ipſwich,
Kingſton upon Hull,	Ravenſrod,	Sandwich,
Newcaſtle upon Tine,	Lincoln,	Winchelſea,

and Briſtol. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 668.]

William de la Pole, now appointed commiſſioner or manager-general of the exchanges, was one of the moſt illuſtrious of the early merchants of England. He was firſt a merchant at Ravenſrod, or Ravenſere, and thence removed to Kingſton upon Hull, for which town his (apparently elder) brother and he obtained a grant of the cuſtoms from the king. In the year 1336 he farmed ſome of the cuſtoms at a rent of £10 a-day. Upon Kingſton being privileged to have a mayor, he was the firſt who was elected to that office; and he founded the monaſtery of S^t. Michael near that town. He was eſteemed the greateſt merchant of England, and with good reaſon, for he lent King Edward the prodigious ſum of £18,500, when he was at Antwerp; in payment of which the king made him chief baron of the exchequer, and gave him the lordſhip of Holderneſs, with the rank of a banneret, and a promiſe of an eſtate of 1,000 marks a-year in France, as ſoon as it ſhould be under his dominion. He was frequently employed in embaſſies along with the firſt men in the kingdom, who were directed by his knowlege of buſineſs. His ſon Michael, alſo a merchant, was created earl of Suffolk by King Richard II; and his poſterity flouriſhed as earls, marquiſes, and dukes, of Suffolk, till a royal marriage, and a promiſe of the ſucceſſion to the crown, brought the family to ruin *.

November 20^th.—John of Cologne, who appears to have been in the king's ſervice †, having purchaſed thirty tuns or cartloads ('dolia ſeu plauſtratas') of choice Rheniſh wine in Germany, the king took ſo much intereſt in the ſafe conveyance of it, that he wrote to the archbiſhop of Cologne, the earl of Holland, and the earl of Gelder, requeſting their good offices in its paſſage through their territories, and exemption from cuſtoms. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 676.]

This year a licence was granted for exporting ale, and another for

* This brief account of William de la Pole and his family is extracted from *Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 91, 92, 101, 124, 125.—*Rot. pat. prim.* 3 *Edw. III, m.* 1; *prim.* 10 *Edw. III, m.* 10; *and ſec. m.* 17; *tert.* 28 *Edw. III, m.* 9.—*Camd. Brit. pp.* 341, 578.—*Stow's Ann. p.* 367.

† He is called the king's valect, and licenced to kernel (fortify) his houſe on Cornhill in London. [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 11 *Edw. III, m.* 2.]

exporting corn. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 9 *Edw. III, mm.* 37, 38.] That for ale contains, I believe, the earlieſt notice of the exportation of that article.

We are indebted to Balducci Pegoletti, an Italian writer, for the following itinerary, or route, of the merchants, who traveled from Tana, or Azof, at the head of the Palus Mœotis, to Gamalecco, Cambalek, or Pekin, in China, as the journey was performed at this time *.

To Gintarchan (Aſtracan) with waggons drawn by oxen -	days 25
(When horſes were employed, the journey was ſooner performed.)	
to Sara by the river - - - - -	1
to Saracanco by water (the north coaſt of the Caſpian ſea) -	8
to Organci (ſuppoſed Urgentz on Lake Aral) with camels -	20
This place is noted for the expeditious ſale of goods.	
to Oltrarra (or Otrar on the Sihon or Sir) with camels -	35 or 40
to Armalecco (or Almaleg in Turkeſtan) with aſſes -	45
to Camexu, with aſſes - - - -	70
to a river called Kara-Morin (or Hoang-ho) with horſes -	50
to Caſſai, where there is good ſale for merchandize, and the merchants exchange their ſilver for the paper money of China - - - - -	blank
to Gamalecco, the capital of Cattai or Cathay (North China)	30

1336, July 4th—King Edward, intent upon his great project of making himſelf king of France, had already taken a crowd of the princes of Germany into his ſervice; and being exceedingly deſirous of gaining the favour of the Genoeſe, whoſe naval power he viewed with deſire and apprehenſion, he addreſſed a conciliatory letter to the podeſta and community of that ſtate, wherein he acknowleged, that a large Genoeſe ſhip or coch †, loaded with Oriental goods and other pretious merchandize to the value of above 14,300 marks ſterling, bound to England, and provided with his father's letters of ſafe conduct, had been unjuſtly taken in the Downs by Hugh Deſpenſer, then commander of a fleet in his father's ſervice. Though no part of the plunder had ever come to his father's, or his own, hands, he offered, if they would engage that no other claim ſhould ever be made on account of that capture, to aſſign, as a compenſation to the parties aggrieved, 8,000 marks, to be allowed out of the cuſtoms payable upon merchandize to be imported or exported by merchants of Genoa in any port of England. Being further deſirous of gratifying the Genoeſe, that they might be the readier to ſerve him upon occaſion, he offered them free entrance for their veſ-

* Not having poſſeſſion of Pegoletti's book, I have extracted this curious route from *Forſter's Voyages and diſcoveries in the North, p.* 150 *of Engliſh tranſlation*: and I have alſo followed him in the European, or familiar, names of the places.

† The ſame kind of veſſel which is elſewhere called a cog.

ſels, with liberty of buying and ſelling, in any part of his kingdom, and the further liberty of leaving any port without ſelling, or with ſelling only a part, and going wherever they pleaſed. The offer was accepted by the Genoeſe, who entered ſo heartily into his intereſt, that they burnt ſome gallies, which were fitting out in their port, becauſe they conjectured, that they were intended to act againſt him. Edward, highly delighted with ſuch a proof of their attachment, commiſſioned one of their own citizens to hire gallies and uſcers *, properly manned, armed, and equipped, for war, at Genoa. [*Fœdera*, *V.* iv, *pp.* 702, 710, 712.]

October 15th—The luxury of the table had got to ſuch a height in England, that it was thought neceſſary to reſtrain it by a law, which prohibited all perſons, of whatever rank, from having more than two courſes, and more than two kinds of meat with pottages in each courſe; except on eighteen holidays in the year, when gluttony and extravagance might be freely indulged. [3 *Stat.* 10 *Edw. III.*]

October—Notwithſtanding the recent friendly arrangements between England and Flanders, the earl, probably at the deſire of the king of France, his feudal over-lord, impriſoned the Engliſh merchants in his dominions, and arreſted their property. King Edward thereupon iſſued orders for retaliating upon the Flemings in his dominions. But being very anxious to avoid having any enemies in addition to France and Scotland, he immediately wrote ſoothing and expoſtulating letters to the earl of Flanders and the magiſtrates of Bruges, Ghent, and Ypres, requeſting redreſs of thoſe outrages, and profeſſing his reſolution to allow no injuſtice to be done to the Flemings. [*Fœdera*, *V.* iv, *pp.* 711, 713.]

November 3d—King Edward wrote to the king of Norway, and to the earls of Holland and Gelder, requeſting them not to allow their ſubjects to hire any veſſels to the Scots, his rebels and enemies. [*Fœdera*, *V.* iv, *p.* 715.] How could the oppreſſed and perſecuted *half* of the Scottiſh nation, with their agriculture ruined and their trade annihilated, find money to hire veſſels in moſt of the maritime countries of Europe?

November 6th—King Edward, ſtill alarmed with rumours of hoſtile armaments upon the continent, and having heard that ſome Engliſh veſſels had actually been taken, ſent orders to all the maritime cities and towns in the kingdom to oblige the owners to fit out every veſſel in their ports in a ſufficient manner with men, arms, and ſtores: and he appointed the harbour of Portſmouth to be the place of rendezvous for all veſſels belonging to

* Tancred king of Sicily gave Richard king of England four great ſhips called *urſers*, [*Hoveden*, *f.* 391 b] or *uffers*; [*Bromton*, *col.* 1195] apparently the ſame kind of veſſels here called *uſcers*.

Briſtol,	Chicheſter,	Pevenſey,
Chriſtchurch,	Rumney,	Weymouth,
Melcomb,	Teignmouth,	Cheſter,
Southampton,	Reculver,	Lyme,
Yarmouth, St. Helens } in Wight,	Exeter,	Seaford,
	London,	Dartmouth,
Liverpool,	Dover,	Portcheſter,
Stonore,	Tolleſbury,	Plymouth,
Sidmouth,	Rye,	Faverſham,
Sandwich,	Seton,	Shoreham,
Winchelſea,	Portſmouth,	Haſtings, and
Exmouth,	Falmouth,	Folkſtone.
Bridgewater,	Lymington,	

He alſo fixed the port of Orewell for the rendezvous of the veſſels belonging to

Yarmouth,	Newbigging,	Gosford,
Lynne,	Whitby,	Harwich,
Kingſton upon Hull,	Alemouth,	Grimſby,
Ravenſere,	Tinemouth,	Barton,
Scarburgh,	Blakeney,	Saltfleet,
Newcaſtle upon Tine,	Dunwich,	Boſton, and
Little Yarmouth,	Kirklee,	Waynfleet.
Ipſwich,	Gillingham,	
Wallfleet,	Coeford,	

After meeting at the ports of rendezvous, the veſſels bound for Gaſcoigne, or other foreign countries, were to be permitted to ſail in ſtrong fleets, ſo that they might protect each-other: and he ſent orders to the ſteward of Gaſcoigne to oblige all the veſſels of that country, bound for England, to join the Engliſh fleet. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *pp.* 717-719.] We find ſuch orders for veſſels ſailing in fleets repeated on many occaſions; for ſuch were then the only means of defence for merchant ſhips.

Edward's fears were not ill founded. A numerous fleet of ſhips and gallies, equipped by the Scots, who adhered to David II, the young king whom Edward endeavoured to depoſe, (or as probably by the king of France in their name) took a number of Engliſh veſſels lying at anchor at the Iſle of Wight, and plundered Guernſey and Jerſey, while the ſeamen of the Engliſh navy were quarreling among themſelves, and plundering veſſels belonging to Engliſh ſubjects, or foreigners in friendſhip with their king. He therefor appointed a commiſſion to conſult with the nobles, ſhirrefs, magiſtrates, and ſeamen, of all the ports, on the means of repelling the enemy. He deſired them to give due attention to the greatneſs of the impending danger, for, ſays he, '*As our progeni-*
'*tors, the kings of England, in ſuch conteſts between themſelves and the ſove-*
'*reigns of foreign countries were the lords of the ſea and of the paſſage to the*

'*continent in all times paſt*, it would grieve us exceedingly, if our royal 'honour ſhould in the ſmalleſt degree be impaired in our times.' He alſo wrote to all the ſhirrefs of England to permit no veſſels to ſail, even though they ſhould have obtained his licence, except thoſe appointed to carry proviſions and arms to Berwick, Stirling, and Perth, for his ſervice. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *pp.* 721, 723.]

The above liſt of ports, though evidently defective, as all ſuch liſts in the records are *, furniſhes an important fact in the hiſtory of the flouriſhing commercial town of Liverpool, which now appears, for the firſt time, as a port capable of contributing ſome veſſels to the national navy. About this time the community of Liverpool were repeatedly empowered to levy duties for paving their ſtreets; another mark of advancing proſperity. [*Rot. pat.* 2 *Edw. III, m.* 34; *prim.* 7 *Edw. III, m.* 27; *prim.* 10 *Edw. III, m.* 43.]

December 3d—The Brabanters were the principal rivals of the Flemings in the woollen manufacture: and the earl of Flanders being now in the intereſt of the king of France againſt Edward, the duke of Brabant thought the opportunity favourable for requeſting King Edward to remove the ſtaple for Engliſh wool to ſome town in his dominions. The king, who was very much diſpleaſed with the earl of Flanders, wrote him, that he would ſend over ſome merchants to treat with him for proper ſecurity and a friendly reception in his territories: and he required of him to engage, that none of the wool ſhould go into the hands of the Flemings †. In a few weeks after he alſo ſent an agent to treat with the magiſtrates of Bruſſels, Louvain, and Mechlin, upon the ſame buſineſs. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *pp.* 720, 751.]

December 12th—King Edward in the midſt of his efforts to ſubdue Scotland, and preparations for ſubduing France, was not inattentive to the more rational project of eſtabliſhing the woollen manufacture in his dominions. He now ſent a letter of protection (from Bothwell in the weſt of Scotland) for two weavers of Brabant, who propoſed to carry on their buſineſs at York; and he expreſſed his hopes of utility and advantage to reſult to his ſubjects from their induſtry and example. He alſo gave ſimilar protections ſoon after to a conſiderable number of woollen-manufacturers from Zeland with their families and workmen. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *pp.* 723, 751.]

1337, January 16th—King Edward, having commiſſioned three admirals, conferred upon them the power of puniſhing all ſeamen in the

* All the Welſh ports, of which ſeven appear in the enumeration of the year 1300, are omitted in this liſt, as are alſo many of thoſe on the ſouth and eaſt coaſts, owing, undoubtedly, to the loſs of the writs ſent to thoſe ports. Theſe evident omiſſions or loſſes of records ſhow, that we ought not raſhly to conclude, becauſe ſome ports do not appear in ſuch enumerations, that they did not exiſt, or had no ſhipping.

† As England and Brabant could not work up all the wool that uſed to go to Flanders, what did the king propoſe that the Engliſh proprietors of the wool ſhould do with it?

fleet, according to juſtice, as it uſed to be in former times: and he alſo gave them full power of chuſing, either within liberties or without, as many men as they might think neceſſary for manning the fleet, and ſeizing and impriſoning them, if they were unwilling to go onboard; and he deſired all his faithful ſubjects to be aſſiſting to his admirals in that ſervice. [*Fœdera*, *V.* iv, *p.* 727.] The power of puniſhing the men onboard the fleet thus appears to have been already eſtabliſhed: but this ample preſs-warrant ſeems to have been unprecedented. It would, however, be no additional hardſhip upon the merchants, whoſe veſſels were all ſeized, or expected to be ſeized, for the king: neither had the ſeamen any choice of employment except in the king's ſervice.

January 27th—The king, ſeeing the neceſſity of having veſſels of his own, employed William de Kelin, a carpenter, to build a galley for him at Kingſton upon Hull, under the inſpection of the renowned merchant William de la Pole, for the uſe of which he ordered the prior of Blithe to furniſh forty oak trees *. Having ordered anchors to be made for his ſhips, called the Chriſtopher and the Cog Edward, he directed the ſhirrefs of London to provide for that purpoſe 5,000 pounds of iron, 200 Eaſtland boards, and 100 quarters of ſea-coal †, to be delivered to the ſuperviſor of his works (a clergyman) at the Tower. [*Fœdera*, *V.* iv, *p.* 730.]

March 18th—The Flemings being now leagued againſt Edward, he wrote to the king of Caſtile (or Spain) and to his principal courtiers, requeſting that the merchants of that kingdom might have no commercial intercourſe with the Flemings, and that they would rather trade to the ports of England, where, he promiſed, they ſhould meet with every indulgence they could reaſonably deſire ‡. [*Fœdera*, *V.* iv, *pp.* 736, 737.]

April 15th—Though King Edward was as eager to deprive the Flemings of commercial intercourſe with other nations as his father had been to deprive the Scots of their commerce with the Flemings, it was ſoon diſcovered, that the Engliſh and the Flemings could not live without the mutual advantages they uſed to derive from their friendly ſupply of mutual wants. A treaty was therefor ſet on foot for marrying a ſon of the earl with a daughter of Edward, then in her cradle, and for re-eſtabliſhing the ſtaple of wool in Flanders. [*Fœdera*, *V.* iv, *pp.* 744, 745.]

May 24th—The Brabanters, being thus diſappointed of having the ſtaple of Engliſh wool among themſelves, were now allowed to purchaſe

* The trees muſt have been very large, if no more were to be employed, or the galley very ſmall.

† This is the earlieſt expreſs notice we have of ſo large a quantity of coals in London. Brand (in his *Hiſt. of Newcaſtle*, *V.* ii, *p.* 254) mentions ten ſhillings worth of coals bought for the coronation of King Edward III.

‡ So ſtrangely fluctuating were Edward's politics, that we ſhall ſoon ſee him granting favours to the Spaniſh merchants for the ſake of his good friends the Flemings.

at the towns in England appointed for the ſale of wool, as much wool for the uſe of their own manufacturers only, as would be ſufficient for the conſumption of ſix months, the quantity being aſcertained by the oaths of two deputies to be ſent over from each manufacturing town with the duke's letters patent. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 757.]

Auguſt 8th—The king gave orders, that a thouſand ſoldiers, levied in Wales, ſhould be dreſſed in coats and mantles made of the ſame cloth. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *pp.* 803, 810, &c.] Quere, if this is the firſt mention of military uniforms?

September 27th—The parliament made it felony to carry any wool out of the kingdom. They alſo ordered, that after Michaelmaſs * no man or woman, of whatever rank, in England, Ireland, Wales, and that part of Scotland ſubject to King Edward, except the king, the queen, and their children, (a moſt injudicious and antipatriotic exception) ſhould buy any cloth of foreign manufacture, under the penalty of forfeiture of the cloth, and arbitrary puniſhment beſides. Neither was any perſon, whoſe annual income was not at leaſt £100, permitted to wear foreign furs. All perſons in England, Ireland, Wales, and the Engliſh part of Scotland, were licenced to make cloth without being reſtricted to any ſtandard length. All merchants importing cloths after Michaelmaſs were alſo ſubjected to forfeiture of the cloths and arbitrary puniſhment. And all foreign cloth-workers were promiſed the king's protection to live in any part of his dominions, together with franchiſes to their full ſatisfaction. [*Acts*, 10 *Edw. III, cc.* 1-5.] Theſe acts are ſtrangely at variance with the many negotiations with the princes and communities of Flanders and Brabant for ſettling the ſtaple in their countries, and permitting them to buy wool in England. They were immediately broken by the king himſelf, who ſeems to have adopted a new ſyſtem of politics almoſt every month, which muſt have been exceedingly prejudicial to the commerce of England and the countries connected in trade with it †.

* From the king's own mandate to the ſhirreſs for the publication and enforcement of theſe acts (printed immediately after them) which is dated at Windſor the 28th day of March (no year), it appears that Michaelmaſs in the following year was the day propoſed for the commencement of their operation: for Michaelmaſs next, though it is ſo expreſſed in the act, *c.* 2, being the next day but one, was too ſoon for it to be heard of even at a moderate diſtance from London. In the end of March 1337 Edward was at Windſor: on the 28th of March 1338 he was at Berwick. From theſe, and other, circumſtances it appears that there is ſome error in the date of theſe acts, which, however, are rather curious, as the mark of a grand deſign, conceived rather prematurely, than important on account of any effect they had.

† Walſingham [*p.* 135] obſerves, that nobody paid any attention to theſe laws, *which he* dates in 1335. He adds, that the parliament allowed the foreign manufacturers penſions ('vadia regis') till they ſhould be eſtabliſhed in buſineſs. Indeed the law is either defective, as we have it in the editions, or the regents (in name of the young prince when warden of the kingdom) made an addition to the ſtrength of it; for, according to them, it ordered, 'that all they (without any diſtinction of native or foreigner) who would engage in the 'manufacture of woollen cloth, might carry on 'their work in every part of the kingdom without any hinderance whatever.' [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 137.]

October 3d—In direct, and (if they are rightly dated) immediate, violation of theſe laws, the king appointed commiſſioners to conſult with ſuch of his allies and friends as they ſhould think proper, for fixing the ſtaple for the ſale of Engliſh wool in ſome proper place on the continent. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 813.]

It was perhaps in order to deliberate upon the ſame buſineſs of the ſtaple that there was this year held a *council of trade*, which, as it conſiſted of deputies from the towns, might be called a *commercial parliament*: and it was apparently more numerous than a parliament, ſeeing the bailifs of Buckingham (which ſent no members to parliament till the year 1545) were directed by the king's precept to ſend three or four of the beſt and moſt prudent men of their town; and they accordingly ſent three. [*Willis's Hiſt. of Buckingham, p.* 41.]

About November 1st—The king having taken up wool throughout all England, for which he gave the proprietors tallies at the rate of £6 per ſack, ſhipped ten thouſand ſacks * for Brabant, where they were ſold at £20 each. [*Knyghton, col.* 2570.]

December 20th—Two cardinals, ſent by the pope to negotiate a peace, arrived in England. They received fifty marks a-day for their expenſes from the clergy, being four pennies out of every mark from every church, thoſe claiming exemptions not excepted. [*Knyghton, col.* 2570.] We are thereby informed, that the revenue of the church amounted to 2,000 marks a-day, or, reckoning 365 days, to the enormous ſum of 730,000 marks a-year, being more than twelve times the amount of the national revenue in the reign of Henry III †.

The citizens of London this year obtained from the king an order for the reſtoration of their excluſive privileges, notwithſtanding the univerſal liberty of buying and ſelling allowed to people of all deſcriptions, natives or foreigners, by parliament in the year 1335.—The king about the ſame time ordered, that no young ſalmon ſhould be taken ‡. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 9 *Edw. III, mm.* 37, 38; *et a tergo.*]

1338, January 3d—The king appointed his own two gallies, commanded by John De Aurea and Nicolas Blanc §, to cruiſe upon the eaſt coaſt againſt the Scots and their allies, and alſo to convoy the veſſels employed in carrying proviſions for his own ſubjects in Scotland. [*Fœdera, V.* iv, *p.* 835.] We have ſeen the merchant veſſels ordered about two years before to ſail only in ſtrong fleets for mutual defence; and

* The anonymous hiſtorian of Edward III (publiſhed along with Hemingford by Hearne, p. 412) ſays, there were thirty thouſand ſacks, and that the veſſels were detained in the harbours the whole ſummer and autumn waiting for them, to the great damage of the whole kingdom.

† See above, p. 423. The revenue in the reign of Edward III, I believe, is not known.

‡ The order againſt catching young ſalmon was very little obſerved, as appears by the very frequent repetition of new laws on the ſame ſubject.

§ At leaſt one of theſe commanders may be preſumed to be a native of Genoa, the name being the ſame with De Auria, or Doria, of which name there was a ſucceſſion of eminent naval commanders in the ſervice of that ſtate.

this, if I miſtake not, is the earlieſt notice to be found of an appointment of Engliſh warlike veſſels to convoy and protect merchant veſſels *.

January 8th—The king of Caſtile, in anſwer to Edward's requeſt that he would prohibit trade with Flanders, inſiſted that neutral merchants ſhould have freedom to carry on their commerce with the belligerent powers without being injured by either party. King Edward, in a very ſmooth reply, declared, that he did not wiſh him to do any thing unjuſt, but only to prevent his ſubjects from aſſiſting his enemies, and that it was his deſire, that his own ſubjects ſhould do no harm to thoſe of his friends. He added, that in ſuch turbulent times it would not be very ſafe for the ſubjects of Caſtile to have any intercourſe with the Flemings; but that, if any injury ſhould be done to them, he would give ſpeedy juſtice, and even favour, to the complainers. [*Fœdera*, *V.* iv, *pp.* 839, 840.]

Edward, eager to conciliate the good will of all the neutral powers, and more eſpecially of thoſe who had the command of ſhipping, reminded the podeſta and other magiſtrates of Genoa of the antient friendſhip between his anceſtors and theirs (a cuſtomary introduction to a requeſt) and begged they would prohibit the equipment of a number of gallies, which, he underſtood, were arming in their port for the ſervice of his enemies. But the Genoeſe, having an invariable eye to their own intereſt, and little regarding the reſentment of a king ſo remote from them, preferred the friendſhip of their nearer neighbour, the king of France: and ſo far were they from burning the property of their fellow-citizens for his pleaſure, as they had done in the year 1336, that they permitted twenty gallies to be fitted out at Genoa, and twenty at Monaco, to ſerve againſt him †. [*Fœdera*, *V.* iv, *p.* 842.—*Stella, ap. Muratori Script. V.* xvii, *col.* 1071.]

Neither was King Edward more fortunate in his attempt to get gallies built for him at Nice, a ſum of money, he had tranſmitted thither for that purpoſe, having been ſeized by the king of Sicily, the lord of the adjacent country of Provence. [*Fœdera*, *V.* v, *pp.* 94, 148.] The ſovereign, who is ambitious of maritime power, muſt have his ſhips built in his own dominions, and as many as poſſible of the materials for their conſtruction and equipment alſo produced at home.

February 24th—The parliament, which met on the 3d of February, granted the king twenty thouſand ſacks of the wool already ſhorn, he giving ſecurity for the payment of it. He accordingly appointed commiſſioners to take one half of the wool, now ready, from all perſons, without exception. He ordered them to relieve the merchants, whoſe

* Convoys appear to have been uſual with the commercial ſtates of the Mediterranean before this time, one inſtance of which is noticed above, p. 504, and a much more antient one in p. 82.

† The Genoeſe ſailors and ſoldiers were the Swiſs of thoſe days. They ſerved the kings of France, England, Scotland, and Caſtile, for their money.

wool he had taken, by giving his own obligations to their creditors in exchange for thoſe of the merchants; and he fixed the prices, payable in two years, at which the beſt wool of the ſeveral ſhires ſhould be ſettled for per ſack, as follows.

Hereford	12 marks, or	£8	0	0	Cambridge, Huntington, Bedford, Buckingham, Eſſex, Hertford, Rutland, Berks, Wilts, Southampton, Derby	£5 0 0
Salop	10½ -	7	0	0		
Lincoln	10 - -	6	13	4		
Gloceſter, Worceſter, Cheſter, Flint -		6	6	8		
Leiceſter, Stafford, Oxford, Somerſet, York (except Craven) -		6	0	0	Kent, Surrey, Suſſex, Middleſex, London, Norfolk, Suffolk, Lancaſter	4 0 0
Northampton, Nottingham - -		5	13	4	Craven in York-ſhire	3 13 4
Warwick - -		5	6	8	Durham - -	3 6 8
Dorſet - -		4	13	4	All inferior wool, as they could agree.	

London, Ipſwich, Yarmouth, Lynne, Boſton, Kingſton upon Hull, Newcaſtle, Sandwich, and Southampton, were the ports appointed for ſhipping the wool for the continent. [*Rymer's Acta manuſcr. Edw. III, V.* iii, *n*ˢ. 7-9.]

At the ſame time the king ordered the ſhirrefs to arreſt all veſſels, however ſmall, that were able to ſtand the ſea, to equip them with men, arms, and proviſions, and alſo with accommodations for horſes, and to fit up ſeventy of the largeſt of them for the reception of the nobility. He alſo ordered the following ſtores to be carried to the ports of Yarmouth and Orewell, at which he propoſed to embark his army for the invaſion of France, viz.

	From York and the northern and eaſtern ſhires,	From London and the ſouthern and weſtern ſhires,		Total.
Wheat, or flour, -	3,600	- 600 -	quarters	4,200
Beans and peas -	200	- -	quarters	200
Malt - -	4,100	- 2,200 -	quarters	6,300
Salt - - -	500	- -	quarters	500
Bacons - -	1,340	- 760 -	carcaſſes	2,100
Beef, or live oxen, -	490	- 210 -	carcaſſes	700
Mutton, or live ſheep *,	4,100	- 4,000 -	carcaſſes	8,100
Herrings - -	40	- 16 -	laſts	56
Cheeſe - -	5,900	- 5,600 -	ſtones	11,500
Stock-fiſh - -		- 46,500 -	fiſh	46,500
Horſe ſhoes with nails -		- 40,000 -	ſhoes	40,000

and empty caſks for packing the corn and flour.

* 'Multones,' latinized from the French word *muton* or *mouton*, which ſome explain to mean only a *wether*, but it is alſo applied to a *ram*, [*Gaguin, Hiſt. f.* 152 b] and is moſt commonly uſed for *ſheep in general*, as it evidently was during this reign, (ſee *Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 520) and as the Engliſh word formed from it is for the fleſh of any ſheep. If the king had been aware of the danger of loſing the ſuperiority of Engliſh wool (for ſurely, out of a flock of 8,100, ſome muſt have fallen into the hands of the French or Flemings, if they deſired to have them) he would have expreſsly forbidden the exportation of rams, as indeed he did ſoon after.

Though the king promiſed to make payment for theſe ſtores in London on the firſt of Auguſt next, it is evident, either that the country could not ſpare ſo large a ſupply, or that the people were doubtful of their payment: for in ſeveral places the king's officers were reſiſted by force of arms: and the king, fearing the conſequence of a general ſpirit of diſcontent, deſired the clergy to ſoothe the people, and repreſent to them the inevitable neceſſity and the juſtice of his proceedings. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 3-14, 20, 21.] Some of the hiſtorians ſay, the people were never paid for their wool, which, if true, was little encouragement to them to part with their proviſions. And, even if they were punctually paid, the negotiation of ſecurities payable in London, which in modern times are generally better than money on the ſpot, muſt then have been very diſtreſsful to the country people in the diſtant ſhires.

April 28th—The merchants of Brabant having bought 2,200 ſacks of wool from King Edward, who was now almoſt the only ſeller of wool in England, he engaged to convoy them ſafe from Ipſwich to their own country; and he accordingly ordered his admiral to appoint a ſufficient number of warlike veſſels for that ſervice. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 32, 51.]

May 7th—Edward, now adverting to the conſequence of allowing Engliſh rams to be carried to the continent, ordered the bailifs of Boſton, and the collectors of the cuſtoms in that port, to ſearch all veſſels for live rams, and to carry them aſhore, becauſe he had heard that foreign merchants had ſhipped them there on purpoſe to improve the breed of ſheep in their own country, and hurt the trade in Engliſh wool, to the great damage of his kingdom and ſubjects *. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 36.]

May 10th—The king ordered all the tin in Cornwall and Devon-ſhire, whether in the hands of his own ſubjects or already ſold to foreign merchants, to be taken for his account and ſhipped at Southampton for the continent, for which he promiſed to pay the proprietors within two years. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp*, 39, 40.]

May 16th—In order to raiſe money by all poſſible means, he appointed commiſſioners, who granted freedom to the ſlaves, called *natives*, attached to his manors, with the rank of free men to themſelves and their poſterity for ever, for ſums of money paid by them for account of the king. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 44.] This was a happy conſequence, among many unhappy ones, of the attempt to conquer France.

June—He alſo borrowed from the abbays and other religious foundations all the money he could get from them, and alſo all their ſilver plate, which he promiſed to return to them, or the price of it, valuing it, however, for the moſt part only at its weight of metal. But this pro-

* It was not long before this firſt law againſt the exportation of Engliſh rams was infringed by Edward himſelf, as well as thoſe againſt the exportation of wool and the importation of woollen cloth.

ceeding, being probably repreſented as ſacrilege, raiſed ſuch a clamour, that he was glad to deſiſt from it. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 48-50, 59, 60.—*Knyghton, col.* 2571.]

Notwithſtanding King Edward's application to foreign princes in order to injure the trade of the Flemings, he was very deſirous of being in friendſhip with them. In conſequence of friendly letters ſent by him to the three chief cities of Flanders, his commiſſioners appointed to negotiate with the good people of thoſe towns and of the country, who, I have already obſerved, were in many reſpects independent of their earl, and who could by no means carry on their manufacture without Engliſh wool, concluded a treaty, whereby the Flemings were permitted to purchaſe the wool and other commodities of England, then lying in Holland, Zeland, and elſewhere, and had a promiſe of ample protection in all the harbours of England and the king's other dominions, and of ſafety upon the ſea to all their veſſels, except thoſe found trading with the Scots. The Flemings promiſed to take no part in the war between the king of England and Sir Philip of Valois pretending to be king of France, unleſs for the defence of their earl, if he ſhould be attacked by either party in their own country; and they engaged to protect the Engliſh merchants and their property in Flanders. It was ſtipulated, nevertheleſs, that the earl with his military tenants, might ſerve whom he pleaſed *out of Flanders.* Soon after this reconciliation King Edward gratified the citizens of Ghent with an exemption for the cloths, bearing the ſeal of their city, from being ſubject to the examination of the ulnators, aulnegers, or meaſurers, in the ports of England. *Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 38, 53, 59, 74.] Thus was the premature law againſt the importation of foreign cloth effectually repealed.

July 27th—The parliament having granted the king twenty thouſand ſacks of wool, he immediately, without paying the ſmalleſt attention to the recent law againſt the exportation of it, ordered the whole to be ſhipped, and veſſels to be preſſed for the carriage. The collection of the wool, however, went on ſo heavily, that only 3,000 ſacks were got ready before his departure for the continent; and on his arrival at Antwerp he found there only 2,500 of them, inſtead of the 20,000, on the ſale of which he depended for the payment of his army and the ſubſidies of his numerous allies. He therefor ſent home orders to ſeize all the wool in the country, ſparing no perſon, whether of the clergy or the laity, and to preſs carriages and veſſels for the ſpeedy conveyance of it to him at Antwerp. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 66, 73, 80.] The quantity of wool levied in Leiceſter-ſhire was 311 ſacks, in Lincoln-ſhire 600, and in Northampton 300. [*Knyghton, col.* 2571.]

Among other expedients for carrying on a war of unprecedented expenſe, King Edward gave orders for impriſoning all the Lombard and other foreign merchants, except thoſe of the companies of the Bardi and

Peruchi, and for ſeizing all their goods and chattels, wherever they could be found. [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 12 *Edw. III. m.* 5.] He alſo ſeized the property of the Cluniac and Ciſtercian monks throughout all England, [*Walſingham, p.* 146] and of all the religious eſtabliſhments depending upon foreign ones, called alien priories, till they bought themſelves off. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 490.—*Knyghton, col.* 2570.]

Auguſt—At the requeſt of the duke of Brabant the king granted the merchants and burgeſſes of Dieſt, Bruſſels, Tienen, Mechlin, and Lewe, freedom of buying wool and trading in England, with the privilege of being liable only for their own debts and tranſgreſſions, provided their lords ſhould not make war upon him or aſſiſt his enemies: and he granted, that their cloths ſhould be examined and marked by the ulnators, or meaſurers, within five days, at the furtheſt, after being unpacked *. He alſo confirmed the grants made by his predeceſſors to the citizens of Cologne. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 79, 80, 82.]

October 4th-24th—Southampton, the principal commercial port on the ſouth coaſt of England, was burnt and plundered by the French. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 99.—*Walſingham, p.* 512.]

October 14th-24th—There being apprehenſions of a formidable invaſion from France, orders were iſſued for ſtationing a ſufficient force in the iſland of Sheppey, for fortifying London on the bank of the river with ſtone or planks, and driving piles into the channel to obſtruct the approach of the enemy's veſſels; and all perſons, clergy or laity, without any exception, were ordered to contribute, in proportion to their eſtates in London, to the expenſe. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 85, 86.]

1339, March 6th—Henry Darcy mayor of London having repreſented to the king, that the income of fifty marks, which uſed to be paid annually by the merchants of Amiens, Nele, and Corbie, to his predeceſſors, (ſee *p.* 389) had now failed by the merchants leaving the country on account of the war, he ordered the ſhirrefs of London to pay that ſum to the mayor. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 105.]

June 12th—A ſpecies of coin of inferior quality, called black money or turneys (probably ſuch as had been lately prohibited in England) had been introduced in Ireland, the currency of which, being ſuppoſed prejudicial to that of the legal money, had been ſuppreſſed. But the quantity of good money in circulation being found inadequate to the wants of the country, the warden (or viceroy) of Ireland was now authorized to reſtore the currency of the black money, if he and his council ſhould think it expedient, till a ſufficient quantity of better money could be provided. About three months before, twenty-four pair of

* I have been very brief in relating the grants to thoſe cities, becauſe the favour reſpecting the examination of their cloths is the only article where- in they differ from the grant to the people of Dieſt in the year 1328, already inſerted.

dyes for coining pennies, halfpennies, and farthings, had been ordered from the mint in the Tower for Ireland, of which no notice is taken in the preſent order. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 104, 113.]

June—Among the moſt notable of King Edward's ſhifts for getting hold of money, for the ſupport of his wars with France and Scotland, may be reckoned his ſcheme for a marriage between his ſon, a child juſt ten years of age, and a daughter of the duke of Brabant, from whom he immediately received *fifty thouſand pounds ſterling* as the young lady's portion, he obliging himſelf to return £100,000, if the marriage ſhould not be completed. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 113, 181.] The marriage never was completed; and it merits notice in commercial hiſtory, only as a proof of the very flouriſhing ſtate of the manufactures and trade of Brabant, which enabled the prince of that country to lay down ſuch a ſum of money; a ſum, though it was exceeded by what Edward himſelf covenanted to give with his own daughter to the prince of Spain, far greater in real effective value than is given with the daughters of any of the modern kings of Europe.

November 25th—The liberty granted by the late act, for carrying on the woollen manufacture in any part of the kingdom without impediment, ſeems to have been interpreted by the magiſtrates of Briſtol as reſtricted to foreigners; or the act was ſo far diſregarded by them, that they perſecuted Thomas Blanket and ſome others of their own citizens, who had provided machinery, and hired workmen, for ſetting up a woollen manufactory in that city, with unreaſonable exactions. Such was the diſcouraging reception given to the woollen manufacture on its firſt appearance in the center of the country which has ſince become the chief ſeat of it, till government ſent orders to the mayor and bailifs of Briſtol to deſiſt from moleſting their fellow-citizens in their meritorious undertaking. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 137.]

December 23d—The king ordered five laſts of red herrings to be provided for the uſe of his houſehold at Yarmouth, which has ſo long been famed for curing herrings in that manner; and 5,000 ſtock-fiſh from Boſton, at which port, and alſo at Kingſton upon Hull, thoſe fiſh were then imported, whether caught by the Engliſh ſeamen themſelves at Iceland, or bought in that iſland or at the fair of Bergen in Norway, the great market for the fiſh of the polar regions*. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 146. —*Camdeni Britannia, p.* 578.—*Olaus Magnus, L.* 21.]

1340, February—The parliament granted the king the ninth part of the lambs, the wool, and the corn, to be produced in the two next years,

* It muſt not be underſtood, that this was the earlieſt notice of ſtock-fiſh in England. They were a cuſtomary article of ſhip's ſtores at leaſt as early as the year 1290. See above, p. 436, note *.——Together with the herrings and ſtock-fiſh the king ordered 500 'murruz' from Blakenheth. Quere, if moorfowls, and if they were then to be found in conſiderable quantities ſo near London as at Blackheath?

the ninth part of the real value of all the property (quere, if not rather income?) of the citizens and burgeſſes, and a fifteenth from all others, excxpt labourers and beggars *. [*Stat.* 14 *Edw. III, c.* 20.—*Knyghton, col.* 2576.]

April 16th—They granted him alſo a duty of 40*ſ* upon every ſack (containing 26 ſtones of 14 pounds each) of wool, 40*ſ* upon every 300 wool-fells, and 40*ſ* upon every laſt of hides, to be paid upon exportation, and to be continued till Pentecoſt in the year 1341. In conſideration of theſe ſupplies the king relinquiſhed his right to the feudal tax for knighting his oldeſt ſon and marrying his oldeſt daughter † (a favour in proſpect to thoſe who held lands of him in chief): and he engaged, that after Pentecoſt in 1341, he would demand no more than 6/8 upon the ſack of wool, 6/8 upon 300 wool-fells, and 13/4 upon the laſt of hides. The exporters of wool were to find ſecurity, that, for every ſack of wool carried out of the kingdom, they would within three months bring in ſilver bullion to the value of two marks, and carry it to the king's exchange, where they ſhould receive two marks in coined money for it. [*Stat.* 14 *Edw. III.*]

Though the parliament, and probably the generality of the people, were ſo liberal of their property for the purpoſe of enabling their king to make himſelf king of France, it appears, that there were ſome who were endowed with more penetration, and ſaw that the ſucceſs of the king would be the ruin of the kingdom. In order to counteract the effect of ſuch an opinion, the king iſſued a kind of charter ‡, wherein he declared, that, being deſirous to provide for the ſecurity and immunity of his liege people of England, he had, by the aſſent of his parliament, determined, that the people of England ſhould not be bound by any commands iſſued by him or any of his heirs as king of France, and ſhould be as free of any ſubjection to that kingdom, as they were in the days of his anceſtors. [*Stat.* 5, 14 *Edw. III.*] He might as well have promiſed the people of Cumberland and Cornwall, that they ſhould not be controlled by the laws enacted in the capital.

April 18th—King Edward was now ſo well pleaſed with his good friends, the citizens of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, that he made ſome of their magiſtrates members of his council, and ſettled penſions on them with an allowance of robes from his wardrobe. For their ſakes alſo he

* Knyghton [*col.* 2569] and Walſingham [*p.* 513] tell us, that the king exacted from the people of England, (without any diſtinction of perſons), a tribute of a *fifth* part of their goods in the year 1339. But I often find theſe hiſtorians inaccurate in numbers, when brought to the teſt of records. It may be queſtioned, whether it would have been poſſible to levy ſuch a contribution in an age when heavy taxes were as yet new and unknown.

† Though what is written is permanent, yet, without the aſſiſtance of printing, it is ſoon forgotten. A demand was made for knighting the prince of Wales in 1346, and in 1351 a new act was paſſed to re-eſtabliſh the claim for the oldeſt ſon and the oldeſt daughter as before. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 527.—*Stat.* 5, 25 *Edw. III, c.* 11.]

‡ It is printed among the acts of parliament.

granted protections to the veſſels of Caſtile, Catalonia, and Majorca, trading peaceably with Flanders, and giving ſecurity to the magiſtrates of thoſe cities, that they ſhould do no damage to him or his friends. Such was the advantage which thoſe nations reaped from being connected in trade with the principal commercial nation in the weſt part of Europe: and, on the other hand, ſo valuable was the trade of thoſe Spaniſh nations to the Flemings, that they bound themſelves to indemnify them for any damage they might ſuffer from the Engliſh; an obligation, which Edward thought it incumbent upon him to take upon himſelf. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp*, 179, 183, 203.]

June 24th—King Edward, underſtanding that the king of France had collected a fleet of 400 veſſels *, the largeſt of which belonged to Spain and Genoa, in order to intercept him on his paſſage to the continent, boldly reſolved to engage them with the fleet he had, conſiſting of 260 veſſels great and ſmall. On the 23d of June he came in ſight of the enemy lying at anchor at the Swyn on the coaſt of Flanders. Early in the morning of the next day the French fleet got up their anchors, and, forming in three diviſions, advanced about a mile to meet the Engliſh, who, having the wind of them, bore down to the attack, which they commenced with a ſhower of arrows, in the management of which they excelled all other nations, and afterwards cloſed in with them, and fought with ſtones thrown from the tops, and with pikes, poll-axes, and ſwords. The Engliſh made but little impreſſion upon the lofty ſhips of Spain, but in the French veſſels the carnage was moſt horrible, about 25,000 men by the moſt moderate accounts being either ſlain or drowned by leaping overboard †. At the concluſion of the battle, which laſted all the day and the enſuing night, 200 ſhips and 30 barges fell into the hands of the Engliſh. Next day the king landed his forces amidſt the ſhouts and applauſes of his Flemiſh allies. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 195, 197.—*Hemingford, p.* 319.—*Knyghton, col.* 2577.—*Walſingham, p.* 148.—*P. Æmyl. p.* 276.—*Stow, p.* 369.]

The ſplendour of this naval victory, the only one gained by a king of England in perſon ſince the days of Alfred, dazzled the eyes of the Engliſh, and made them chearfully exhauſt their wealth in order to make their brave king the ſovereign of a foreign country, and themſelves the ſubjects of the king of France. It encouraged Edward to proceed in his career: and it induced thoſe allies, who wiſhed to be on the ſucceſsful ſide, to ſtand by him longer than they would otherways have done. And thus were the miſeries and deſolation of war prolonged. The phantom of the kingdom, though repeatedly graſped, at laſt totally vaniſhed: but

* According to Knyghton, 19 very large ſhips and 200 other ſhips of war, beſides ſmaller veſſels and barges.—200 ſhips and many gallies. [*Walſ.*] —300 French ſhips, and 80 of Bretagne. [*P. Æmyl.*]

† There was no ſafety for them on the ſhore, which was occupied by the Flemiſh army.

the taxes, brought upon the commerce and conſumption of the country by it, remained a laſting memorial of King Edward's fatal claim upon the crown of France *.

October 11th—The operations of war being ſuſpended by a truce, King Edward, in letters addreſſed to the ſhirrefs of the maritime ſhires, obſerved that the navy of the kingdom (that is, the whole veſſels belonging to the merchants of England) was much reduced by the war †; and, as *the ſecurity of the kingdom depended upon the veſſels being kept in the hands of his own ſubjects*, he ordered them to make proclamation, that no perſon ſhould ſell, or give away, any veſſel to a foreigner upon any account: and he alſo deſired them to return to him exact accounts of all the veſſels, whether great or ſmall, in each port within their juriſdictions, with the names of their owners. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 210.] Theſe returns, if collected together, would conſtitute, apparently, the firſt *Regiſter of the ſhipping* of England ‡.

1341, February 12th—The king wrote to the magiſtrates of the principal ports of England, ordering that all ſhips of ſixty tuns or upwards, and all barges and fluves, ſhould be equipped for war. He alſo ordered them to ſend deputies, choſen from among their moſt ſubſtantial and prudent inhabitants, who ſhould aſſemble at Weſtminſter, in order to inform him of the ſtate of the ſhipping in their ports, and the progreſs of the outfit. The following is the liſt of the ports with the number of their deputies to this firſt naval parliament.

Sandwich to ſend	2	Plymouth	2	Shoreham	1
Great Yarmouth	2	Dartmouth	2	Hooke	1
Gosford	2	Weymouth	1	Poole	1
Lynne	2	Briſtol	2	Exmouth	1
Ipſwich	1	Boſton	1	Teignmouth	1
Winchelſea	2	Kingſton upon Hull	2	Fowey	1
Dover	1	Newcaſtle upon Tine	2	Ravenſere	1
Rye	1	Falmouth	1	Little Yarmouth	1
Haſtings	1	Pevenſey	1		
Southampton	2	Seaford	1	[*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 231.]	

April 12th—Six Genoeſe gallies, loaded with merchandize for Flanders, having been taken at Breſt by a fleet of Engliſh veſſels in Septem-

* Though Edward, in an evil hour, aſſumed the title of king of France, and quartered the lilies of that kingdom with his own leopards in his armorial bearings, he ſeems to have been rather ſhy, or diffident, in uſing his new ſtile, the moſt of his writs about this time being begun with '*Rex omnibus*' &c. without ſaying what country or countries he claimed the ſovereignty of.

† It is not to be ſuppoſed, that many merchants would build veſſels to replace thoſe which were loſt, as they were ſure to have very little uſe of them during the war.

‡ The account of veſſels furniſhed by the ſeveral ports of England for the ſiege of Calais (to be found under the year 1346) is nearly equivalent to ſuch a regiſter, as all the veſſels of the kingdom (or nearly all) were aſſembled on that ſervice. We there find the number of merchant veſſels to be 685, but for their tunnage we have no other ſtandard than the number of men they carried.

ber 1340, King Edward offered to pay the owners £10,000 ſterling, if the duke and community of Genoa would abſtain from giving aſſiſtance to his adverſary of France. But this offer the Genoeſe appear to have declined. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 244, 571.]

Auguſt 8th—The king, finding that wool was ſmuggled out of the kingdom without paying the duty, appointed the ſtaple for wool and other ſtaple goods to be at Bruges in Flanders, under the direction of a mayor and conſtables to be elected by the merchants of the kingdom; and he confirmed all their former liberties and reaſonable cuſtoms. All perſons, natives or foreigners, were permitted to carry wool and other merchandize to Bruges, on giving ſecurity to the collectors of the cuſtoms that they would carry them to no other place. The mayor and conſtables of the ſtaple were directed, and empowered, to ſeize all goods not fairly cleared out for exportation, and to puniſh all offences in the ſtaple, not according to the common law of the kingdom, but according to the mercantile law: and, for defraying the neceſſary charges, they were authorized to levy a duty on the merchandize imported at Bruges in proportion to the quantity belonging to each perſon. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 273, 275.]

1342, January 22d, May 28th—The king wrote other letters to the duke of Genoa, earneſtly labouring to win him to his alliance, and promiſing that the Genoeſe merchants ſhould be treated in all his dominions as well as his own ſubjects. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 296, 316.]

February 14th—He alſo endeavoured to draw the king of Majorca into an alliance with him by a propoſal for a marriage, and an offer of commercial favours to his ſubjects. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 286, 298.] The commercial propoſal had probably as little effect as the matrimonial one.

1343, Spring—Another law againſt carrying money out of the country was now enacted. [*Acts 17 Edw. III.*] The frequent renovations of ſuch laws were not, it ſeems, ſufficient to convince the legiſlature of their inefficacy.

The chronological order of this work requires me immediately to lay before the reader the following ſtriking contraſt to this act of the Engliſh parliament.

May 1ſt—Pedro IV, king of Aragon, conſidering the great hardſhip impoſed upon the commerce of his ſubjects by an order, contained in the conſtitutions of Catalonia, againſt carrying ſilver out of the country, now granted permiſſion to the citizens of Barcelona to export ſilver, whether in bullion or in coin, except the money of Barcelona, from any part of his dominions to any foreign country whatſoever. [*Capmany, Mem. hiſt. de Barcelona, V.* ii, *Col. dipl. p.* 117.]

May 20th—The parliament ordained, that no perſon for the three en-

ſuing years, under penalty of forfeiture of the wool ſo bought by him, ſhould buy wool at any lower prices than the following, viz.

Lincoln-ſhire, beſt wool	£9	6	8	Wilt-ſhire, - -	£5	13	4
Holland and marſh lands	7	6	8	Somerſet -	7	6	8
York-ſhire, beſt -	7	6	8	Southampton, beſt	6	0	0
Craven - -	6	13	4	Wight and New foreſt	5	0	0
Kent, Suſſex, Middleſex	6	0	0	Dorſet - -	5	6	8
Marſh wool in theſe three	5	0	0	Hereford £6 : 13 : 4 to	8	0	0
Surry - - -	4	0	0	Worceſter 5 : 6 : 8 to	7	0	0
Salop - - -	9	6	8	Hertford - -	6	13	4
Oxford (Chiltern £6 : 13 : 4)	8	13	4	Eſſex (Marſh wool £5)	6	13	4
Berks - -	6	0	0	Glouceſter £7 : 6 : 8 to	8	0	0
Nottingham -	7	0	0	Norfolk, Suffolk	5	0	0
Northampton -	7	6	8	Cumberland, Weſtmere-			
Stafford - £8 to	8	13	4	land -	6	13	4
Derby - -	6	6	8	Northumberland, Lancaſ-			
Leiceſter -	8	0	0	ter - -	5	6	8
Warwick, the beſt	7	0	0	Devon - -	3	0	0
Cambridge, Huntington	6	0	0	Cornwall - -	2	13	4
Buckingham, Bedford	7	6	8	Rutland - -	6	13	4

The ſellers were at liberty to take prices as much above the limited ones as they could obtain *. [*Fœdera, V.* v. *p.* 369.]

1344, January 8th—King Edward, agreeable to his conſtant policy of conciliating the neutral powers, ordered the ſhirrefs of London to make proclamation, that the Portugueſe ſhould be treated in all reſpects as friends and favoured allies. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 402.]

January 22d—Hitherto there had been very little gold money coined by the kings of England †; ſo little, indeed, that it has been generally believed that there was none: but now the king and parliament ordered money of three ſizes to be coined of gold. The largeſt pieces, ſtamped with two leopards, and equal to two ſmall florins of Florence of full weight, were ordered to paſs for ſix ſhillings. The halves had one leopard, and the quarters, a helmet. Soon after (July 9th) the king and his council ordered another coinage of gold, conſiſting of pieces called nobles, valued at ſix ſhillings and eight pennies, and halves and quarters of nobles. The exportation of money was *again* prohibited, with the

* This table of prices regulated by act of parliament, together with the prices preſcribed by the king in the year 1338, gives us a ſtatiſtical account of the comparative quality of the wools in all the ſhires of England, except Cheſhire, Durham, and Monmouth, the two former being palatine counties, and the latter not then an Engliſh ſhire. It alſo ſhows us, that thoſe parts of the country, which produce the beſt wool, are not the chief ſeats of the woollen manufactures.

† In the year 1338 King Edward ordered that the ſilver, which was expected to be found in Devon-ſhire, ſhould be carried to the mint, and the gold, to the exchequer. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 71.] Had there been any coinage of gold, he would moſt probably have ordered both to the mint.

exception of this new gold money. The currency of all coins of gold or ſilver, except the king's, was prohibited. And no perſon, receiving a payment of twenty ſhillings or more, was to refuſe gold money *. The king, in his orders to the ſhirrefs of London for proclaiming this laſt coinage, obſerved that hitherto people had been impoſed on, becauſe there was no fixed rate of exchange, and informed them, that he had ordered an exchange to be opened at Servate's tower † in London, where the public might receive 6/7 in ſilver in exchange for a noble of gold, or a noble of gold in exchange for 6/8½ of ſilver, and in the ſame proportion for the halves and quarters, thus taking to himſelf a profit of 1¼ per cent on iſſuing ſilver, and ⅝ per cent on iſſuing gold ‡. The firſt gold money having been rated ſo much above its value that it was impoſſible to get the people to receive it, the king proclaimed (Auguſt 20th) that no perſon ſhould be obliged to take it but at its value as bullion. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 403, 416, 424.]

February 6th—The king, again deſiring to be informed of the ſtate of the navy, or ſhipping, of England, ſent precepts to the magiſtrates of all the ports, ordering them to return a number of repreſentatives, proportioned to their trade or population, well acquainted with maritime affairs, to a council of ſhipping, or naval parliament, to be held at London in the enſuing lent, as follows, viz.

Yarmouth to ſend	4	Dover	2	Exeter	2
Newcaſtle upon Tine	2	Winchelſea	2	Dartmouth	2
Scarburgh	1	Rye	1	Plymouth	2
Kingſton upon Hull	2	Haſtings	1	Exmouth	1
Ravenſrod	1	Gosford	1	Falmouth	1
Grimſby	1	Waynfleet	1	Sidmouth	1
Boſton	2	Lyme	1	Barnſtaple	1
Lynne	2	Seaford	1	Weymouth	1
Dunwich	1	Chicheſter	2	Briſtol	2
Ipſwich	2	Portſmouth	1	Poole	1
Colcheſter	1	Southampton	2	London	4
Harwich	1	S^{t}. Helen's in Wight	1	Blakeney	1
Orford	1	Melcomb	1	Ravenſere	1
Maldon	1	Pevenſey	1	Shoreham	1
Sandwich	2	Romney	1	[*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 405.]	

* The permiſſion to refuſe it in ſmaller quantities ſhows, that it was diſliked by the people, and for a very good reaſon, as it was rated conſiderably above its value according to the proportion then eſtabliſhed between gold and ſilver. About a year and a half after this time we find it ſtill refuſed in the north parts of England. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 480.]

† Apparently the ſame which Stow calls Sernes tower and Cornet's tower in Bucklerſbury. [*Survey of London, pp.* 118, 477.]

‡ Before this time the exchanges iſſued good ſilver money in exchange for ſuch as was deficient in weight or purity, and accommodated travelers with Engliſh or foreign money, when arriving in, or departing from, the kingdom: and from theſe exchanges a part of the royal revenue was derived. In the third year of King Richard I the profit of the exchange ('cambii') of all England, except Wincheſter, amounted to £400. In the beginning of the reign of John, Hugh Oiſel, a foreign mer-

We may here obſerve Yarmouth on a footing with London in naval pre-eminence, ſurely the effect of a vigorous and proſperous fiſhery; and that Ravenſrod, formerly more opulent than Hull, and Dunwich which appears to have antiently had more trade than any of the neighbouring ports, were now outſtripped by others in the progreſs of naval and commercial proſperity *.

The late law for fixing the prices of wool was repealed, the buyers, whether natives or foreigners, being allowed to make ſuch bargains as they and the ſellers could agree: and ſo ſenſible were the legiſlators of the impropriety of the reſtrictive ordinance, that they decreed, that no perſon ſhould be troubled for having infringed it. The ſea was alſo declared free for the paſſage of all merchants of every deſcription with their merchandize. [*Stat.* 18 *Edw. III. c.* 3.]

October 12th—The foreign cloth-weavers, who had ſettled in London upon the faith of the king's protection, were maltreated and threatened by a mob of people, who were ſo fooliſh as to think, that what was earned by thoſe induſtrious and valuable ſtrangers was taken from themſelves. The king therefor ordered the mayor and ſhirrefs of London to proclaim that no one ſhould do any injury to the foreigners, and to impriſon all who ſhould act contrary to the proclamation. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 430.] If the mob had proceeded now as far in their outrages againſt the foreign weavers as they often did againſt the Jews in former times, England might have continued ſome centuries longer dependent upon the Netherlands for the ſale of wool and the purchaſe of fine cloth.

The Ciſtercian monks had the privilege of being exempted from all public burthens; and, in the uſe, or abuſe, of that exemption, thoſe of them, who were ſettled in Lincoln-ſhire, had become merchants. Having thus all the advantages that ſmugglers ſeek to have without any of their riſk, and alſo the benefit of correſpondence with the houſes of their order throughout the Chriſtian world, no other perſons could enter into competition with them: and they were therefor prohibited from being merchants. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 18 *Edw. III, m*, 37.—*Bromton, col.* 1256.]

Though the people of France had contributed very liberally for ſupporting their ſovereign againſt King Edward's invaſion, yet the preſſure

chant, farmed the exchange of all England for 850 marks a-year. But in the 13th of Henry III the farm was lowered to 700 marks. [*Madox's Hiſt. c.* 23, § 1, *notes m, n, r.*]

The charge for exchange was afterwards augmented, as appears by a petition of the commons in the year 1363, that no more than one penny might be taken for the change of a noble. The petition was refuſed. [*Cotton's Abridgement of records, p.* 97.]

* Such councils were ſometimes called afterwards. One in particular in the year 1347 was compoſed of members from only 32 places, if all the orders be preſerved, Newcaſtle, Scarburgh, Pevenſey, Exeter, Dartmouth, Plymouth, Exmouth, Falmouth, Sidmouth, Barnſtaple, Weymouth, (and Ravenſere, if different from Ravenſrod, for one of theſe names ſeems redundant) being omitted. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 548.] But it ſeems more probable that the orders are loſt.

of Philip's expenſes now obliged him to impoſe a tax upon ſalt *, which rendered him very unpopular among his ſubjects, who thought it a horrid oppreſſion to make them pay for water and the heat of the ſun. [*Mezeray, Hiſt. de France, V.* ii, *p.* 544.—*Meyeri, Ann. Flandr. f.* 301. a.] The tax was probably at firſt very light, according to our modern ideas of taxation. But taxes are like ſnow-balls, which increaſe as they roll along: and the progreſſive augmentations of the ſalt taxes, the inequality of them in different diſtricts, and the extreme rigour in collecting them, became the ſources of much evaſion, much tyranny, and much miſery, in France.

It is ſaid that an Engliſhman, named Macham (or Machin), ſailing for Spain with a lady, whom he had ſtolen away, was driven by contrary winds upon the iſland afterwards called Madeira. There he landed with the lady and ſome of the ſhip's company; and they were deſerted by the ſhip. The lady died; and Macham and his companions made a canoe, in which they paſſed over to the coaſt of Africa, and thence they were ſent to the king of Caſtile. [*Galvano's Diſcoveries*, in *Purchas's Pilgrimes*, *B.* x, *p.* 1672.] Such is the account of the firſt diſcovery made of unknown land after the uſe of the compaſs became general †.

This ſame year the pope, after preaching a ſermon, wherein he proved, probably to the ſatisfaction of his audience, that he had a right to diſpoſe of kingdoms, created Louis of Spain, an ambaſſador from the king of France, *prince of the Fortunate iſlands* ‡. [*Hemingford, p.* 376, *ed. Hearne.*]

1346, March 24th—King Edward, thinking it would be advantageous to merchants and to the public in general, both in England and Flanders, if the ſame money were to have free currency in both countries, empowered two agents to ſettle with the magiſtrates of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, and other towns, reſpecting a coinage of gold nobles, with their halves and quarters, like thoſe lately coined in England, to be executed in his name in that country. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 506.]

* King Edward, whoſe pretenſions upon the crown of France made him deny the exiſtence of the Salic law, whereby he, as claiming in right of his mother, was excluded from the ſucceſſion, when he heard of the new tax, ſaid, with a ſneering pun, that Philip of Valois was the real author of the *Salic law*. Such ſalic (ſalt) laws have ſince been very ſufficiently felt in this country, though not quite ſo ſeverely as in France.

† According to other accounts, Macham alſo died in the iſland. The Portugueſe ſay, that, when they took poſſeſſion of Madeira, the monument erected by him, containing his own and the lady's names, was ſtanding, and that the bay, where he landed, is called Machico after his name. His ſtory, true or fabricated, is the ſubject of a picture in the hall of the government houſe in Madeira, as we are told by Sir George Staunton. [*Account of an embaſſy to China, V.* i, *p.* 74, *ed.* 1798.]

‡ It would have been a laudable deed, ſays Hemingford, if he had put him in poſſeſſion. He adds, that there are nine or ten of thoſe iſlands; that the natives, who are neither Chriſtians nor Saracens, live like beaſts, and go naked; they cut their bread with ſtones, which are alſo their weapons in fighting, they having no iron, and no knives, nor any other kind of arms; corn grows there without being ſowed, and trees grow to the height of 115 feet.—Purchas [*B.* x, *p.* 1671] ſays, from *Galvano's Diſcoveries*, that Louis de la Cerda (for that was his name) aſked the king of Aragon to aſſiſt him to take poſſeſſion of his new dominions: but we hear nothing further of it at this time.

July 24th—The king's high-way between the hoſpital of St. Giles and the bar of the old temple* at London, and alſo the adjacent road called Pourtepol†, being very much broken up and dangerous, tolls‡, perhaps the earlieſt known by any remaining records, were impoſed by royal authority upon all cattle, merchandize, or other goods, paſſing upon thoſe roads, and alſo the Charing road§, for two years, at rates upon the ſeveral articles, amounting to about one penny in the pound on their value, to be paid by all perſons, except lords, ladies, and perſons belonging to religious eſtabliſhments or to the church. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 520.]

September 6th—King Edward having defeated his adverſary Philip at Creſſy (Auguſt 26th) with a prodigious ſlaughter, and beſieged Calais by land and by ſea, ſent precepts to the Cinque ports and the ports on the eaſt ſide of England, deſiring the merchants to carry over flour, bread, corn, wine, ale, fleſh, fiſh, bows, bow-ſtrings, arrows, and other ſtores, for which they ſhould be paid in ready money; and he aſſured them, that nothing ſhould be taken from them without a reaſonable and ſatisfactory price. This order was frequently repeated. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 525, 575.]

As the commercial progreſs of the maritime towns is beſt illuſtrated by comparing ſtatements of their ſhipping at different times, I here lay before the reader the following

Account of the veſſels furniſhed by the ports of England for the fleet employed by King Edward III in the ſiege of Calais.

The king's 25 ſhips carried 419 mariners.

The South fleet.	*Veſſels.*	*Mariners.*	*The North fleet.*	*Veſſels.*	*Mariners.*
London ſent	25	662	Bamburgh	1	9
Aylesford	2	24	Newcaſtle	17	414
Hoo	2	24	Walrich	1	12
Hope	2	24	Hertlepool	5	145
New Hythe	5	19	Hull	16	466
Margate	15	160	York	1	9
Morne	2	23	Ravenſer	1	28
Faverſham	2	23	Woodhouſe	1	12
Sandwich	22	504	Strockhithe	1	10
Dover	16	336	Barton	3	30
Wight (iſland)	13	220	Swinfleet	1	11
Winchelſea	21	596	Saltfleet	2	49
Weymouth	20	264	Grimſby	11	171

* The old temple was in Holburn without the bars. [*Stow's Survey, pp.* 752, 824.]

† Now Gray's-inn lane. [*Stow, p.* 823.] A ſmall lane leading into Gray's-inn lane has now got the name of Portpool lane.

‡ 'Conſuetudines,' cuſtoms. Duties for paving towns were very common: but I am uncertain, whether they were levied upon the inhabitants, or upon thoſe who uſed the roads, as this order, and reaſon, direct. The exemption of thoſe who were beſt able to pay was not, however, very judicious.

§ Suppoſed to be now St. Martin's lane.

The South fleet.

	Veſſels.	Mariners.
Lyme	4	62
Seton	2	25
Sidmouth	3	62
Exmouth	10	193
Teignmouth	7	120
Dartmouth	31	757
Portſmouth	5	96
Plymouth	26	603
Looe	20	325
Yalie	2	48
Fowey	47	770
Briſtol	24	608
Tinmouth	2	25
Haſtings	5	96
Romney	4	75
Rye	9	156
Hythe	6	112
Shoreham	20	329
Seaford	5	80
Newmouth	2	18
Hamilhoke	7	117
Hooke	11	208
Southampton	21	572
Lymington	9	159
Poole	4	94
Wareham	3	59
Swanzey	1	29
Ilfracombe	6	79
Padſtow	2	17
Pollrewan	1	60
Wadworth	1	14
Hendeſs	1	51
Bridgewater	1	15
Carmarthen	1	16
Calchworth	1	12
Molbrooke	1	12

The North fleet.

	Veſſels.	Mariners.
Waynfleet	2	43
Wrangle	1	8
Lynne	16	482
Blackney	2	38
Scarburgh	1	19
Yarmouth	43	1095
Dunwich	6	102
Orford	3	62
Gosford	13	403
Harwich	14	283
Ipſwich	12	239
Merten	1	6
Broughlyngſey	5	61
Colcheſter	5	90
Whitbanes	1	17
Derwen	1	15
Boſton	17	361
Swinhumber	1	32
Maldon	2	32
Barton	5	61
Ireland	1	25
Foreigners.		
Bayonne	15	439
Spain	7	184
Flanders	14	133
Gelderland	1	24
Summary.		
King's ſhips	25	419
South fleet	468	9,211
North fleet	217	4,521
Total, England (*or 700)	710*	14,151
Ireland	1	25
Foreigners	37	780
Total † (*or 738)	748*	14,956

[*MS. Bib. Cott. Tit. F.* iii, *f.* 262.]

† The totals do not agree with the particular numbers. But, as it is impoſſible to diſcover where the error lies, I am obliged to take them as I find them in the manuſcript, which is much more accurate than the liſt publiſhed by Hakluyt. The names of the towns are given in modern ſpelling, except a few which are unknown; and the deſultory arrangement renders it impoſſible to trace them. We may obſerve, that thoſe parts of the coaſt, where the fiſhing flouriſhed, had the greateſt number of veſſels. Though we find two veſſels carrying 51 and 60 men, yet Gosford is the only town whoſe veſſels average ſo many as 31 men, the average of the whole fleet being under 20 men for each veſſel

During the ſiege of Calais the king of France attempted to detach the Flemings from the intereſt of King Edward. He offered to ſupply them for ſix years with corn at 4*ſ* per quarter inſtead of 12*ſ*, which they then paid; to ſend them the wool of France at a low price, and to oblige his ſubjects to uſe no other cloth, while their cloths, made of French wool were to be got (thus offering to ſacrifice the woollen manufacture, which, we have ſeen, his own ſubjects certainly had). He offered to reſtore to them the towns of Liſle, Doway*, and Bethune, with their diſtricts, to defend them againſt their enemies, to ſubſidize them largely, and to promote their young men. But all his offers were not ſufficient to prevail with the Flemings. [*R. de Aveſbury, p.* 153.]

1347—In the year 1347, and apparently in the early part of it, the king's ſon Lionel, as warden of the kingdom, in a council *without the commons*, impoſed a duty of 2*ſ* upon every ſack of wool exported, 2*ſ* upon every tun of wine, and 6*d* upon every 20*ſ* in value of other goods (' des avoirs'), to continue till next Michaelmaſs, for the protection of the kingdom and the convoy of ſhips. [*Cotton's Abridgement of records, p.* 52.]

April 10th—For a conſiderable time paſt we have had little notice of any commercial intercourſe between England and Venice. In conſequence of an application by the conſul† of the Venetian merchants at Bruges and an Engliſh merchant, the king now took all the merchants of Venice, trading to England, Ireland, and his other dominions, under his protection during one year. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 558.]

April 13th—The king ſent agents to Genoa to hire twelve gallies, completely armed and manned, for his ſervice. In July a very prolix treaty was ſigned at Genoa, wherein King Edward offered, and the duke and community of Genoa (for the parties intereſted) accepted, £10,000 ſterling in full compenſation for the ſix gallies taken in the year 1340, and 8,000 marks for the cog taken in the year 1321‡; which ſums were to be allowed in the cuſtoms of goods imported or exported in the ports of England, by the perſons aggrieved and their heirs, for their own accounts only, till every one of them ſhould thus retain as much as his ſhare of the compenſation ſhould be ſettled at§. Moreover, what was the king's great object, each of the contracting powers engaged not to aſſiſt the enemies of the other. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 560, 569.]

Auguſt 12th—King Edward, having made himſelf maſter of Calais after a ſiege of eleven months, deſired the ſhirrefs of the maritime

* So I have ventured to call the town written *Rowacum* in one MS. and *Bowacum* in another, apparently for *Dowacum*.

† If I miſtake not, this is the earlieſt notice of the office of a *conſul of merchants* in any Engliſh record. But long before this time the commercial ſtates in the Mediterranean had conſuls in every conſiderable port to which they traded. Capmany, in his valuable *Memorias hiſtoricas de Barcelona*, gives a liſt of conſuls commiſſioned by that city ſince the year 1270.

‡ This ſeems the ſame ſhip for which King Edward offered to pay 8,000 marks in the year 1336.

§ Another inſtance of payment in this manner occurs in *Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 789.

ſhires, and the magiſtrates of the chief ports of England, to make proclamation, that merchants and others, willing to ſettle in Calais with their ſtores and merchandize, ſhould have houſes at moderate rents *. [*Fœdera, V.* v. *p.* 575.]

November 6th—The parliament of Scotland (if we may depend on the authenticity of the laws publiſhed by Skene) confirmed to the inhabitants of the burghs, and to foreign merchants, the rights and privileges formerly enjoyed by them in good and peaceable times. They ordered that the gold and ſilver coins of England ſhould be received at the full nominal value at which they paſſed in England †. And, agreeable to the abſurd policy then generally adopted in Europe, they attempted to prevent the exportation of money by charging it with the monſtrous and impracticable duty of $33\frac{1}{3}$ per cent, [*Stat. Dav. II, cc.* 32, 33, 35, 37] which, if it operated at all, could only have the effect of raiſing the prices of foreign merchandize upon the Scottiſh conſumer.

1348, January 15th—The merchants and others complained to the parliament of England, that all the tin of Cornwall was bought and exported by Tidman of Limburgh, and no Engliſhman could get any of it: therefor they prayed that it might be freely ſold to all merchants. But they received for anſwer, that it was a profit belonging to the prince, and every lord might make his profit of his own. Another petition was alſo preſented, praying for a repeal of the new cuſtoms upon woollen manufactures exported, viz. 14*d* upon every cloth, 1*d* upon every worſted cloth, and 10*d* upon every lit (probably litted, or dyed) cloth, exported by Engliſh merchants, which were half as much more upon thoſe exported by foreigners. But the parliament thought it reaſonable, that thoſe goods ſhould pay in proportion to what the quantity of wool worked up in them would pay, if exported in a raw ſtate, and refuſed to repeal the duties. The exportation of home-made woollen cloths thus appears to have become already an object of ſome importance. The commons in parliament alſo repreſented, that the duty impoſed in the preceding year, without their conſent, for the protection of ſhips, which was to be paid only till Michaelmaſs, was ſtill continued, and they petitioned that it ſhould ceaſe. The duty upon wool was, however, ſtill continued. The convoy duty was afterwards fixed by the king, peers, and prelates, *with conſent of the merchants*, at one ſhilling per ſack; and the money was ordered to be paid into the hands of ſome merchants, who thereupon undertook to maintain a ſufficient force upon the ſea, and to convoy the merchants ſafe to the ſtaple. In a ſecond ſeſſion, held in Lent, grievous complaints were made, that, though the convoy duty

* He had no ſmall number of houſes to let; for, of the former inhabitants, only one prieſt and two lawyers were permitted to remain. Thirty-ſix merchants from London were the moſt opulent members of the new colony. [*Meyeri Ann. Flandriæ, f.* 151 a.]

† At this time £1 : 2 : 6 of Engliſh money, was only equal to £1 : 1 : 0 of Scottiſh. See the tables of money in the appendix.

was exacted, the trade was not protected, many merchants having loſt their lives and properties by the enemy upon the ſea. The commons therefor requeſted, that thoſe who had undertaken the protection of the trade might be obliged to make ſatisfaction to the ſufferers. About four years afterwards they petitioned for a total abolition of this new duty; but they were refuſed. And it came in time to be firmly eſtabliſhed under the well-known denomination of tunnage and poundage *. [*Cotton's Abridgement of records, pp.* 56, 57, 63, 75.]

February 14th—The Flemings, having again got the ſtaple among themſelves, took upon them to hinder the Lombards and others from purchaſing the wool carried thither by the merchants of England. Their conduct being complained of, the king wrote to the magiſtrates of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, requiring them to reſpect the liberties of the ſtaple, and to permit the Lombards and others to buy wool from the Engliſh merchants, and to carry it by land or water whitherſoever they pleaſed. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 611.]

April 5th—King Edward, in order to promote the proſperity of his new colony at Calais, ordained that it ſhould be a ſtaple for tin, lead, feathers, Engliſh-made woollen cloths, and worſted ſtuffs, for ſeven years: and he ordered, that the exporters of thoſe articles ſhould make oath before the collectors of the cuſtoms, that they would carry them to no other place. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 618.]

September—So earneſt was King Edward to obtain an alliance with Alfonſo king of Caſtile, the moſt powerful of the ſovereigns of Spain, that he kept up a correſpondence of ſeveral years with him, and alſo with his counſelors, the maſter of his genet horſes, and Leonora de Guſman his concubine, for the purpoſe of contracting a marriage between Alfonſo's oldeſt ſon † and his own daughter Joanna, which was at laſt agreed upon in June 1345, and the portion fixed at the enormous ſum of *four hundred thouſand gold florins of the ſhield* ‡, Edward profeſſing, however, that he expected ſome abatement of the ſum, and a long indulgence of time for completing the payment. But this conjugal alliance, the labour of ſix years, never took place. The young princeſs was ſent to Bourdeaux upon her way to the court of Caſtile; and there ſhe fell ſick, and death delivered her from being one of the wives of

* This later ſentence I conceive to be inſerted by Sir Robert Cotton, or his editor, Prynne.

† Born in Auguſt 1334. His name appears to have been unknown in England till Auguſt 1345, when it is firſt mentioned in *Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 476. Neither do Edward or his ſecretaries ſeem to have known that the princeſs and her intended huſband were ſo nearly related, that a diſpenſation would be neceſſary to legitimate their marriage. What is ſtill more ſupriſing, Edward wrote a letter in July 1355 to Alfonſo, who had been dead above five years. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 821.]

‡ The ſum was equal to £80,000 ſterling, each florin being worth four ſhillings. (See *Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 485.) But the kings of England and France were bidding auction for the marriage of Alfonſo's heir.

Peter the Cruel*. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 334, 383, 410, 414, 422, 423, 425, 426, 428, 434, 461, 476, 638.]

In the courſe of this negotiation many civilities paſſed between the two courts; and Alfonſo, underſtanding that Edward had given orders to purchaſe a Spaniſh genet horſe for him, prevented the purchaſe, and ſent him a pair as a preſent.

It was probably alſo during this negotiation (for, though the fact is unqueſtionable, the year is not known) and perhaps in compenſation for the ſhips ſent to the ſiege of Calais, or in part of payment of the marriage portion, that Alfonſo received a flock of ſheep from England, of the number of which we can only judge from more than one veſſel of the large kind, called carracks, being employed to carry them over. Of their importance in the eye of their new maſter we may judge by his appointment of a man of rank to be judge over the ſhepherds employed in the care of the *royal flocks*. And thus, by a great and ſignal breach of the law, or order, againſt their exportation, was the breed of Engliſh ſheep naturalized in Spain, which has ſince become the market for the fineſt wool in Europe †.

The manufacturers of worſted ſtuffs in Norfolk were put under the inſpection of an ulnator, or meaſurer, ſoon after they obtained the king's

* He had three wives living at once. See *Dillon's Hiſt. of Peter the Cruel, V.* ii, *p.* 124.

† That Spain received ſheep from England in the fifteenth century, has been aſſerted by Holinſhed, [*Chronicle, p.* 221, *ed.* 1586] (who, however, knew nothing of this cargo) and by others, apparently following him; but it has been more generally diſbelieved. It is indeed certain, that the Spaniards had a very excellent breed of ſheep in the time of Strabo, and probably long before and after his time. (See above, p. 128.) It is alſo certain, that ſome Spaniſh wool was imported into England in the reign of Henry II, but it is not eaſy to gueſs for what purpoſe, as the quality of it was evidently inferior to that of Engliſh wool; and England was ſo far from needing to import wool, that that article then, and during many ſucceeding ages, compoſed the chief part of the exports of the country. (See above, pp. 345, 347, &c. &c.) But that the Spaniards were deſirous of obtaining ſheep of the Engliſh breed, and actually did obtain a conſiderable number of them, is now certain, beyond a poſſibility of doubt, from a moſt curious Spaniſh letter, of which the following is an extract.

'Pedro Laſo ſaid, in the king's preſence, that 'Gomez Carillo was ſon to one of the king's 'gentlemen or pages, and grandſon to King Don 'Enrique's chief cup-bearer, who was ſon of 'Lope Carillo, gentleman and chief huntſman to 'Don Juan the Firſt, and that he was not ſon of '*a judge over ſhepherds*. This was ſaid as a ſneer, 'for Juan Sanchez de Tovar is deſcended from 'Fernan Sanchez de Tovar *judge of the royal flocks 'of ſheep and folds*. Fernan Sanchez de Berlanga 'anſwered, in the king's preſence, that he under-'ſtood the ſarcaſm, but that it was ill aimed, and 'might be retorted upon himſelf; for that Fer-'nan Sanchez, whom he reproached as a judge 'over ſhepherds, was his equal; and that the of-'fice of judge and alcayde of the royal flocks 'was always held by gentlemen of rank. That '*King Alfonſo, when he firſt brought ſheep from 'England in great ſhips*, ('in naves carracas') ap-'pointed Inigo Lopez de Orozco to be the firſt 'perſon to exerciſe that office, from whom Pedro 'Laſo himſelf was deſcended on the part of his 'mother, and now, being informed that himſelf 'was deſcended from a judge over ſhepherds, he 'might mock at his pleaſure. Written from Me-'dina del Campo, A. D. 1437.' [*Epiſtol. de Cibdareal, p.* 126, a book ſeemingly almoſt entirely unknown in this country.] For this moſt important extract, we are indebted to the elaborate and benevolent reſearch of Sir Frederic Eden. See his *State of the Poor, V.* i, *p.* 88.

Alfonſo XI became king of Caſtile in the year 1312, when he was only thirteen months old, and he died on the 29th of March 1350. As Edward II was dead long before he came of age, we need not heſitate to aſcribe the exportation of the ſheep to Edward III; and one or other of the occaſions mentioned in the text may be aſſumed for fixing the date with a tolerable approach to certainty.

patent, as already related: but, on their petition to the king, that office was this year aboliſhed. [*Rot. pat. prim. 3 Edw. III, m.* 1; and *prim.* 22, *m.* 4.—*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 71.]

The contracted ſpirit of corporation monopoly ſo far prevailed againſt the acts of parliament of the years 1335 and 1337 and the king's reſolution to cheriſh the woollen manufacture, that the weavers of Lincoln this year obtained from him a grant of, what they called, their *liberties*, which conſiſted in a power of depriving any weaver, not of their gild, of the liberty of working at his trade within twelve leagues of their city; a pretty ample ſcope for the exerciſe of petty tyranny. [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 22 *Edw. III, m.* 22.] But this and other ſuch monopolies were again aboliſhed by the act, called the ſtatute of cloths, in the year 1351.

This year there were great commotions in Flanders among the weavers. Six hundred of them were ſlain in a ſkirmiſh; and thoſe who remained at home were dragged out of their houſes and murdered. [*Meyeri Ann. Flandr. f.* 154 a.] Such tragical exceſſes muſt undoubtedly have been very prejudicial to the manufactures of Flanders, and contributed to ſpread them through the adjacent countries. Though we do not meet with any formal letters of ſafe conduct at this time, there can ſcarcely be any doubt that ſome of the Flemiſh weavers now availed themſelves of the general encouragement held out to them in England, and ſheltered themſelves there from the fury of their enemies.

1349, May 19th—The drapers of Barcelona, probably as being among the moſt ſubſtantial of the citizens, carried on the buſineſs of banking or changing money in that city, as the goldſmiths in an after age did in London. But, by an order of the king of Aragon, they were now obliged to give ſufficient ſecurity, before they could enter upon thoſe branches of buſineſs. [*Capmany, Mem. hiſt. de Barcelona, V.* ii, *Col. dipl. p.* 125.]

1350—The long-projected marriage with Peter, now king of Caſtile, being fruſtrated by the death of the Engliſh princeſs, and the young monarch being connected with the court of France by a contract of marriage, the maritime towns of Caſtile and Biſcay fitted out a number of large warlike veſſels, which took a vaſt number of Engliſh traders with cargoes of wine and wool. Emboldened by the ſucceſs of their depredations, they collected a large fleet, and arrogantly aſſuming the title of *lords of the Engliſh ſea*, threatened to deſtroy the navy of England and to invade the kingdom. It became neceſſary to appoint convoys to protect the Engliſh trade; and the king, with the advice of the prelates, nobles, and *community of merchants of the maritime towns* of England, ordained, that a duty of forty pennies ſterling ſhould be laid upon every tun of wine ſhipped in Gaſcoigne onboard any veſſel belonging to England, Wales, or Ireland, for whatever country bound, or onboard any foreign veſſel bound for England, Wales, or Ireland, as a fund for de-

fraying the expenſe (October 20th). King Edward, moreover, thinking ſuch an enemy ſufficiently important to be oppoſed by himſelf, collected a fleet, with which he engaged the Spaniards near Winchelſea, and, chiefly by the ſuperiority of the Engliſh archers, gained a complete victory, took twenty-four large veſſels richly loaded with Flemiſh cloth and other goods, and put the reſt to flight. Thus did Edward a ſecond time triumph upon that element, which is the appropriate theatre of Britiſh warfare. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 679, 681, 688, 691.—*R. de Aveſbury, p.* 184.—*Murim. contin. p.* 102 *.]

This year 1,350 veſſels ſailed from Bourdeaux, loaded with 13,429 tuns of wine, being nearly 100 tuns in each veſſel on an average, and paid £5,104 : 16 : 0 Bourdeloiſe money in duties [*Record in the exchequer in London, quoted in Mem. de litterature, V.* xxxvii, *p.* 350].

The king granted to the burgeſſes of Newcaſtle upon Tine the right of digging coals and ſtones in the Caſtle-field and the Frith, both adjacent to their town † [*Rot. pat. tertia* 24 *Edw. III, m.* 6].

1351—King Edward, diſtreſſed by the debts he had incurred in his chimerical attempt to conquer France, and deſirous of paying his creditors with leſs money than he had borrowed, had ordered *two hundred and ſixty-ſix pennies* to be made out of the pound of ſtandard ſilver in the year 1344 : and in 1346 he further diminiſhed the money by making *two hundred and ſeventy pennies* out of a pound. By theſe alterations his own, and all other, creditors were defrauded, at firſt of about a tenth, and afterwards a ninth, part of their property ‡; and the whole body of

* The hiſtorians here quoted date the battle on the 24th of July, on which day the king was at Weſtminſter. Later hiſtorians have other dates, and make the number of prizes twenty-ſix.

† It appeared afterwards by an inqueſt, that the lands called the Caſtle-field and Caſtle-moor, adjacent to Newcaſtle, had belonged to the town from time immemorial, but had not been expreſsly granted by any charter : therefor the king in May 1357 confirmed to the corporation the property of thoſe lands ; and, in conſideration of their ſufferings by the plague and other calamities, which diſabled them from paying their annual fee-farm of £100, he gave them a right to dig coals and ſtones in thoſe lands, without making any mention of this previous grant, which, for ought I can ſee, is *the firſt* wherein any notice of coal or ſtone, as belonging to the corporation of Newcaſtle, is found.

This obſervation becomes neceſſary, becauſe it has been aſſerted, that the burgeſſes of Newcaſtle were warranted by royal authority to dig coal and ſtone in the Caſtle-field ſo early as in the reign of King John. But in the very ample charter given them by that king there are no ſuch words, as I have found upon examining an *inſpeximus* charter of Richard II in the Tower [*Rot. pat. quint.* 1 *Ric. II, m.* 1], which contains charters to Newcaſtle by the following kings, viz. John, in his 17th year, with reference to ſome poſſeſſions of the corporation in the time of Henry II, but without a word of coals or the Caſtle-field ; Henry III, in his 18th and 36th years; Edward I, in his 22d year; and Edward III in his 31ſt year (A. D. 1357), without any mention of this one in his 24th year. It is certain, however, that coals were dug in the neighbourhood of Newcaſtle and ſhipped from that port in earlier times, as appears by the Chartulary of Tinemouth, quoted in *Brand's Hiſt. of Newcaſtle* (ſee above, pp. 497, 504, and alſo 395) : about the year 1364 we find ſome leaſes of coal mines near Gateſhead (the Southwark of Newcaſtle) by the biſhop of Durham confirmed by the king [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 38 *Edw. III, m.* 26] : and in the county of Cumberland we find coal mines belonging to the priory of Carliſle in the 14th year of Edward I [*Rot. pat. prim.* 5 *Edw. III, m.* 8].

‡ It may be obſerved, that King Edward, in his manifeſto to the people of France in the year 1340, aſſured them, that he would not ſeek his own lucre by making any change in the money, when he ſhould be received as their king, [*Fœdera,*

the people, eſpecially thoſe of the lower claſſes, were further diſtreſſed by the nominal, and partly real, riſe in the prices of all the neceſſaries of life. They do not ſeem, however, to have made any attempt to obtain compenſation for the diminution of their incomes till after a dreadful peſtilence, which originated in the Oriental regions, and began its ravages in England in the year 1348, and is ſaid to have carried off the greateſt part of the people, eſpecially in the lower ranks of life *. Then the ſurviving labourers took the advantage of the demand for labour and the ſcarcity of hands to raiſe their prices. The king, by the advice of the prelates, nobles, and others, thereupon enacted the *Statute of labourers*, which ordained, that all men and women under ſixty years of age, whether of free or ſervile condition, having no occupation or property, ſhould ſerve any perſon by whom they ſhould be required, and ſhould receive only the wages which were uſual before the year 1346, or in the five or ſix preceding years, on pain of impriſonment, the employers being alſo puniſhable for giving greater wages. Artificers were alſo prohibited from demanding more than the old wages †; and butchers, bakers, brewers, and other dealers in proviſions, were ordered to ſell them at *reaſonable* prices. [*Stat.* 23 ‡ *Edw. III.*]

The 'ſervants, having no regard to the ſaid ordinance, but to their 'eaſe and ſingular covetiſe,' refuſed to ſerve great men and others, unleſs for higher wages than the law allowed. Therefor the parliament by another ſtatute fixed the yearly and dayly wages of agricultural ſervants, artificers, and labourers, the payment for threſhing corn by the quarter, and even the price of ſhoes, &c. § They alſo forbad any perſon to leave the town in ſummer, wherein he had dwelt in the winter, or to remove from one ſhire to another. [*Stat.* 1, 25 *Edw. III.*] Thus were the lower claſſes of the people debarred by laws, which in their own nature muſt be inefficient, from making any effort to improve their ſitua-

era, *V.* v, *pp.* 159, 164] apparently glancing a reflection upon the kings of France, who had done an incredible injury to their country by ſuch erroneous avarice, which Le Blanc, the hiſtorian of French money, aſſigns as a main cauſe of the victories of the Engliſh in France.

* Moſt of the hiſtorians ſay, that ſcarcely a tenth part of the people ſurvived. Perhaps we ought to make a large allowance for exaggeration in their narratives, wherein they make attempts at being poetical. The moſt moderate accounts ſtate that above half of the people periſhed, and Hume ſuppoſes one third, a more probable eſtimate. Stow ſays that few noblemen died; and though I do not ſee his authority, unleſs it be the words 'pau-'cis divitibus duntaxat exceptis' in Aveſbury, [*p.* 178 *ed. Hearne*] he may generally be truſted; as he wrote with great fidelity (though too often without quoting) and had the uſe of ſome manuſcripts, which have never been publiſhed. The conduct of the labourers ſeems alſo to infer, that rather a greater proportion of them than of their employers had been cut off.

† In a ſupplement to the act, made by the king, the inferior clergy were alſo included.

‡ By a note in the margin of the printed ſtatutes, the date of this one appears to be doubtful. It was as probably in the 24th year of the king's reign. For a good account of the many ſimilar laws which followed this one, and of the political conſequences of them, ſee Sir Frederic Eden's *State of the poor*, *V.* i, *p.* 31.

§ In the year 1355 the mayor and ſhirrefs of London, with two perſons ſent by the king, were deſired to compell the armourers of London to ſell armour at *reaſonable* prices. [*Fœdera*, *V.* v, *p.* 817.]

tion in life. From theſe ill-judged laws, however, we learn a moſt important fact, that a great portion of the lower claſs of the people were now emancipated from bondage, and earning their bread by independent induſtry.

It being evident to every perſon, who was willing and capable to think, that the evil proceeded more from the defalcations of the money than the ſcarcity or perverſeneſs of labourers *, the parliament enacted, that no further diminution ſhould be made in the weight or quality of the money, but, on the contrary, it ſhould be reſtored as ſoon as poſſible to the antient weight. [*Stat.* 5, 25 *Edw. III, c.* 13.] However, William Edington biſhop of Wincheſter fell upon a freſh device, whereby, he thought, the deception would be leſs perceptible, which was to introduce a new kind of ſilver money much larger than a penny, which was called a gros or groat, and the king ordered, (June 21st) that it ſhould be current for four pennies †, though it weighed ſcarcely more than three pennies and a half of his diminiſhed money ‡. The immediate conſequence was a further riſe in the nominal prices of the neceſſaries of life, and another conſequence, naturally following the firſt, was an increaſe of cunning and fraudulent tricks among workmen and artificers. Edward, nevertheleſs, urged by the preſſure of his accumulated debts, and having taſted, what he ſuppoſed, the advantage of making a great quantity of money out of a ſmall quantity of ſilver, proceeded in the year 1353 to make ſeventy-five groats, or *three hundred pennies*, (*twenty-five ſhillings*) from the pound of ſilver, which till the later end of his grandfather's reign had never been coined into

* As the peſtilence diminiſhed the number of employers as well as labourers, though perhaps rather in a leſs degree, the demand for labour could not be very much greater than before, and would have probably had no effect upon the rate of wages, if the proportion between money and food had continued the ſame. But, however ſtrange it may ſeem, the king, the parliament (except in this one inſtance) and the writers of the age, acted and wrote, as if they thought it was equal to the labourers, if they had their *number* of pennies, whether they were heavy or light. Could they poſſibly be ignorant, that the diminution of the money, and the conſequent alteration in the price of neceſſaries, robbed theſe poor people of about a quarter of their incomes?

† On this occaſion a proclamation, or manifeſto, was iſſued by the king, wherein he ſets forth, that, finding the money of England was exported on account of its being *too heavy*, he had ordained, for the profit of himſelf and his people, to coin gold money of ſuch impreſſion as the former, and a new kind of ſilver money, which ſhould be called a gros of the value of four pennies, and alſo a half gros. He orders all perſons to receive his new money in payment of their old debts. And, becauſe the money of England is forged, clipped, and carried out of the kingdom, by the Lombards and others, he ſtrictly commands, that no perſon except thoſe appointed by himſelf, ſhall preſume to deal in changing money, on penalty of forfeiture of the money changed; and that no perſon, ſhall carry out of the kingdom any gold or ſilver, coined or uncoined, except only the new (light) money. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 708.] It is very ſtrange indeed, if Edward did not know, that foreign merchants would pay no attention to the nominal value he might be pleaſed to put upon his coins, and in ſetting prices upon their goods would only conſider the quantity of real gold or ſilver, which they would be allowed to carry home.

I have called the groat a new kind of money in compliance with the king's proclamation and the writers of that age, though I have already ſhowed, (p. 432) that ſome ſuch pieces were coined by King Edward I.

‡ Fabyan ſays, the ſilver of the new groats wanted 2/6 in the pound of the old ſtandard quality.

more than *twenty ſhillings* *. [*Folkes on coins, p.* 11.—*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 708. —*Murim. contin. p.* 103.]

February—The parliament enacted, what is called *the Statute of cloths*, whereby it was ordained, that the aulneger, (called elſewhere ulnator) or inſpector of cloths, ſhould be ſworn to do his duty, and ſhould be puniſhed if he neglected it.—The act of the year 1335, for aboliſhing the reſtraints of corporation charters and giving perfect freedom to all traders, natives or foreigners, in every part of the kingdom, was renewed †; and they were declared free to ſell, either in wholeſale or retail, in London or any other city, burgh, or town of England, 'notwithſtanding any franchiſes, grants, or cuſtom uſed, or any other 'things done to the contrary, ſithence that *ſuch uſages and franchiſes be* '*to the common prejudice of the king and his people.*' The mayors and other public officers were ordered to abſtain from interfering in the ſale of proviſions.—Foreſtallers were made liable to forfeiture of the value of the goods or proviſions foreſtalled, or to impriſonment for two years.—All wears, kidells, mills, or other erections, by which the navigation of rivers was obſtructed, were ordered to be removed ‡. [*Stat.* 4, 25 *Edw. III.*] The parliament aboliſhed a kind of weight called *auncell*, and ordained wool and other wares to be weighed by the beam. They alſo ordered, that all meaſures of capacity ſhould be agreeable to the king's ſtandard; that the quarter of corn ſhould contain eight buſhels; and that all corn ſhould be ſold by ſtriked meaſure, excepting that paid in rent, which ſhould be according to the former uſage. [*Stat.* 5, 25 *Edw. III, cc.* 9, 10.]

The people were allowed to make exchanges of money for mutual accommodation: but no one was permitted to take any profit upon ſuch exchanges, that emolument being reſerved to the king's exchange. [*Stat.* 5, 25 *Edw. III, c.* 12.]

Auguſt 1st—The quarrel with Spain, or rather with the ſeamen of the north coaſt of Spain §, was terminated by a truce, which was to laſt twenty years. It was agreed that neither party ſhould do any injury to the other, or give any aſſiſtance to their enemies. The mariners and merchants of both countries were to have full liberty of ſailing with their veſſels, great or ſmall, loaded with merchandize of any kind whatſoever, or going by land, to the ports or cities of each country,

* The diminutions of the money by Edward III are mentioned here, only on account of their connection with the ſtatute of labourers and their conſequence. All the alterations of the money will be found in one clear view in the appendix.

† That is to ſay, the parliament enacted, that it ſhould be 'holden, kept, and maintained.' As the former act was not made for a limited time, and conſequently could not expire, it does not appear, what ſtrength this could have, that the other had not.

‡ The owners, by bribes, or by favour, got them all permitted to remain. [*Walſingham, p.* 170.]

§ One copy of the treaty was in the poſſeſſion of the *maritime towns* of Caſtile and Biſcay, and another remained with the king of England and France. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 719.]

or of any other country. Guardians were to be appointed to attend to the obſervation of the truce, to puniſh tranſgreſſors, and to give redreſs to the parties injured within two months. Spaniſh property found onboard any veſſel taken by the Engliſh ſhould be reſtored to the owners, and in like manner Engliſh property ſhould be reſpected by Spaniſh captors. And the Spaniſh fiſhermen were permitted to come freely and ſafely to fiſh in the ports of England and Bretagne, paying the duties and cuſtoms *. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 717.]

September 4th—The merchants of Scotland had now attained ſuch a degree of reſpectability, that their oaths and ſecurities were required by King Edward, along with thoſe of the prelates, lords, and other principal ſubjects of Scotland, for the performance of ſome articles, of the nature of which we are not informed. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 723.]

It was this year ordained, that the ſame meaſures and weights ſhould be uſed in Ireland that were uſed in England. [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 25 *Edw. III, m.* 14.]

1352—The Genoeſe colony of Pera, in the pride of their commercial proſperity, had aſſumed the ſovereignty of the Black ſea, inſulted the adjacent capital of the feeble ſovereigns of the Roman world, and burnt two of the five gallies, which conſtituted the imperial navy. Afterwards, without any exertion, they defeated a fleet of ſeven gallies and ſome ſmaller veſſels, which the emperor had collected and ſent againſt them; and with equal eaſe they repulſed his military forces from their walls (ſpring 1349), and compelled him to cede a tract of land, which they found uſeful to themſelves. The war between the obſtinate rival republics of Venice and Genoa † being renewed, a fleet of gallies from Chio, an iſland lately ſubjected to the dominion of Genoa by a fleet of privateers, took the town of Negropont and the iſland of Cia from the Venetians. The later thereupon made an alliance with the Catalans: and the emperor of Conſtantinople, provoked by a freſh inſult of his Genoeſe neighbours at Pera, acceded as a humble ally to thoſe powerful maritime ſtates, and added his fleet of *eight* gallies to *ſixty-ſeven* veſſels of war, which they ſent into the narrow ſtrait between Aſia and Europe. There, before the walls of Conſtantinople and Pera, they were encountered by *ſixty-four* Genoeſe veſſels, ſtronger and larger than theirs. The allies loſt fourteen Venetian, ten Catalan, and two Greek, veſſels; the Genoeſe loſt only thirteen, and claimed the victory (9th March, 1352) ‡.

* Such a licence muſt have been an excellent cover for ſmuggling.

† I have not thought it neceſſary to ſtain theſe pages with the recital of all the battles between the fleets of Venice and Genoa, which were conducted with a ſanguinary ferocity that would diſgrace the traditional ſongs of the moſt ſavage tribes of America or New Zealand.

‡ Stella reckons *about* 45 Venetian, 30 Catalan, 14 Greek, and only 60 Genoeſe, veſſels: and other writers have other numbers. Stella ſays that the Greeks declined the battle, and the Genoeſe had a complete victory. I have followed Nicephorus Gregoras, who ſeems the moſt impartial relator of the events of this war.

After the engagement the Venetians and Catalans abandoned their imperial ally, who found himſelf obliged to grant an increaſe of commercial privileges to his Genoeſe vaſſals, who were rather his maſters, and to exclude all rival traders from his port. [*Nic. Gregor. L.* xvii, *cc.* 1-7.—*Stella, ap. Muratori Script. V.* xvii, *coll.* 1088-1092.]

July 25th—Alfonſo king of Portugal had given a general protection to Engliſhmen in his dominions; and King Edward in return gave a general protection to the merchants of that kingdom for trading in England, and at the ſame time gave particular letters of protection to the commanders of ſeven veſſels, four of them belonging to Liſbon, and the others apparently to Oporto. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 740, 741, *and ſee p.* 756.]

September 4th—The city of Piſa has not for ſome time furniſhed any materials for commercial hiſtory. It appears, however, that the Piſans had ſome trade with the weſtern parts of Europe, moſt probably Flanders, the knowlege of which is owing to a depredation committed upon a ſhip belonging to them in the port of Sandwich. When they ſent to demand redreſs and to propoſe a friendly intercourſe, the king anſwered, that their merchants trading to England ſhould enjoy his protection, and be treated like his own ſubjects. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 743.]

After Arteville the famous brewer of Ghent, the moſt zealous partizan of King Edward in Flanders, was ſlain in a tumult, the king's intereſt in that country declined, and many of his adherents were baniſhed. Theſe he invited (25th September, 1351) to ſettle in England or his other dominions, and to carry on their merchandize or other buſineſs under his protection. This year he gave another very ample grant of liberties, more particularly to the manufacturers of cloth ſettling in England, who were, no doubt, others of his Flemiſh friends, alſo driven out of their country for their attachment to him. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 727.—*Rot. pat. prim.* 26 *Edw. III, m.* 21.]

The ſtaple was ſcarcely ever allowed to remain long enough in one place to give time to the merchants to form their arrangements agreeable to the lateſt eſtabliſhment of it. This year * it was removed from Flanders, and fixed at Weſtminſter and other places in England (Auguſt 2d), which was a great hardſhip upon the foreign merchants, but a great advantage to the king, who thereupon had £1,102 more than his predeceſſors †. [*R. de Aveſbury, p.* 194.—*Knyghton, col.* 2606.]

1353, September—The king and parliament, conſidering the great damage which had ariſen from the ſtaple being held out of the kingdom, now determined that the ſtaple for wool, hides, wool-fells, and

* Stow [*Survey of London, p.* 841, *ed.* 1618] ſays, that in the year 1351 the king fixed the ſtaple of wool to be *only* at Canterbury, for the honour of St. Thomas. Quere, if a miſtake?

† Knyghton mentions no other place than Weſtminſter, and the ſum ſtated by him ſeems to have been an increaſe ariſing from the buſineſs done at that ſtaple.

lead, the produce of England, Wales, and Ireland, ſhould be held *for ever* in the following places, and no others, viz. for England in Newcaſtle upon Tine, York, Lincoln, Norwich, Weſtminſter, Canterbury, Chicheſter, Wincheſter, Exeter, and Briſtol; for Wales at Carmarthen; and for Ireland at Dublin, Waterford, Cork, and Drogheda. All ſtaple goods were ordained to be brought to ſome one of theſe towns, where every ſack and every ſarpler of wool, after being fairly weighed in the preſence of the officers of the cuſtoms *, were to be marked, and the quantity atteſted under the ſeal of the mayor of the ſtaple, previous to being ſhipped. The goods from the ſtaple at York were to be ſhipped at Hull, thoſe from Lincoln at Boſton, from Norwich at Yarmouth, from Weſtminſter at London, from Canterbury at Sandwich, and from Wincheſter at Southampton, and they were to be weighed again by the officers of the cuſtoms at thoſe ports. The cuſtoms payable by denizens were fixed at 6/8 for a ſack of wool, 6/8 for 300 wool-fells, 20/ for a half laſt of hides, and 3*d* per pound of the value for lead. The natives of England, Wales, and Ireland, were moſt ſtrictly prohibited, under penalty of death and forfeiture of all their property of whatever nature, from exporting any ſtaple goods, having agents abroad for attending the ſale of ſtaple goods, or being in the ſmalleſt degree intereſted, directly or indirectly, in the ſale of them abroad, or even receiving payment abroad for what they ſold at home. Nay, the king even tied up himſelf and his heirs from ever granting licences to any Engliſh, Welſh, or Iriſh, merchants for exporting ſuch goods, and declared, that, if he ſhould grant any ſuch licences, they ſhould be null, and ſhould not protect the exporters from the penalties of the law. But merchant ſtrangers might carry them whitherſoever they pleaſed, being only bound by oath to hold no ſtaple in foreign countries. In order to repleniſh the kingdom with gold, ſilver, and foreign merchandize, full liberty was granted to all merchants, from countries not at war with the king, to ſell their goods at the ſtaple towns, or any other places, without being oppreſſed by purveyors forcibly taking any part of their property for the uſe of the king, or any prelates, lords, or ladies. All merchants, natives, or ſtrangers, might buy ſtaple goods in any part of the kingdom, provided they carried them to the ſtaple. Carriers, having certificates from the mayors of the ſtaples that they were employed in carrying ſtaple goods, were exempted, together with their carts, beaſts, and boats, from being taken to ſerve the king or any other perſon, ſaving the king's antient right of royal priſes of carriages and victuals. The king's judges were debarred from taking cognizance of any matters within the province of the mayors and miniſters of the ſtaples. The officers of the king's houſehold were alſo prohibited from executing their office in any

* 'Noz cuſtumers.' In the beginning of the eighteenth century *cuſtomer* ſignified in Engliſh an officer of the cuſtoms; but it would now convey a very different meaning.

houſe in the ſtaple towns, occupied by the merchants, their ſervants, or the ſtaple goods. The mayors and conſtables of the ſtaples had juriſdiction over all perſons concerned in the buſineſs of the ſtaples in the towns wherein they were held and their ſuburbs; and their proceedings in all matters of debt or contract concerning the ſtaples were regulated by the merchant law, and not by the common law, or the cuſtoms of the towns. In trials, if both parties were natives, the juries were to conſiſt of natives; if foreigners, of foreigners; and if one was a native and the other a foreigner, the jury was to be compoſed equally of natives and foreigners. In order to give validity to contracts, the mayors of the ſtaples were directed to atteſt them under their ſeals of office, and to charge one halfpenny for every contract under £100, and one penny for every one above that ſum. If the debtor failed to make payment when due, the mayor was to impriſon him and arreſt his property, if within his juriſdiction, and to deliver it, or the proceeds of it when ſold, to the creditor to the amount of the debt. If no property of the debtor were to be found within the mayor's juriſdiction, he was then to certify it in the chancery, from which warrants ſhould be iſſued againſt the debtor and his property according to the ſtatute of merchants *. The uniformity of weights and meaſure was *again* enjoined under ſevere penalties. All merchants, denizens, or aliens, had liberty to ſell their wines and other merchandize, by wholeſale or retail, in the ſtaples, burghs, towns, and ſea-ports: but no perſon was allowed to bargain for any goods before they were landed. No perſon, native or foreigner, was permitted to carry wool, hides, or wool-fells, to Berwick upon Tweed †, or any other part of Scotland, or to ſell them to any native of Scotland, or to any perſon who would carry them to that kingdom, under the pain of death and forfeiture. If any goods were plundered on the ſea and brought into the kingdom, they were to be returned to the merchant, who could prove them to be his property. Goods thrown on the ſhore by ſhipwreck were alſo to be reſtored to the lawful owners, on paying a reaſonable ſalvage, to be rated by the ſhirrefs or bailifs of the place. All merchants, bringing gold or ſilver in coin or bullion into the kingdom, might receive the value of them in current money at the king's exchanges, to be eſtabliſhed at the ſtaples and elſewhere. No one was permitted to carry out *old* ſterling, or any other money, except merchant ſtrangers, who might carry back ſuch part of their own money as they had not laid out. All falſe money became forfeited to the king. In every ſtaple town certain ſtreets or places were to be appropriated for ſtoring wool and other ſtaple goods; and reaſonable rents were to be fixed upon the houſes by the mayor and conſtables of the

* For the ſtatute of merchants ſee above, p. 439.

† Berwick was then in the hands of the Engliſh. But the king was not willing to truſt Engliſh wool in the hands of the inhabitants.

ſtaple with four of the principal inhabitants of the town. *All foreign merchants* were now relieved from the groſs oppreſſion of being made liable for the debts, and even the crimes, of other foreigners *. But the king reſerved to himſelf the right of granting letters of marque againſt any foreign prince or people, by whom his ſubjects ſhould be injured: and in caſe of a war breaking out, the merchants of the hoſtile country ſhould have a notice of forty days, or even more if neceſſary, to leave the country, and perfect freedom to ſell, or carry away, their property. There being leſs reſort of foreign merchants to Ireland and Wales than to England, the merchants of thoſe countries were allowed to carry their ſtaple goods to any ſtaple in England; and their cockets, teſtifying that they had paid the cuſtoms in their own country, ſhould clear them, and the purchaſers of their goods, from any further demand. Any perſon ſhipping ſtaple goods in Ireland or Wales, or any part of the coaſt of England, for a ſtaple port in England, and carrying them to a foreign port, was condemned to death and forfeiture of property. No perſon was liable to loſe his property for any action of his ſervant, done without his authority. Immediate juſtice was ordered to be done in all matters, wherein tranſient merchants were concerned, agreeable to the former uſuage of ſtaples. A perſon, well ſkilled in the merchant law, was to be elected annually for the office of mayor of each ſtaple by the native and foreign merchants of the place, and alſo two conſtables. The adminiſtration of juſtice in all matters concerning the ſtaple being in the hands of the mayors and conſtables, particular priſons were aſſigned to them for the confinement of offenders; and the mayors, ſhirrefs, and bailifs, of the towns, and lords of the adjacent country, were enjoined to aſſiſt the magiſtrates of the ſtaple on their requiſition. A certain number of men of experience and reſpectable character, ſtrangers as well as natives, were appointed in each ſtaple town as correctors, to whom all perſons might apply, if they choſe it, to have their bargains regiſtered, agreeable to the former uſage of ſtaples: and they were not to be concerned in trade during their office. The mayors and conſtables were to make oath in the chancery, that they would faithfully diſcharge the duties of their offices. All merchants, natives or foreigners, trading at any of the ſtaples, were to ſwear to the mayor and conſtables, that they would pay obedience to the laws of the ſtaple; and the porters, packers, winders and other labourers and officers in the ſervice of the ſtaple, were to ſwear to do their buſineſs honeſtly. The foreign merchants were directed to elect two of their number, one for the ſouth parts of England and the other for the north, who might ſit along with the mayors and conſtables of the ſtaples to judge any cauſe, whenever they thought proper, in order to take care that juſtice

* Several relaxations of the rigour of this execrable law or cuſtom to particular communities of foreigners have already been noticed.

ſhould be done to foreigners. In caſe they could not agree upon the deciſion, they were to refer the cauſe to the chancellor and the king's council, by whom it ſhould be determined without delay. Two Germans, two Lombards, and two Engliſhmen, were to be elected to do immediate juſtice in all complaints of the quality or weight of wool being contrary to bargain. The foreign merchants having complained of oppreſſions and delay at the ports, contrary to the charter of Edward I, *(ſee above, p.* 469*)* the ſhirrefs, mayors, and bailifs, were threatened with impriſonment and fine, if they acted contrary to that charter. All the privileges of the ſtaples were confirmed, though they might interfere with the franchiſes and privileges claimed by cities, burghs, the Cinque ports, or other corporations, or individuals, ſaving to the prelates, dukes, earls, barons, and other lords, their fairs, markets, hundreds, wapentakes, &c. In the former year the mayors of the ſtaple had levied 8*d* upon every ſack of wool for themſelves: but the wool brought to London being nearly equal to what was carried to all the other ports in the kingdom, and the quantities carried to the other ſtaples being exceedingly unequal, it was now ordained that the mayors of all the ſtaples ſhould have regular fixed ſalaries *, as the mayor of the ſtaple uſed to have when it was held upon the continent, and that only 4*d* ſhould be charged upon every ſack as a general fund for the payment of all the ſalaries †. [*Stat.* 2, 27 *Edw. III.*]

The lords and commons repreſented to the king, that the ſeizure of cloths, on account of their varying from the ſtatute lengths and breadths ‡, was ſuch a hardſhip upon the foreign importers, that many of them had given up the trade; wherefor they prayed, that the goods ſeized might be reſtored for a reaſonable recompenſe. The king granted their requeſt, and enacted, that uniform lengths in cloth ſhould no longer be required, but that his aulneger ſhould mark the meaſure upon every cloth, and the ſeller ſhould make a due allowance for defective meaſure. The aulneger was intitled to receive a halfpenny for every cloth, and a farthing for every half cloth, from the ſeller; and he was not to mea-

* The ſalaries were as follows.

Weſtminſter -	the mayor	£	100	0	0	each conſtable	£	13	6	8
Lincoln - - - - -			26	13	4	- -		6	13	4
York, Kingſton upon Hull (which, however, is not a ſtaple in the beginning of the ſtatute), Norwich, Wincheſter, each - - -			20	0	0	- -		5	0	0
Newcaſtle, Chicheſter, Exeter, each			10	0	0	- - -		3	6	8

† I have been much fuller in my account of *the ſtatute of the ſtaple* than my predeceſſor Mr. Anderſon, who, contrary to his uſual cuſtom, has cruſhed it into a few lines. But, as it exhibits a complete view, nowhere elſe to be found, of the ſyſtem by which the principal branches of the commerce of the kingdom were conducted, it is ſurely well worthy of a more particular attention. Many parts of it are curious and intereſting to the ſtudents of manners, juriſprudence, and antiquities, and might ſupply abundant matter for ample comments, which ſhall, however, be left to the reflection of the reader.

‡ See above, p. 501. The ſtatute breadth of the cloth of raye in this act is only ſix quarters. There is apparently an error in one of the acts.

ſure any cloth till it was ſold *. The parliament granted the king a duty of 4*d* on every plain-coloured cloth, 5*d* on thoſe dyed half in grain, 6*d* on ſcarlet cloths, and in proportion on half cloths; and they ordained that the cloths ſhould be ſealed by the collector to atteſt the payment of the duty before they could be expoſed to ſale. Thoſe, who made cloth for clothing themſelves and their retinue, were exempted from paying the duty †. [*Stat.* 1, 27 *Edw. III*, *c.* 4.]

Engliſh merchants were prohibited from engroſſing or foreſtalling wines in Gaſcoigne, or making any previous bargain for them, on pain of death and forfeiture of property of every kind. The ſteward of Gaſcoigne and the conſtable of Bourdeaux were ordered to arreſt all tranſgreſſors and ſend them to the Tower of London. Bourdeaux and Bayonne were declared the only lawful markets for wine. Gaſcons and other ſtrangers were allowed to bring their wines freely to any port of England, the king's butler having, according to antient uſage, a right to take wines for the king, to be paid for within forty days. All wines were to be gauged; and for thoſe found ſhort of the ſtandard meaſure the ſeller was to make allowance to the buyer. [*Stat.* 1, 27 *Edw. III*, *cc.* 5-8.]

October 15th—King Edward gave his protection to the merchants and mariners of Catalonia, coming to England to purchaſe wool, hides, wool-fells, and lead, at the ſtaples or elſewhere, and to carry them whitherſoever they pleaſed, after having them duely troned (weighed) and cocketed, and paying the due cuſtoms and ſubſidy. [*Fœdera*, *V.* v, *p.* 762.]

October 20th—The merchants, mariners, and communities, of Liſbon and Oporto (the king of Portugal is not mentioned) having ſent meſſengers to King Edward, in order to negotiate a firm alliance for the advantage of both ſides, it was agreed upon, and its duration fixed to be *fifty years*. It was covenanted, that neither party ſhould aſſiſt the enemies of the other; that the veſſels of both parties ſhould be free to carry all kinds of goods from any one country to any other country, and to enter into any port of either country. All by-paſt damages ſhould be ſunk in oblivion, and any future damages ſhould be amicably ſettled by the lords or great men without any breach of the treaty. The property of the merchants of Liſbon or Oporto, found in any place or veſſel taken by the Engliſh, ſhould be reſtored to them, unleſs they were

* We thus ſee, that it was the cuſtom to ſell cloths at ſo much per piece or half piece, and not by the yard. In the preſent day, when they are ſold only by the yard, the lengths, though variable, ſtill do not differ very much from the antient ſtandard.

† By this exemption the duty on home-made cloths would be almoſt wholely evaded by thoſe who were beſt able to pay it, the great chiefs, who kept armies of idle ruffians in their livery. The exemption lets us know, that the duty extended to home-made cloths; and we muſt believe, that there were now dyers and finiſhers in England capable of producing ſcarlets and other grain colours.

aſſiſting the enemy. Their fiſhermen were licenced (as thoſe of Caſtile had already been) to fiſh in the harbours of England and Bretagne. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 763.]

November 20th—The highway between Temple-bar and Weſtminſter being already rendered ſo deep and miry by the carts and horſes carrying merchandize and proviſions to the ſtaple, that it was dangerous to paſs upon it, the king required the proprietors of houſes, in conſideration of the improvement of their property by means of the ſtaple being fixed at Weſtminſter, to repair the road between their houſes and the kennel under the inſpection of the mayor and conſtables of the ſtaple: and for the reparation of the main road between the two kennels, and alſo for the conſtruction of a bridge * intended for the accommodation of the merchants frequenting the ſtaple, he directed that a toll ſhould be taken for three years upon all goods carried to or from the ſtaple, whether by land or water †. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 774.]

The laſt year, and alſo this one, were remarkable for great ſcarcity of the fruits of the earth and the fiſh of the ſea, ſo that many things were raiſed to double price. The duke of Zeland gave ſome relief by ſending over ſeveral cargoes of rye to London; and conſiderable quantities of corn were alſo imported from Ireland. [*Murim. contin. p.* 104. —*Stow's Ann. p.* 398.]

A Genoeſe fleet of ſixty gallies was this year defeated, and forty-one of them taken, by the combined fleets of Catalonia and Venice conſiſting of eighty gallies (Auguſt 28th). The defeat was followed by keen diſſenſions among the Genoeſe, and the ruin of their independence. They depoſed their duke, and offered the ſovereignty of their ſtate to John, archbiſhop and lord of Milan; [*Stella, ap. Muratori Script. V.* xvii, *col.* 1092] and from that time their commercial ſplendour, and their naval power, have continued to decline.

1354, April—The parliament enacted that no iron, whether made in England or imported, ſhould be carried out of the country; and in order to prevent the price of iron from riſing too high (a conſequence ſurely not to be apprehended from the prohibition of exportation) the ſellers were ſubjected to the controul of the juſtices appointed to take cognizance of the labourers. [*Stat.* 28 *Edw. III, c.* 5.]

Robberies were now more frequent than formerly (a neceſſary conſequence of the continual war) and foreign merchants were more par-

* Mr. Anderſon doubted whether this bridge was intended to go acroſs the river, or only to be a landing place. From the deſcription of a bridge at the New temple, evidently a landing place or wharf, [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 778] and from *Stow's Survey* [*p.* 894] it ſeems to have been the later.

† The tolls were

for a ſarpler of wool	3*d*
300 wool-fells	3
for a laſt of hides	6*d*
a cart of lead	4
a tun of wine for ſale	4
other goods for 20*s* in value	½

Goods, which paid in coming, were exempted in returning. We find by the patent rolls, that this pavage duty was renewed in the years 1356, 1358, 1359, 1360, &c. 5

ticularly the objects of plunder. The king, conſidering the advantage derived from the reſort of thoſe merchants, therefor ordained, that the inhabitants of the county, wherein the robbery was committed, ſhould be bound to produce the robber, or make compenſation to the party injured, within forty days. [*Stat.* 28 *Edw. III, c.* 11.]

In caſe of a veſſel being driven into any port of England by ſtreſs of weather or other neceſſity, the maſter or merchants were permitted to ſell a part of the cargo without being compelled to land, or pay cuſtom for, any more than the goods ſold. [*Stat.* 28 *Edw. III, c.* 13.]

A record, preſerved in the exchequer, contains the following

Account of the exports and imports of England in the year 1354, *together with the amount of the cuſtoms paid upon them.*

There were exported

		Value.			Cuſtoms.		
31,651½ ſacks of wool - at	£6	£189,909	0	0			
3,036 cwt (120 lb each) of wool	40ſ	6,072	0	0			
65 wool-fells - -		1	1	8			
Total value of wool and cuſtoms upon it		195,982	1	8	£81,624	1	1
Hides - - - - -		89	5	0	6	17	6
4,774½ pieces of cloth -	40ſ	9,549	0	0	215	13	7
8,061½ pieces of worſted ſtuff	16/8	6,717	18	4			
Total value of exports and cuſtoms		£212,338	5	0	£81,846	12	2

There were imported

1,831 pieces of fine cloth	£6	£10,986	0	0	£97	12	0
397¾ cwt of wax -	40ſ	795	10	0	19	17	5
1,829½ tuns of wine -	40ſ	3,659	0	0	182	19	0
Linens, mercery, groceries, &c. amounting to - - -		22,943	6	10	285	18	3
Total value of imports and cuſtoms		£38,383	16	10	£586	6	8

The balance in favour of England thus appears to have been £173,954: 8: 2. But as tin, and lead, which have been ſtandard articles of exportation from the earlieſt times, beſides ſeveral other ſmaller articles, are entirely omitted in this record, there can be no doubt that the real balance was conſiderably larger.

* Mr. Anderſon, and, before him, Sir William Temple, [*Obſervations on the Netherlands, p.* 235, *ed.* 1693] Dodſley, [*Preceptor, V.* ii, *p.* 414] and others, though they give only the totals, have ſtrangely ſlumped the cuſtoms along with the value of the merchandize, as if they wiſhed to ſtrike a deluſive balance, which is thereby raiſed £81,260: 5: 6 above the real amount reſulting from the particulars.

I have not found the particulars of this account publiſhed by any writer beſides Anderſon, who, however, ſays it is 'publiſhed in almoſt all the 'general hiſtories of England;' a common way of evading accurate quotation.

This great balance, the exports amounting to almoſt ſix times the value of the imports, (and, as juſt obſerved, they probably amounted to much more) has been held out as a proof of the moderation and ſobriety of the age. But when we look at the articles, and find that, of raw materials for manufactures which conſtitute ſo great a part of the modern imports, there was not one ſingle article imported, and that, on the other hand, the exports conſiſted almoſt entirely of the moſt valuable raw materials, and of cloths in an unfiniſhed ſtate, which may therefor alſo be claſſed among raw materials, we muſt acknowlege that it affords only a proof of the low ſtate of manufactures and of commercial knowlege among a people, who were obliged to allow foreigners to have the profit of manufacturing their own wool, and finiſhing their own cloths, and afterwards to repurchaſe both from them in the form of finiſhed goods.

1355, January 20th—I have already related the purchaſe of the Roman empire by Didius Julian, and that of the kingdom of Mann and the Iſles by Alexander III king of Scotland: and I have now to relate the purchaſe of the kingdom of Scotland by Edward III king of England, who for the abſolute ſovereignty and property of it gave Edward Balliol * five thouſand marks together with an annuity for his (Balliol's) life of two thouſand pounds. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 832-842.] But, though Edward purchaſed a whole kingdom for ſo ſmall a price, yet, with all his prudence, he made a very bad bargain; for the ſeller was not able to *give* him poſſeſſion; and he, with all his power and great military talents, was not able to *take* poſſeſſion.

March 12th—At this time the warden of Scotland (the king was a priſoner in England) urged by the exigency of the public affairs, and imitating the pernicious and miſtaken policy of the king of England, appears to have coined money, which, both in weight and quality, was inferior to that of England. King Edward thereupon informed the ſhirref of Northumberland, that the new money of Scotland, though of the ſame figure with the old, was not, like it, of equal weight and quality with the ſterling money of England, and therefor ordered him to make proclamation within his juriſdiction, that the new Scottiſh money ſhould be taken only for its value as bullion, and carried to the proper office to be exchanged for current money; but that the old money of Scotland (which ſince the year 1344 was conſiderably better than that of England) ſhould ſtill be current as formerly †. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 813.]

* Balliol had been ſupported by Edward in the *title* of king of Scotland, as his feudal vaſſal, ſince the year 1332, and had acted as king of that country a few weeks.

† This deterioration, unknown to the hiſtorians of England and Scotland, apparently laſted but a very ſhort time; and the money muſt have been very little below the ſtandard of the Engliſh, as it required a proclamation to put the people on their guard againſt it.

The Scottiſh pearls were ſtill an article of exportation. They were eſteemed in France, but not equally with thoſe brought from India, as appears by the manuſcript ſtatutes of the goldſmiths of Paris of this year, wherein it is ordained, that no worker in gold or ſilver ſhall ſet any Scottiſh pearls along with Oriental ones, except in large jewels * for churches (for which probably a ſufficient quantity of Oriental pearls could not be obtained, or would be too expenſive). [*Du Cange, Gloſſ. Lat. vo. Perlæ.*]

This year Sir John de Mandeville returned to England from his peregrination of thirty-three years through Turkey, Armenia, Egypt, Africa, Syria, Arabia, Perſia, Chaldæa, Ethiopia, Tartary, *Amazonia*, India, China, and many iſlands. His travels, or rather deſcriptions of countries, written by himſelf, inform us that the Venetian merchants frequently went to the iſland of Ormus in the Perſian gulf, and ſometimes even penetrated to Cambalu. He diſtinguiſhes Famaguſta in Cyprus as one of the greateſt ports in the world, wherein the merchants of almoſt all nations, Chriſtians and pagans (Mohamedans), aſſembled. The ſhorteſt abridgement, that could be made, of his account of the countries of Aſia would be tedious, as he has raked together all the fables accumulated in the courſe of ages, and, if we except the ſingle notice reſpecting the conſiderable trade of Cyprus, gives ſcarcely any commercial information worth noticing †.

1357, Spring—The parliament now permitted Engliſh merchants, *as well as foreigners*, to export wool, hides, and wool-fells, to any country in amity with the king, from the 5th of May to the 29th of September enſuing, on paying a duty of 50*s* for every ſack of wool, 50*s* for 300 wool-fells, and £5 for every laſt of hides. The buyers were prohibited from refuſing any other parts of the wool than what uſed formerly to be rejected; and the ſack was *again* ordained to contain exactly 364 pounds of the exchequer ſtandard weight. All wool, fells, and hides, wherever bought, were ordered to be carried to a ſtaple, and there to remain at leaſt fifteen days, after which, if they were not ſold, they might be exported. Wool was not permitted to be ſtored or ſold within three leagues of a ſtaple, except by the owners of ſheep, who might ſell the wool of their own growth, where they thought proper. [*Stat.* 1, 31 *Edw. III, c.* 8.]

An author, who lived at this time, eſtimates the annual exportation of wool at above a hundred thouſand ſacks. [*Aveſbury, p.* 210 ‡.]

* In the middle ages any thing reputed pretious, or made of valuable materials, or richly adorned, was called a jewel.

† Mandeville copied from all preceding writers of hiſtory and travels; and he ſeems particularly to be largely indebted to Marco Polo. His palaces, made of gold and jewels, are in the ſtile of Ovid's temple of the Sun, and are probably the models of ſimilar buildings in the fairy tales.

‡ He ſays, the duty of 50*s* was granted by the parliament for ſix years; and he dates the grant in the year 1355. It may be obſerved that the wool of the weſt part of England was valued at little more than 50*s*. See above p. 530.

Another attack was made upon the monopolizing charters of corporations by directing the mayor and aldermen of London to prevent the fiſhermen (or fiſhmongers), butchers, poulterers, and other dealers in proviſions, from moleſting thoſe who brought proviſions to the city for ſale. [*Stat.* 1, 31 *Edw. III, c.* 10.]

At the ſame time was enacted *the Statute of herrings*, the preamble of which ſets forth, that the people of Yarmouth made a practice of meeting the fiſhermen, and buying their herrings at ſea; that the hoſtilers (keepers of lodging houſes) aſſumed a prerogative of ſelling the herrings belonging to the fiſhermen lodged in their houſes, and paying them what they thought proper for them, whereby the fiſhermen were defrauded and diſcouraged, and the price of herrings was advanced upon the public. The parliament therefor enacted, that no herrings ſhould be ſold, till the boat bringing them was made faſt to the land. The fiſhermen ſhould have perfect liberty to ſell their herrings at the fair, openly and without any interference, between the riſing and ſetting of the ſun. No perſon ſhould be permitted to buy herrings for hanging up (making red herrings) at above 40/ per laſt containing ten thouſand herrings. Pykers * were not to purchaſe herrings in the harbour of Yarmouth between the 29th of September and the 11th of November, nor to enter the harbour in the time of the fair. The hoſtilers were allowed to charge 3/4 upon every laſt of herrings ſold to any other than a hoſtiler, in conſideration of which they were to inſure the payment to the fiſhermen †. The people of Yarmouth were prohibited from ſelling herrings at more than 6/8 per laſt above the price paid for them at the fair, and thoſe of London were not to advance more than 13/4 (a regulation which we may venture to pronounce inefficient). Shotten herrings were ordered to be ſold at half the price of full ones, when freſh, and when made red, at 6/8 per laſt above the half price of full red herrings. The pykers were allowed to buy herrings and other wares from the fiſhermen of Kirklee and other places on the adjacent coaſt: but the fiſhermen were ordered to diſcharge only as many herrings at Kirklee road, as might be ſufficient for loading the pykers, and to carry the reſt to Yarmouth, no other ſale being permitted within ſeven leagues of that town, except for the herrings of a perſon's own demeſne fiſhery. The barons of the Cinque ports were declared to be the governors or conſervators, of the fair, agreeable to the compoſition between them and the people of Yarmouth, confirmed by King Ed-

* Pykers appear to have been ſmall veſſels belonging to London and other places, employed in carrying herrings and other fiſh.

† The hoſtilers were thus allowed to purchaſe herrings nine or ten per cent lower than all other buyers, which, with the profits they made upon ſupplying the fiſhermen, who were not inhabitants of Yarmouth, with all their neceſſaries, muſt have enabled them to command the trade. They were required, indeed, not to charge that commiſſion on herrings bought by themſelves; but the difference in the price amounted to the ſame thing.

ward I. It was ordained, that this ſtatute ſhould alſo regulate the trade in the other towns of England, where herrings were caught.—The chancellor and treaſurer, with the aid of the juſtices and others of the king's council, were required to regulate the ſale of ſtockfiſh at Boſton, of ſalmon at Berwick, and of wine and fiſh at Briſtol and elſewhere, ſo that the king and the people might be better ſerved than before. [*Stat.* 2, 31 *Edw. III.*]

The people of Blakeney were accuſed of ſelling their ſalt fiſh too dear. It was therefor ordained, that all the doggers and lode ſhips, belonging to Blakeney and the adjacent coaſt as far as Cromer, ſhould deliver their fiſh in the harbour of Blakeney only, and that the fiſh ſhould not be carried out of the veſſels, till the owners had contracted for the ſale of them in clear day-light; that the price of dogger fiſh and loche fiſh ſhould be ſet at the beginning of Blakeney fair; that no fiſh ſhould be ſold by covine (ſecret agreement) at any other price; and that no fiſherman ſhould ſtore up mud fiſh or dry fiſh to retail them afterwards at a higher price. No perſons, but thoſe employed in the fiſhery, were allowed to buy nets, hooks, or other fiſhing tackle in the county of Norfolk. No fiſherman was allowed to give up his trade on account of this ordinance being diſagreeable to him *. [*Stat.* 3, 31 *Edw. III.*]

From the peruſal of theſe, and, indeed, of moſt other antient ſtatutes relating to commerce, manufactures, fiſheries, and navigation, it is evident that the legiſlators knew nothing of the affairs which they undertook to regulate, and alſo that moſt of their ordinances, either from want of preciſion, or from ordering what was almoſt impoſſible to be obeyed (for example, that people ſhould ſell their fiſh at a price, regulated, not by the ſtate of the market, but by authority) muſt have been inefficient: and hence we find many of them ſo very often repeated. No judicious commercial regulations could be drawn up by eccleſiaſtical or military men (the only claſſes who poſſeſſed any authority or influence) who deſpiſed trade, and conſequently could know nothing of it. It was not till long after the time now under our conſideration, that the repreſentatives of towns, the only members of the legiſlative body who could have the ſmalleſt knowlege of commerce or manufactures, began to have any weight in parliament.

The mayor and conſtables of the ſtaple in Ireland were accuſed of taking cognizance of cauſes noway concerning the buſineſs of the ſtaple. An order of the king and council (ſuppoſed of this year) was therefor iſſued, prohibiting ſuch practices, together with a vaſt number of other enormities, which had crept into the adminiſtration of juſtice in that country. [*Statutes at large*, *V.* x, *Append. p.* 37.]

* As ſome compenſation for this reſtraint, fiſhermen and mariners were this year exempted from being compelled to ſerve in any other capacity than that to which they were bred up. [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 31 *Edw. III, m.* 16.]

The neutral nations thought it neceſſary to obtain letters of ſafe conduct for their ſhips from the belligerent powers. We have three inſtances of ſuch letters granted by King Edward to veſſels belonging to Venice, the chief ſeat of commerce in the Mediterranean, ſailing to Flanders, the chief ſeat of commerce on the weſt coaſt of Europe. [*Fœdera*, *V.* vi, *pp.* 11, 92, 120.]

April 29th—We now find what is probably the earlieſt precedent extant of the law, or uſage, of recapture, as determined by King Edward and his council. Some goods, which had been taken in a Portugueſe veſſel by the French, having been retaken by the Engliſh, the Portugueſe owners claimed their property in virtue of the treaty of the year 1353. But the Engliſh admiral condemned them as lawful prize; and the king of Portugal thereupon wrote to the king of England for reſtitution. Edward, after adviſing with his council, anſwered, that, if a neutral owner were along with his goods onboard an enemy's veſſel when taken, they ſhould be reſtored: but the goods in queſtion having been found as French property, and taken from the French in fair war, the captors were entitled to them. [*Fœdera*, *V.* vi, *p.* 14.]

April 29th—In a truce between England and Scotland it was agreed, that, if the ſhips of either nation ſhould be forced into the ports of the other by ſtorm or other unavoidable neceſſity, they might quietly reſt for a reaſonable time, and victual, without being liable to any arreſt or hinderance. [*Fœdera*, *V.* vi, *p.* 15.]

September—Three Scottiſh ſhips of war, with 300 choſen armed men, cruiſed (apparently without any authority) on the eaſt coaſt, and annoyed the Engliſh commerce very much, till the equinoctial gale drove them, with a number of Engliſh veſſels, into Yarmouth, where the people of the place ſeized them, and put an end to their cruiſe. [*Knyghton*, *col.* 2617.] Theſe were, however, powerful ſhips to be fitted out by private adventurers in that age, and in a country ſo exhauſted as Scotland muſt have then been with almoſt ſeventy years of war: but the diſtracted ſtate of the country forced the people to forſake honeſt induſtry, and fly to rapine for ſubſiſtence.

September 26th—In a parliament, or full council, of the prelates, nobles, and communities, of the kingdom of Scotland, held at Edinburgh, the following ſeventeen towns were repreſented, and may thence be preſumed to have been the chief towns of the kingdom at the time, viz.

Edinburgh,	Cupar,	Dunbarton,
Perth,	S. Andrews,	Rutherglen,
Aberdeen,	Munroſs,	Lanark,
Dundee,	Stirling,	Dunfries, and
Inverkeithing,	Linlithgow,	Peebles.
Carail,	Hadington,	

The repreſentatives, of whom Edinburgh, Perth, and Aberdeen, ſent three each, and the other towns two each, are all called aldermen, merchants, and burgeſſes, of the towns repreſented by them: and it is worthy of obſervation, that of the ſeventeen towns, four were in the maritime, and apparently commercial, ſhire of Fife, and eight more upon the eaſt coaſt. The buſineſs of the meeting was to agree to, and provide for, the ranſom of their king, then a priſoner in England, which was fixed at the prodigious ſum of *one hundred thouſand marks ſterling*, to be paid by inſtallments within ten years. For the payment of that ſum the biſhops of Scotland bound all the goods, moveable and immoveable, then belonging, or to belong in time coming, to all the clergy of Scotland; the nobles bound themſelves and all the barons (or freeholders) of Scotland, and their heirs; and the repreſentatives of the towns bound themſelves and the other communities of burgeſſes and merchants throughout the whole kingdom, and all their property, for the full payment of the ranſom, with damages, expenſes, and intereſt *. On account of ſome delays in the payment, the ranſom was afterwards raiſed to *one hundred thouſand pounds ſterling*, a ſum equal in efficacy (the only true ſtandard of the value of money) to at leaſt *two millions* in the preſent day. We know what a lamentable picture the writers of England have drawn of the miſeries brought upon that kingdom by the ranſom of King Richard. What then muſt have been the diſtreſs of Scotland, a country inferior in extent, and ſtill more in population and fertility, to England, already drained and exhauſted by wars, of which ſcarcely any man then living was old enough to remember the beginning, to raiſe a ſum nearly half as much more as that paid for the ranſom of Richard? We might be well warranted to queſtion the poſſibility of raiſing it, if there were not extant the moſt undeniable proofs that the whole of that enormous ſum was actually paid in hard gold and ſilver †. [*Fœdera*, *V.* vi, *pp.* 41-65; and *V.* vii, *p.* 417 for the *laſt* diſcharge.]

The payment of ſo great a ſum may be admitted, in the want of other evidence, as an unqueſtionable proof that the commerce of Scotland revived immediately upon the ceſſation of hoſtilities, and brought in a conſiderable balance in money from foreign countries, which apparently proceeded chiefly from wool, fiſh, hides, cattle, and probably alſo ſome iron and lead ‡.

* As no rate of intereſt is mentioned, it is preſumed, that there was a known rate, ſo well eſtabliſhed by cuſtom, or the laws of both kingdoms, that it was thought unneceſſary to ſpecify it.

† There was a great deal more money drawn from Scotland to England: for King Edward, not ſatisfied with the obligations of *all* the people of Scotland, had, as a further ſecurity, twenty youths, the heirs of the firſt men of the kingdom, and of the king himſelf, and alſo three of the principal noblemen, put into his hands as hoſtages; and the money remitted for their ſupport was of itſelf ſufficient to diſtreſs a country circumſtanced as Scotland then was.

‡ 'Ferrifodinis et plumbicidiis, cujuſlibet etiam 'pene metalli, ſatis habilis,' ſays Fordun [*L.* ii, *c.* 8] in deſcribing the productions of Scotland.—As I have already mentioned exportations of dogs from

After this time the notices of the attendance of burgeſſes in the parliaments of Scotland are more frequent: and in the title of the laws of King Robert III (as publiſhed by Skene) we are told, that the biſhops, earls, barons, freeholders, and burgeſſes holding of the king, were ſummoned *in the uſual manner*. Admitting this to be genuine, burgeſſes muſt then have been conſtituent members of the parliament for a conſiderable time back.

King David ſoon after his return into his own dominions appointed Adam Tore, a burgeſs of Edinburgh, and James Mulekin of Florence, joint keepers of the exchange for all Scotland, and maſters of the mint *. It ſeems probable that the exchange, to which theſe officers were appointed, was formed upon the model of the new one lately eſtabliſhed in England by Edward, whoſe example he wiſhed, and greatly needed, to follow in all methods of acquiring money.

1358, November.—Before David was well ſettled in his own kingdom, he returned to England on a viſit to his kind brother-in-law, King Edward. His buſineſs is ſaid to have been to entreat an abatement of his ruinous ranſom, on condition of joining Edward in his wars; and he alſo requeſted, that there might be mutual liberty for the merchants of both kingdoms to trade freely in each, and that the money of both might alſo paſs indiſcriminately in each; and theſe requeſts, we are told, King Edward agreed to. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *p.* 98.—*Knyghton, col.* 2619.]

It is alleged that the merchant-adventurers of England this year obtained a grant of very ample privileges from the earl of Flanders, and thereupon eſtabliſhed their trade in Bruges; and that Bruges and all Flanders, in conſequence of that trade, grew to great wealth and proſperity. [*Wheeler's Treatiſe of commerce, p.* 14.] But we know from unexceptionable authority, that Bruges and all Flanders were very proſperous long before this time †.

1359, January 12th.—The trade of driving cattle from Scotland for ſale in England, which has continued down to the preſent day, is at

from the ſouth part of Britain, it may be proper to obſerve, that the greyhounds ('leporarii') of Scotland were ſo much eſteemed, that the duke of Berry in France thought it worth while to ſend his valet and three other men to procure ſome of them, and to obtain letters of ſafe conduct from the king of England for them to travel through his dominions upon that buſineſs. [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *p.* 831.]

* This information is from *a Table of contents of charters, &c. MS. Bib. Harl.* 4609, *Roll* D 2 A x, *n*^{i}. 24, 25. There are no dates mentioned; but as n°. 42 of the ſame roll contains the charter of creation of the earldom of Douglas, which was in February 1358 (as we now reckon the commencement of the year) and the king returned from his long captivity in October 1356, the end of 1356, or ſome time in 1357, ſeems the probable date of the appointment. In 1357 Adam Tore was one of the repreſentatives of Edinburgh in parliament. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *pp.* 44-59.] It is worthy of inveſtigation, whether the new exchange was eſtabliſhed for exchanging *gold* and ſilver money. See below under the year 1367.

† Wheeler, who was ſecretary to the company of merchant-adventurers about the year 1600, writes with great zeal for the honour and intereſt of his employers: he aſſerts roundly; but he produces no authorities, though he mentions ſeveral charters. His only original documents are ſome certificates, probably procured by himſelf, the earlieſt of them being dated in 1582.

leaſt as old as the times now under our conſideration: for we find a letter of ſafe conduct granted to Andrew Moray and Alan Erſkine, two Scottiſh drovers, with three horſemen and their ſervants, for traveling through England or the king's foreign dominions for a year, with horſes, oxen, cows, and other goods and merchandize. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *p.* 114.]

The fleet, with which King Edward this year invaded France, is ſaid by one author to have conſiſted of eleven hundred well-appointed ſhips. [*Walſingham, p.* 174.]

November 22[d]—In January the Flemings baniſhed all the Engliſh merchants in their country into Brabant, and put to death many of the citizens of Bruges, who had been favourable to them. King Edward therefor ordered all foreigners of whatever condition, except his own farmers, to leave his dominions before the 20[th] of July. But, as I have already obſerved, in thoſe days neither the Engliſh nor the Flemings could live without the benefits derived from mutual friendly intercourſe. When King Edward was this year on the continent, the Flemings were zealouſly attentive in providing his camp with neceſſaries; and he in return granted them liberty to trade in England, and to export corn and other proviſions on obtaining his ſpecial licences and paying the cuſtoms. [*Knyghton, col.* 2620.—*Fœdera, V.* vi, *pp.* 40, 47.]

1360, January—The prerogative of purveying (that is forcibly taking proviſions, liquors, or other wares) was not only veſted in the king and the royal family, but was alſo aſſumed, legally or illegally, by many others, to the ruin of the people and the great hinderance of trade. It was therefor now reſtricted by act of parliament to the king, the queen, and the king's oldeſt ſon; and ſeveral things purveyed for the queen and the prince were ordered to be paid for. [*Acts* 34 *Edw. III, cc.* 2, 3.]

The ſtatutes of labourers were confirmed: new penalties were enacted for labourers leaving their ſervice and going into another county: and they were deprived of the antient privilege annexed to reſidence in cities or burghs, the chief officers of which were now required to deliver them up. [*Acts* 34 *Edw. III, cc.* 9-11.]

All merchants and others, aliens or natives, had liberty to trade freely to and from Ireland with their merchandize, victuals, &c. without paying fine or ranſom beyond the antient cuſtoms and duties. [*Acts* 34 *Edw. III, cc.* 17, 18.]

The exportation of corn was now reſtricted to the ſupply of Calais and Gaſcoigne. [*Acts* 34 *Edw. III, c.* 20.] From this act, and the licence granted in the preceding year to the Flemings, it appears that corn formed a part of the uſual exports of England at this time*.

* In the year 1350 Everard Fitz-Nicol of Flardyng obtained licence to purchaſe 800 quarters of corn in England, and to carry it to Holland: [*Rymer's Acta manuſcr. Edw. III, V.* vii, n°. 130] and there is reaſon to believe that ſtill no corn could be exported without a ſpecial licence.

The permiſſion granted to Engliſh merchants to export wool was now confirmed. [*Acts* 34 *Edw. III, c.* 21.]

March—King Edward iſſued orders for arreſting all the veſſels in the kingdom, loaded or unloaded, in order to get together a fleet for another expedition to the continent: and he directed, that the largeſt ſhips ſhould carry 40 mariners, 40 armed men, and 60 archers; and barges ſhould be manned in proportion. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *pp.* 167, 169, 174.]

April 16th—The king, underſtanding that there were various mines of gold and ſilver in Ireland, which might be very beneficial to himſelf and the people of that country, commiſſioned his principal miniſters there to order a ſearch for the mines, and to do what would be moſt for his advantage. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *p.* 172.]

At this time there were ſome conſiderable manufactures in Ireland. The ſtuffs called *fayes*, made in that country, were in ſuch requeſt, that they were imitated by the manufacturers of Catalonia, who were in the practice of making the fineſt woollen goods of every kind: they were alſo eſteemed in Italy, and were worn by the ladies of Florence, a city abounding with the richeſt manufactures, and in which the luxury of dreſs was carried to the greateſt height. [*Capmany, Mem. hiſt. de Barcelona, V.* i, *Com. p.* 242.—*Fazio delli Uberti, L.* iv, *c.* 26.—*Tranſ. of Royal Iriſh acad. Antiq. p.* 17.] The annual revenue derived from Ireland, which amounted to near £10,000 *, [*Waræi Hibernia, p.* 136, *ed.* 1654] gives a very reſpectable idea of the balance drawn into that country by its commerce and manufactures, though we know next to nothing of the particular nature of them; unleſs we ſuppoſe a great part of the money to have been drawn from the mines, for which, I believe, there is neither authority nor probability.

May 8th—The long war with France was terminated (or ſuſpended) by a treaty of peace and friendſhip concluded at Bretigny, whereby King Edward gave up his claim to the crown of France, and the king of France, then Edward's priſoner, ceded many provinces and towns in France to him, and became bound to pay him three millions of gold ecus, which, at the declared value of 3/4 ſterling, were equal to half a million of pounds of the Engliſh money then current. The treaty, which is very long, contains no hint of any commercial intercourſe between the two countries. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *p.* 178.] France, then deſtitute of commerce and manufactures, was prodigiouſly diſtreſſed by the ranſom, which never was completely paid off.

We are told, that Nicolas of Lynne, an Engliſh friar and a good aſtronomer, made a voyage this year to the northern polar regions, which he repeated five times afterwards, and then preſented an account

* Walſingham [*Hiſt. p.* 350] ſtates the net revenue received from Ireland at this time at £30,000. But that author often daſhes his numbers of men and money at random; whereas Ware's information is taken from the records ſtill remaining.

of his diſcoveries to King Edward *. [*Hakluyt's Voiages, V.* i, *pp.* 121, 122.]

It was about the ſame time, if we may depend upon the authenticity of Zeno's voyage, with Doctor Forſter's expoſition of the geography of it, that ſome fiſhermen belonging to the Orkney iſlands were driven by ſtreſs of weather upon an iſland, ſituated in the Weſtern ocean, called Eſtotiland, which was apparently the country called Winland by the Norwegian diſcoverers. (See above, p. 279). The people of Eſtotiland were ingenious and ſenſible; they raiſed corn; their drink was ale; they poſſeſſed the arts and handicrafts known in Europe †; they had ſhips, with which they traded to Greenland and to the continent afterwards called *America;* and they retained the intrepidity of their Norwegian anceſtors in croſſing the trackleſs ocean, though ignorant of the compaſs; but they immediately underſtood the prodigious advantage the Orkney-men enjoyed in poſſeſſing that wonderful guide. From Greenland they imported furs, brimſtone, and pitch, and from the continent, apparently, gold. The king of Eſtotiland, conſidering the Orkney-men as ſuperior in nautical ſcience to his own ſubjects, gave them the charge of a fleet of twelve veſſels for a voyage to the continent. Thoſe veſſels were driven by a dreadful ſtorm upon a part of the coaſt occupied by cannibals, who devoured the moſt of the ſeamen: but the Orkney-men ſaved themſelves from the ſame fate by teaching the ſavages to catch fiſh with nets. The only one of them who returned to Orkney related, that he lived thirteen years on the continent, traveling through a great number of tribes, one of whom, ſituated in a mild climate to the ſouth-weſt, was more civilized than any of the others whom he had known, having gold and ſilver; cities and temples; that he afterwards got back to Eſtotiland, whence he made many voyages to the continent, and having acquired wealth, had fitted out a veſſel to return to his native country ‡.

* Leland ſays, that Nicolas wrote Canons of tables, an eſſay on the nature of the zodiak, and another on the houſes of the planets, which were extant in his own time. [*De ſcriptoribus, p.* 347.] But he has not a word of his voyages; and, I believe, they may be conſidered as rather doubtful.

† The king of Eſtotiland had a library, wherein there were ſome Latin books, not underſtood by him, which were probably carried thither by Eric biſhop of Greenland, who went to convert the people of Winland to Chriſtianity in the year 1121, and ſeems to have died there.

‡ Zeno's voyage was conſidered as a very doubtful ſtory, or rather a mere fable, till Doctor Forſter's able and ingenious expoſition removed the miſt, which overwhelmed it, and poured upon it a ſtream of light, little inferior to hiſtoric demonſtration. It is ſupported by, and it in return illuſtrates, the hiſtory of the diſcovery of Winland about the year 1000, an event probably not known to Zeno, or the recorder of his voyage, or indeed to any perſon in Italy, before books were rendered common by printing. That the people of Orkney, a Norwegian colony, ſhould be ignorant of the language of thoſe of Eſtotiland, apparently a colony from the ſame parent ſtock, may ſeem a circumſtance unfavourable to the credit of the narrative. But, as all languages are continually changing, we may well admit, that a ſeparation of about five centuries ſince the ſettlement of Iceland would produce a difference in two dialects of the ſame language ſufficient to prevent them from being mutually intelligible. Very little of the language, ſpoken in England five hundred years ago, can be underſtood in the preſent day by thoſe who have not ſtudied it; Chaucer's language is difficult to ordinary readers; and many words even in Shakſpeare are obſcure, if not unknown, to the moſt zealous and diligent of his commentators.

[*Forſter's Diſcoveries in the North, pp.* 188, 204 *Engl. tranſl.*] The ſuperior people, here deſcribed, muſt have been the Mexicans, who thus appear to have been known to this native of the Orkneys about 160 years before they were invaded by the Spaniards.

1361—The traditions of the North give very pompous accounts of the commercial proſperity of Wiſbuy, a city on the weſt ſide of Gothland, an iſland in the Baltic ſea. They tell us, that after the total deſtruction of Winet and Julin, famous commercial cities near the mouth of the Oder on the north coaſt of Germany, and the ſubſequent conflagration of Sleſwick, the whole trade of the peninſula of Yutland and the coaſts of the Baltic was removed to Ripen and ſoon after to Wiſbuy, which thereupon became the moſt flouriſhing commercial city in Europe *; and the merchants of Gothland, Sweden, Ruſſia, Denmark, Pruſſia, England, Scotland, Flanders, France, Finland, Vandalia, Saxony, and Spain, had factories there, and ſtreets appropriated to each ſeveral nation. There all ſtrangers were made welcome, and admitted to all the rights and privileges of citizens. The citizens lived ſplendidly in houſes built of marble; and the greateſt abundance and proſperity bleſſed the happy iſland, till, in the revolution of human affairs, the commerce, which had rendered Wiſbuy rich and happy, was transferred to other places. The invention of ſea charts, and a code of maritime laws, are alſo aſcribed to Wiſbuy; and we are told, that the merchants of other countries ſubmitted their cauſes to be tried by the magiſtrates of that city.—From theſe exaggerated accounts it ſeems probable, that Wiſbuy had more trade during the dark ages than any other place in the inland ſea wherein it is ſituated. In the year 1288 the citizens had a quarrel with the other inhabitants of the iſland, after which they fortified their city with a wall and a ditch; a circumſtance by no means agreeing with the reports of its wonderful opulence in earlier times, for, in thoſe days of rapine and violence, no town, that contained any thing worth plundering, could be without walls. Probably we ſhall come nearer the truth, if we aſſume that date for the commencement of the commercial proſperity of Wiſbuy †. After that time they became very powerful; and, conſcious of their naval ſuperiority, and intoxicated, as we are told, with their exceſſive proſperity, they preyed upon their weaker neighbours. Such conduct could not fail to ſtir up enemies. Waldemar king of Denmark invaded them in the year 1361, threw down their walls, and loaded his ſhips with the accumulated riches of the citizens. After doing them all the miſchief he could, he entered into a treaty of friendſhip with them, confirmed all the privileges

* The authors of thoſe accounts probably knew nothing of the commercial cities of the Mediterranean.

† The conflagration of Sleſwick, which is aſſigned as one of the principal cauſes of the population and trade of Wiſbuy, is dated in 1288 by Eric king of Denmark in his *Hiſtory of Denmark, p.* 167 *in Rep. Daniæ.*

and immunities which had been granted to them by the emperors of Germany and kings of Sweden, and gave them liberty to trade in his dominions on as favourable terms as his own ſubjects, together with the right of coining money, which they had hitherto practiſed without having any right*. [*Pontani Hiſt. rer. Dan. pp.* 376, 470, 733.—*Olaus Magnus, L.* ii, *c.* 22.—*Reſp. Daniæ, p.* 80.]

1362, October—Notwithſtanding the act of the year 1360, the oppreſſive abuſe of purveyance ſtill continued. It was now enacted, that there ſhould be no purveyors but for the king and queen; that the odious name of *purveyor* ſhould be laid aſide, and that of *buyer* ſubſtituted for it †; that ready money ſhould be paid for all things taken for the royal houſehold, and that the prices of them ſhould be appraiſed, except thoſe of things for the uſe of the horſes, for which the buyers were to agree with the ſellers; that commiſſioners ſhould be appointed to inſpect the conduct of the purveyors; and that no chator (or purveyor) for any ſubject ſhould take any thing without the conſent of the owner. [*Stat.* 1, 36 *Edw. III, cc.* 1-6.] As the purveyors, or buyers, made very lucrative jobs of their office ‡, it is probable that theſe laws were no better obſerved than the preceding ones on the ſame ſubject: and, indeed, the frequent repetitions of laws for the ſame things ſhows plainly, that they were in general very inefficient.

The ſtatute of the ſtaple having veſted the mayors and conſtables of the ſtaples with juriſdiction in matters of felony, aſſaults, and treſpaſſes, in their towns, it was thought proper, that they ſhould only take cognizance of debts and contracts between perſons who were known to be merchants, and that criminal matters ſhould be tried at common law, as formerly; only that alien merchants might ſtill, if they choſe it, bring all cauſes, whether civil or criminal, wherein they were any way concerned, before the mayor of the ſtaple. It was alſo ordained, that the king and other lords ſhould enjoy all the privileges they had poſſeſſed before the ſtatute of the ſtaples was enacted, except in pleas of debt, which were reſerved to the juriſdiction of the mayor of the ſtaple, whoever might be the parties. [*Stat.* 1, 36 *Edw. III, c.* 7.]

The liberty granted to *all* merchants to export wool was this year confirmed. [*Stat.* 1, 36 *Edw. III, c.* 11.]

The prelates, lords, and commons, repreſented to the king, that many people ſuffered exceedingly from the laws being unknown, becauſe they

* If they were an independent community, upon what principle could it be alleged, that they had not a right to coin money?

† New names do not change the nature of things. How long the name of *purveyor* remained proſcribed, is perhaps unknown: but we ſee it revived, and holding its place (I ſuppoſe, very innocently) in the modern liſts of the royal houſehold.

‡ We know, that the purveyors of wine in the year 1369 were accuſed of detaining cargoes of wine, on pretence that they were taken for the king, to the great diſappointment of intending purchaſers, and damage of the owners, that they m ght make their own profit of them. [*See Acts, 43 Edw. III, c.* 3.]

were ‘ pleaded, ſhewed, and judged in the French tongue,’ which was little known in the kingdom, ſo that the parties were ignorant of what was ſaid in their own cauſes by the lawyers in the courts; and that the laws ought in reaſon to be expreſſed in the language of the country, agreeable to the practice of other nations, in order to enable the people to know how to conduct themſelves.—It was ordained, that all pleadings in courts ſhould be in Engliſh, but that *they ſhould be inrolled in Latin;* and that the laws ſhould be kept as they were before *. [*Stat.* 1, 36 *Edw. III, c.* 15.]

The parliament fixed the duty upon wool exported at £1 : 6 : 8 per ſack, and ſo to continue for three years. At the ſame time duties were alſo granted on wool-fells and hides. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 94.—*Walſingham, p.* 179.]

October 26th—As if the enormous ranſom for the king and the expenſe of the hoſtages, all going out of Scotland without any return, had not been ſufficient to impoveriſh that country, the biſhop of St. Andrews, ſeven earls and barons, one counteſs, and nine burgeſſes and merchants of Linlithgow, St. Andrews, Edinburgh, and Tinedale (one of whom, however, is ſaid to be on the buſineſs of merchandizing) were all ſtruck with the frenzy of paying their devotions at the tomb of St. Thomas at Canterbury, for which purpoſe each of them obtained a paſſport from King Edward. Some of them, whoſe devotion to the martyr ſtill continued ardent, returned ſoon after with a new ſhole of devotees to Canterbury; and it is obſervable, that then, and afterwards, they were reſtrained by the terms of their paſſports from carrying any Engliſh horſes to Scotland with them. So far was the king of Scotland from endeavouring to alleviate the miſery, his ranſom brought upon his ſubjects, by a wiſe public economy, and the diſcouragement of this ruinous folly, that he himſelf, as long as he lived, was the moſt frequent viſitor to St. Thomas; and, by his example, the people of all ranks in Scotland continued many years infected with the ſame ſuperſtition. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *pp.* 395, 407, 576, &c. &c.]

1363, March 1st—The parliament having ordained ‘ for the profit of ‘ the realm and *eaſe* of merchants of England, that the ſtaple of wool, ‘ wool-fells, and hides, ſhould be held at Calais,’ it now began to be held there accordingly †. [*Acts*, 43 *Edw. III, preamble.*] The king appointed twenty-ſix principal merchants to have the cuſtody of that town,

* By this law we learn that Engliſh had been for a conſiderable time the predominant language, even among the higher claſſes, in England. But this law was as little within the comprehenſion of the great bulk of the people as all thoſe which preceded it; for it, and alſo all thoſe after it, with very few exceptions, for above a century, were written in unknown language, generally French, only a very few being in Latin.

† In the parliament held in October 1362 ‘ the ‘ lords being required to ſpeak what they thought ‘ of the repair of merchants to Callis, thought it ‘ good to have the ſame done. But the com- ‘ mons referred their anſwer until conference with ‘ the merchants.’ [*Cotton's Abridgement of records, p.* 92.] This is a good inſtance of the attention of the repreſentatives to the commercial intereſts of their conſtituents.

each having under him ſix armed men and four archers on the king's pay. He appointed a mayor for the ſtaple and another for the town. The impoſt, called maletorth, payable to the king, was fixed at 20*ſ*, and that payable to the merchant wardens at 3*ſ*4, for every ſack of wool. [*Knyghton, col.* 2626.] Thus were the ſtatute of the ſtaple, and all the vaſt multitude of regulations relating to it, rendered nugatory, before they were fairly eſtabliſhed, and before the people concerned were habituated to the arrangements proper for conducting their buſineſs with propriety and advantage.

June 7th—It appears that Engliſh cattle were a profitable article in Flanders, as Andrew Deſtrer of Bruges giternar (player on the guitar) to the queen, obtained permiſſion to carry over twenty-five oxen or cows, without paying any duty. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *p.* 418.]

October—Some very extraordinary laws were now enacted. The parliament, after ſetting forth that many merchants, by undue arts and combinations, and by means of their fraternities and gilds, had engroſſed all kinds of goods, which they kept up, till they could ſell them at enormous prices, ordained that every merchant or ſhopkeeper ſhould make his election before Candlemas of one particular kind of goods, and ſhould be allowed till the 24th of June to diſpoſe of his other goods on hand, after which time he ſhould deal in the one kind choſen by him, and no other. Artificers were in like manner tied down to one occupation, with an exception in favour of female brewers, bakers, weavers, ſpinſters, and other women employed upon works in wool, linen, or ſilk, in embroidery, &c.* [*Stat.* 37 *Edw. III, cc.* 5, 6.]

Goldſmiths were ordered to make their work of ſtandard quality, and to ſtamp it with their own marks in addition to the eſſayer's ſtamp. Thoſe who made ſilver work, were prohibited from gilding. [*Stat.* 37 *Edw. III, c.* 7.]

Luxury being come to a great height, the parliament took the trouble to preſcribe a ſcale of victuals and clothing for the various members of the community, regulated by the rank, fortune, or profeſſion, of each

* If this act had been in the language of the country, we ſhould have ſeen *brewſter, bakſter, webſter*, the termination *ſter* ſignifying a woman (not a man) who brews, bakes, weaves, &c. as I have obſerved in another work. When men began to invade thoſe departments of induſtry by which women uſed to earn an honeſt livelihood, they retained the feminine appellations (as men-midwives and men-milliners do now) for ſome time: but afterwards maſculine words drove the feminine ones out of the language, as the men had driven the women out of the employments. Spinſter ſtill retains its genuine termination; and the language of the law ſeems to preſume, that every unmarried woman is induſtriouſly employed in ſpinning.

In the progreſs of improvement artificers have found it expedient to ſubdivide their employments, and reſtrict themſelves, each to a particular branch, not for the purpoſe of preventing combinations, but for a facility in carrying every particular branch to the greater perfection by attending to one only. Thus does trade, in proceſs of time, regulate itſelf, far better than the interference of any legiſlature can ever do. He was a wiſe man, who, being aſked by the prime miniſter of France, what the merchants wiſhed him to do for the benefit of commerce, anſwered him with this ſhort and pithy ſentence, '*Laiſſez nous faire*,' leave us to ourſelves.

individual. Ploughmen and others employed in country work, and people not poſſeſſing property to the value of 40*s*, were to clothe themſelves in blanket and ruſſet lawn. Servants of lords, tradeſmen, and artiſans, were allowed cloth of the value of £1 : 6 : 8 per piece. Artificers and yeomen might give £2 for their piece of cloth. Gentlemen having £100 a-year, and merchants and tradeſmen worth £500 of clear property, might wear cloth of £3 per piece. Gentlemen having £200 a-year, and people in trade worth above £1,000, were only intitled to cloth of £3 : 6 : 8. But knights having 200 marks of income might beſtow £4 for their piece of cloth: and thoſe having above 400 marks a-year might wear whatever they choſe, except ermine. The clergy were to have their cloth equal to that of the laity of the ſame income. And all women were to dreſs in proportion to the incomes of their huſbands, fathers, &c. But it would be too tedious to go into the minutiæ of theſe ſhort-lived and futile regulations, eſpecially thoſe for the dreſſes and trinkets of the women. We learn by them, that veils were worn, even by the wives and daughters of ſervants, who were not allowed to give more than twelve pennies for them. [*Stat.* 37 *Edw. III*, *cc.* 8-14.] We are told that the plunder brought from France furniſhed the materials of a great part of the extravagance now complained of, and an infectious example for the reſt of it. [*Walſingham*, *p.* 168.]

Theſe regulations were immediately followed by another, worthy to accompany them. The clothiers were ordered to make a ſufficient quantity of cloth of the ſeveral prices required; and the ſhopkeepers were ordered to provide a proper ſtock of them to ſupply the demand. [*Stat.* 37 *Edw.* III, *c.* 15.] This law, however, ſeems to infer, that there was now a ſufficient quantity of cloth made in England to ſupply every conſumer, except thoſe of the higheſt claſſes, whoſe number being ſmall, their conſumption of foreign-made cloth could have no influence in depreſſing the home manufacture.

This year the king commanded, that no man ſhould export cloth, butter, cheeſe, ſheep, malt, or beer. But the German merchants might export worſteds and ſtreight cloths, and thoſe of Gaſcoigne might carry woollen cloths to the value of the wines imported by them. [*Cotton's Abridgement*, *p.* 96.] In the following year ſeveral licences were granted for exporting cloths; and the merchants of Boſton, in particular, were allowed to export wooled, ſhort, and ſtreight (perhaps narrow), cloths *. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 38 *Edw. III*, *mm.* 1, 2, 3, 17.] From theſe prohibitions and limited permiſſions it may be inferred, that Engliſh cloth was already in great demand abroad. Probably the quantity made in Flanders was now diminiſhed in conſequence of more Engliſh wool being worked up at home than formerly.

2 * 'Pannos lanutos, curtos, et ſtrictos.'

November 27th—King Edward having renounced his pretenſions to the kingdom of France, and finding his purchaſe of the kingdom of Scotland from his vaſſal Balliol as ineffectual as his attempts to ſubdue it by force, bethought himſelf of another method of acquiring that kingdom. Before King David was born, the parliament of Scotland had ſettled the ſucceſſion of the crown on the heirs male of King Robert, and, failing them, on Robert Stewart the ſon of his deceaſed daughter. David's wife had lately died without having ever born a child, and, as often happens, he was not upon friendly terms with his declared ſucceſſor. Such being the ſituation of the royal family of Scotland, and the country groaning under the preſſure of the king's ranſom, Edward thought it a favourable opportunity for perſuading David to conſent, that, failing male * iſſue of himſelf, he, or his ſucceſſors, kings of England, ſhould ſucceed to the kingdom of Scotland. In order to ſweeten the propoſal to the king, the nobles, and people, of Scotland, he offered to remit the whole balance, then unpaid, of the ranſom (30,000 marks were now paid); to reſtore Berwick, Rokſburgh, Jedburgh, and Lochmaben, with their annexed diſtricts, immediately to the Scots; to reſtore, or compenſate, to David the greateſt part of the lands belonging to his anceſtors in England; to make ſimilar reſtitution to Douglas (a powerful earl in Scotland) and to the abbays and other religious foundations; to take upon himſelf to ſatisfy ſome Engliſh barons for their claims upon eſtates in Scotland; to ſwear that the king of England and Scotland ſhould never alienate nor divide the later kingdom; to preſerve the antient laws and uſages of the kingdom; and to conduct the government entirely by the adminiſtration of natives of the country, and by parliaments to be held in Scotland; to lay no new impoſitions, priſes, tallages, or exactions, beſides thoſe which were eſtabliſhed in the times of the good kings of Scotland; that the Scottiſh merchants ſhould uſe their own franchiſes in trade, without being under any compulſion to go to Calais or any other place but at their own pleaſure, and they ſhould pay no more than half a mark for every ſack of wool to the great cuſtom †. [*Fœdera*, *V.* vi, *p.* 426.]—Such was the ſketch of a treaty talked over by the privy counſelors of the two kings in their preſence at London, and approved of by them both. But David, having already raiſed an inſurrection againſt himſelf by propoſing to his parliament to appoint Lionel, the ſecond ſurviving ſon of Edward, to be his ſucceſſor in caſe of his death without iſſue, was now more cau-

* The word *male* is kept out of ſight in the beginning of the ſcheme; but it appears in the concluſion of it.

† Abercromby and Lord Hailes give different expoſitions of this article. I preſume, that half a mark per ſack was the antient duty on wool exported from Scotland, and that the Scots were not to be liable to pay the much-heavier duty then paid upon wool in England. In a propoſed treaty, ſomewhat ſimilar, in the year 1290, when there was a proſpect of uniting the two kingdoms by a marriage, there was not a word of the commerce or merchants of either kingdom. [*Fœdera*, *V.* ii, *p.* 482.]

tious: and it appears, that he never ſaw any proſpect of obtaining the conſent of his ſubjects, exaſperated by the miſeries of an age of warfare, to an union with their inveterate enemies; and therefor he carefully kept the ſcheme (for it was expreſsly declared to be no more) a dead ſecret *. Certain it is, that, under more auſpicious circumſtances, ſuch an union might have been acceptable, and have greatly accelerated the improvement of agriculture and manufactures in both kingdoms, eſpecially Scotland, and would have enabled Great Britain much ſooner to aſſume a pre-eminent rank among the kingdoms of Europe.

The equitable mode of repairing the roads by funds raiſed from tolls, collected from thoſe who uſed them, was now ſo far eſtabliſhed, that we find, beſides the renewals of the tolls for the Weſtminſter road almoſt annually, tolls granted this year for the road between Highgate and Smithfield, for that from Wooxbridge (Uxbridge) by Acton to London, and for the venel called Faytor (Fetter) lane in Holburn. [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 37 *Edw. III, mm.* 25, 44, 47.]

It may be proper to obſerve, as a proof that ſome of the citizens of London were already very opulent, that Henry Picard, who had been mayor ſome years before, made a magnificent entertainment this year at his own houſe in the Vintry, to which he invited his ſovereign the king of England, the kings of France, Scotland, and Cyprus, (all three then viſitors at the court of England) the prince of Wales, and many of the nobility; his wife at the ſame time giving another entertainment in her apartments, I preſume, to the ladies. According to the cuſtom of the age, Picard preſented rich gifts to the king, the nobles, and knights, who dined with him †. [*Stow's Annales, p.* 415, *ed.* 1600.]

1364, January—The experiment of compelling the people to feed and clothe themſelves according to a preſcribed ſtandard of rank and fortune was found not to anſwer expectation, and the acts ordaining it were repealed. The other ſtrange law, reſtricting merchants or ſhopkeepers to one ſingle article of merchandize, was alſo abrogated; and all merchants, aliens or denizens, were allowed to buy and ſell all kinds of goods, and to export them on paying the cuſtoms, except that Engliſh merchants were now again prohibited from exporting wool and woolfells. All perſons were *again* prohibited from carrying abroad any gold or ſilver, excepting (as before) the fiſhermen who ſold nothing but fiſh. [*Stat.* 1, 38 *Edw. III, cc.* 2, 6.]

* And it remained unknown to all the hiſtorians of England and Scotland, and utterly forgotten, till it was publiſhed by Rymer in the year 1727.

† Stow tells us that Picard, having won fifty marks from the king of Cyprus at play, reſtored them to him, and gave gifts to his retinue. Stow has dated the entertainment in the year 1357, when he was mayor; but 1363 was the year of the viſitation of the kings.—In the year 1350 Henry Picard and another perſon were appointed by the king to make an inquiry concerning a Genoeſe veſſel; and in 1359 he and Hugh de Wichingham lent the king 15,000 marks. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *p.* 692.—*Rot. pat. ſec.* 33 *Edw. III, m.* 14.]

It was enacted, that a veſſel ſhould not be liable to ſeizure for a little thing put onboard, without paying cuſtom, unknown to the owner. [*Stat.* 1, 38 *Edw. III, c.* 8.] It is evident that the want of preciſion in this law (as indeed in moſt others of the age) left it in the breaſt of the judge to acquit or condemn any veſſel, juſt as he choſe to call the thing ſmuggled a little thing or a great thing.

That there might be the greater plenty of wine in the country, the king allowed all denizens, except artificers, to bring wine from Gaſcoigne, as well as the Gaſcons and other aliens. [*Stat.* 1, 38 *Edw. III, c.* 11.]

1365, May 20th—A ſhip belonging to the biſhop of Aberdeen, having been left at anchor with only two men onboard, had been driven out to ſea, and put into Yarmouth, where the admiral ſeized her as a wreck. On complaint being made to King Edward, he ordered the admiral to reſtore the veſſel, which could not be adjudged to be wreck when there was any living animal onboard, and much leſs being in the charge of two men. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *p.* 462.]

July 28th—The king, obſerving that many of the clergy and laity carried great ſums of money out of the kingdom, by *bills of exchange*, and by way of advance, in merchandize, in coin, and by many other ſubterfuges, without obtaining his licence, ſent orders to many of the great officers of his foreign dominions to make ſtrict ſearch by day and by night, and to ſtop all perſons having money, bullion, bills of exchange, &c. except known merchants; and to make all mariners and merchants arriving from England ſwear, that they had no money, bullion, or bills of exchange, except for the purpoſes of their lawful trade. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *p.* 475.] As the balance of trade is known to have been favourable to England at this time, theſe prohibitions, and very laborious and expenſive watchings, ſhow clearly, that, though ſome remittances were made by bills of exchange, the ſcience of negotiating them, and, indeed, all other commercial ſcience, was ſcarcely known, at leaſt in England.

The number of perſons at this time in England, poſſeſſing property to the value of thirty pennies in cattle *, was only *forty-eight thouſand*, if we may venture to take it from the collection of St. Peter's pennies, amounting only to 300 marks, which the king this year took to himſelf. [*Stow's Annales, p.* 420.]

* Stow ſays, 'All that had 30 penny woorth of 'goods, of one manner cattel in their houſe of 'their own proper.'—The ſenſe of this is rather obſcure: but it may perhaps be explained from Knyghton's deſcription [*col.* 2356] of the perſons liable to pay St. Peter's penny in the reign of the Conqueror, viz. every perſon having the value of thirty pennies of live money (ſlaves and cattle) in his houſe. Earlier deſcriptions may be ſeen in the Saxon laws, and Spelman's explanations of them in his *Concilia* and his *Gloſſary*: but this is the lateſt I find, for I do not know whence Stow has taken the paſſage, which I have here quoted from him, and given on the faith of his general integrity.

From the account of Bartholemew Glantville * [*De proprietatibus rerum, L.* vi, *cc.* 12, 16, *ed.* 1481] we find, that ſlavery ſtill remained with all its rigours in England; the child of a female ſlave was a ſlave; ſhe was debarred from marrying without the conſent of her proprietor; and a free man by marrying a ſlave reduced himſelf to the ſtate of ſlavery. All ſlaves were ſold like any other living property. We find, however, no accounts of ſlaves being imported or exported in this age.

After an interval of almoſt a century, a feeble attempt was made this year by the king of Cyprus to renew the holy war. He took Alexandria, and after keeping poſſeſſion of it four days, burnt the greateſt part of it, and, underſtanding that the enemy were approaching in great force, went off with a great deal of plunder, conſiſting of cloth of gold, ſilk, and other pretious articles, which his ſoldiers, among whom there were ſome Engliſhmen and Gaſcons, proudly exhibited as trophies of their valour in their own countries. But in conſequence of the deſtruction made by thoſe marauders, the price of ſpices was raiſed in all the weſtern parts of the world. The cruſade, undertaken on pretence of religion, being thus found deſtructive of commerce, the Venetians who were moreover ſuffering from the reſentment and revenge of the Egyptians, perſuaded the king of Cyprus to negotiate a peace, in which the recovery of the Holy land was entirely loſt ſight of. The war was ſoon renewed by the turbulent king of Cyprus, who intereſted the pope in his cauſe ſo far as to attempt to ſtir up ſome of the princes of Europe to renew the folly of the preceding century. But his holineſs, finding he could not prevail with any of them to take the croſs, perſuaded the king of Cyprus to ſeek for peace, which he obtained. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *p.* 533.—*Anon. Vit. Edw. III, p.* 430.—*Walſingham, p.* 180.—*De Guignes, en Mem. de litterature, V.* xxxvii, *p.* 513.]

We are told, that ſome navigators of Dieppe in Normandy this year (or the year before) diſcovered the coaſt of Africa as far as the River Senegal, where they formed a ſettlement, and obtained ſome articles of African produce, which they had formerly received by the way of Alexandria. The diſcoverers admitted ſeveral merchants of Rouen to ſhare with them in the African trade; and in the year 1366 the enlarged company fitted out ſeveral veſſels, and ſettled factories on the Rivers Niger † and Gambia, at Sierra Leona, &c. In 1382 they built the fort De la Mine d'or on the coaſt of Guinea, and afterwards thoſe of Acora, Cormentin, and others: and they went on very proſperouſly till the year 1392, when the civil wars, together with miſmanagement among

* Better known by the name of Bartholomæus Anglicus. His book upon the properties of things is a kind of ſummary of the knowlege of the age, in the manner of Iſidore. It is a pity, that his very frequent quotations from antient authors, and chiefly from Iſidore, for what he ought to have known better himſelf, render it often doubtful, whether the manners he deſcribes are thoſe of his own age or not.

† Rather the river which uſed to be ſuppoſed the mouth of the Niger.

themſelves, brought on their ruin and the loſs of all their ſettlements, except the one on the Niger. Theſe eſtabliſhments (if they were unqueſtionably authenticated) might be conſidered as a renovation of the antient commerce carried on by the Carthaginians on the African coaſt, and the firſt rudiments of the diſcoveries, which, extending along the whole coaſt of that continent, and at length to India, entirely unhinged the ſyſtem of antient commerce, and paved the way to thoſe mighty revolutions which have affected the whole ſurface of the globe *. [See *De Guignes, en Mem. de litterature, V.* xxxvii, *pp.* 518-521.]

The Flemings, who knew, better than any other people in the weſt parts of Europe, how to turn all raw materials to the moſt profitable uſes, this year (and probably long before and after) received rabbit ſkins from England, which, we may ſuppoſe, they made into hats. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 39 *Edw. III, m.* 28.]

1367—Some writers have thought it worth while to inform us, that a thouſand citizens of Genoa, all dreſſed in ſilk, welcomed the pope to their city, when he ſtopped there in his way from Avignon to Rome: and the exhibition of ſo much finery is adduced as a proof of the great opulence of the city †.

May 15th—It is worthy of notice, that Galeaz, lord of Milan, offered his ſecond daughter in marriage to Lionel, the ſecond ſurviving ſon of King Edward, and to give, as her portion, lands in Piedmont of the annual value of 24,000 gold florins (then equal to three ſhillings ſterling each) together with 100,000 in ready money; or, if it were more agreeable to the king and his ſon to have all money, he offered to give 250,000 gold florins, beſides furniſhing his daughter magnificently with dreſſes and jewels, and even furniture, and conducting her and the mo-

* 'The ivory brought from the Tooth coaſt by 'the merchants of Dieppe gave birth to the works 'in ivory, by which that town was enriched as 'long as the ware continued to be eſteemed by the 'public.' [*Spectacle de la Nature, V.* iv, *p.* 429, *ed.* 1739.]—Notwithſtanding the very reſpectable authority of De Guignes, the author of the Spectacle de la Nature, &c. the whole hiſtory of the French colonies on the African coaſt is controverted; and it is generally aſſerted, that no European ever ſailed beyond Barbary before the Portugueſe. It is ſaid that the Portugueſe kept their diſcoveries as ſecret as poſſible; but, admitting the authenticity of the French diſcoveries, the ſecret of them muſt have been much better preſerved, as it ſeems pretty certain that the Portugueſe had no knowlege of any voyages made by the French to the coaſt of Africa previous to their own. But a continuation of a ſecret trade for above a hundred years was not ſo practicable in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as when the Phœnicians of Gadir and Carthage enjoyed their ſecret trades to the Caſſiterides and the African coaſt.

† Quere, if not rather a proof that 1,000 dreſſes of ſilk appeared in the eye of the writer a very extraordinary diſplay of magnificence? When ſilk was more worn by the ladies of this country than it is at preſent, would it have been worthy of notice, even in a newſpaper, that 1,000 ladies appeared in ſilk gowns in Hyde park or Kenſington gardens? Neither was the diſplay of ſilk beyond ſome others of much earlier ages. In the year 1130 all the attendants at the coronation dinner of Roger king of Sicily were dreſſed in ſilk. [*Alex. Tenec. ap. Muratori Script. V.* v, *col.* 622.] Sicily, it is true, was then a chief ſeat of the ſilk manufacture. But even in the remote iſland of Great Britain the diſplay of ſilk and other finery at the marriage of Alexander III king of Scotland to the daughter of Henry III king of England in the year 1251 (See above, p. 400) was rather ſuperior to this boaſted exhibition of Genoa the Stately.

ney to Calais at his own expenſe. The bargain was ſtruck for the lands and 100,000 florins. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *pp.* 547, 564.] We have here a notable proof of the vaſtneſs of the maſs of the pretious metals circulating in Italy at this time, the fruit of flouriſhing commerce and manufactures: for it is idle to ſuppoſe, that any great proportion of the wealth of Italy could be acquired by the trade of lending money upon uſury or intereſt, as ſome have aſſerted. Productive induſtry muſt neceſſarily provide the funds for the payment of intereſt, which, unleſs in the caſe of intereſt paid by the ſtate, and provided for by national eſtates or taxes *, is truely a participation of profits between the proprietor of the capital and the actual conductor of the buſineſs ſupported by that capital.

June 1st—King Edward licenced a German merchant to import eight horſes from Flanders, and to ſell them for his beſt advantage in England, or to carry them to any other country, except Scotland, to which he did not allow any horſes to be taken out of England †. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *p.* 566.]

The parliament of Scotland had in the preceding year ordered the money of the kingdom to be coined of the ſame quality and weight with that of England, viz. twenty-five ſhillings out of the pound of ſtandard ſilver. But this year, conſidering the ſcarcity of ſilver money, and thinking, according to the ſtrange erroneous notion of the age, that it was in their power to increaſe the quantity of it, merely by diminiſhing its intrinſic value, they ordered that the pound of ſilver ſhould be coined into twenty-nine ſhillings and four pennies, or rather (as there were no ſuch coins as ſhillings) into 352 pennies, pennies with their halves and quarters, together with ſome groats and half groats, being hitherto the only ſilver coins ſtruck either in Scotland or in England. They alſo ordered that no perſon, whether native or foreigner, ſhould carry any money of gold ‡ or ſilver out of the kingdom, except what might be ſufficient for his neceſſary expenſes, without paying a duty of

* Intereſt ariſing from national eſtates or taxes does not enrich the community, as it only transfers money from one hand to another, generally within the ſame territory. But manufactures and commerce enrich the country by money drawn from foreigners; and of the wealth ſo acquired, this marriage portion, and the one given by the duke of Brabant to King Edward in the year 1339, are illuſtrious examples and proofs.

† When Lionel went from England to marry the daughter of Galeaz, he took with him 1,280 horſes, though he had only 547 men, and was going to Lombardy, a country from which England uſed to import horſes. On that occaſion the king alſo ſent ſome horſes as a preſent to Galeaz. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *p.* 590.—*Madox's MS. Coll. V.* i, *p.* 63, *in Muſ. Brit.*]

‡ It is generally agreed, that no gold money was coined in Scotland before the reign of Robert II, the ſucceſſor of David II. If the laws of David II, publiſhed by Skene, were unqueſtionably genuine, here would be a proof, or at leaſt a ſtrong preſumption, that he coined gold.—But the laws are not to be depended upon; and I even heſitate in tranſcribing the regulations concerning the Scottiſh money, though ſupported by the example of the diligent and accurate Ruddiman. See his learned *Preface to Anderſon's Diplomata et numiſmata Scotiæ.* The antient laws of Scotland ſtand much in need of a new edition; but the work ought to be undertaken by an editor, very different in knowlege and induſtry from Skene.

half a mark for every pound (or 16⅔ per cent), the duty impoſed in the year 1347 being thus lowered to one half: but foreigners were permitted to carry away the money brought by themſelves without paying any duty. They alſo further enforced the duties, formerly impoſed, of forty pennies in the pound on the price of horſes, and twelve pennies on that of oxen and cows, carried out of the country: and they made ſome regulations reſpecting the payment for things taken for the royal houſehold, ſimilar to thoſe lately enacted in England. [*Stat. Dav. II, cc.* 37, 38, 46. 48, 49, 52.]

1368, January—That the armourers of England were ſuperior to thoſe of Scotland, and probably alſo to thoſe of ſome other countries, appears from the petitions of two Scottiſh gentlemen to King Edward for leave to purchaſe armour in London for a duel, which they were engaged to fight in Scotland. Their petitions were granted: but ſo much was armour an object of the jealous attention of government, that the various pieces they were permitted to buy were carefully ſpecified. Further proofs of the ſuperiority of the armour, and of the jealouſy of government reſpecting it, alſo appear in ſome of the paſſports granted to Scottiſh travelers in England, wherein they are charged to carry no armour out of the country. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *pp.* 582, 583, 584, &c.]

May 1st—The permiſſion, lately granted to the Engliſh to import wine from Gaſcoigne, was now revoked; and they were not even allowed to bargain for any wine, till after it was landed by the foreign importer. [*Acts*, 42 *Edw. III, c.* 8.] As the natives of England were now debarred from exporting wool and wool-fells, and from importing wine, the chief articles of the trade of the country, we need not wonder, that they looked upon foreign merchants with an evil eye. I believe, no writer has ever attempted to account for theſe extraordinary prohibitions, ſo glaringly and diametrically oppoſite to the moſt obvious principles of commercial policy and common ſenſe.

May 4th—King Edward took under his protection John Uneman, William Uneman, and John Lietuyt, clock-makers from Delf, who propoſed to carry on their buſineſs in England: and he ordered all his ſubjects to protect and defend them from all injuries *. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *p.* 590.]

May 24th—The king had promiſed by a charter to the burgeſſes of Berwick upon Tweed, that they ſhould be governed by the ſame laws and cuſtoms, which had been eſtabliſhed in the reign of Alexander king of Scotland. On their complaint of encroachments upon their rights, he ordered his warden and chamberlain of that town to pay due attention to the laws of Scotland, and regulate their proceedings by them,

* Theſe were probably the firſt profeſſed clock-makers in England. Wallingford, abbat of St. Albans, who conſtructed a wonderful piece of mechaniſm in the beginning of this reign (*ſee above*, *p.* 503) was a volunteer artiſt.

agreeable to his charter. But his order was not obeyed; for the ſame complaint, and the ſame order, were repeated a year after. [*Fœdera*, *V.* vi, *pp.* 593, 620.]

November 20th—In a treaty of alliance between Charles, king of France, and Henry, the new king of Caſtile, the later engaged to contribute, and keep at ſea, twice as many gallies as France, to act againſt England. [*Fœdera*, *V.* vi, *pp.* 598, 622.] Though the war was chiefly on Henry's account, in conſequence of the aſſiſtance given by the prince of Wales to Peter the Cruel, we ſhall, perhaps, not err very much, if we ſuppoſe that Caſtile had twice as much trade and navigation as France.

1369, March 20th—King Edward, underſtanding that ſome artificers refuſed to work for the wages appointed by him and his council, ordered the keepers of the peace and the ſhirrefs to puniſh all recuſant artificers, and alſo all employers who gave any more than the limited wages. [*Fœdera*, *V.* vi, *p.* 615.]

May 10th—The merchants and other people of Flanders and Lombardy being injured and inſulted in London, the king declared, that they were under his protection, and that the kingdom was benefited by them; and he commanded, that all who moleſted them ſhould be impriſoned. [*Fœdera*, *V.* vi, *p.* 618.]

Summer—In conſequence of the renewal of the war with France, it was thought unſafe to continue the ſtaple for wool, wool-fells, and hides, any longer at Calais: and therefor the king and parliament ordained, that ſtaples for thoſe articles ſhould be held at Newcaſtle, Kingſton upon Hull, Boſton, Yarmouth, Queenburgh, Weſtminſter, Chicheſter, Wincheſter, Exeter, and Briſtol, and alſo in thoſe towns in Ireland and Wales, wherein they had formerly been*. All merchants, denizens or aliens, were permitted freely to go over all the country to buy and ſell all kinds of goods, carrying the ſtaple articles to the ſtaple towns, there to be weighed, cocketed, and cuſtomed, and the ſacks of wool to be ſealed by the mayor of the ſtaple of the place. The ſtaple goods of Weſtminſter and Wincheſter were obliged, as formerly, to undergo a ſecond weighing at London and Southampton, the ports of ſhipping. Alien merchants were at liberty to carry their merchandize to any port whatever: but denizens were not permitted to export any ſtaple goods on pain of forfeiture of veſſel and cargo, beſides impriſonment for three years. [*Stat.* 43 *Edw. III, preamble, and c.* 1.]

Though it was alleged that the law for allowing foreigners only to import wines was found advantageous to all the kingdom, nevertheleſs, as the prince of Wales, who was alſo prince of Aquitaine (or Gaſcoigne), complained, that his revenue was impaired by the abſence of the Engliſh

* Stow [*Annales*, *p.* 423] mentions only Queenburgh, Kingſton upon Hull, and Boſton, as the ſtaples ordained by parliament: and it may be obſerved that Sir Robert Cotton [*Abridgement*, *p.* 110] notes the printed act as varying much from the original record.

buyers of wine, and great quantities of wine remained unſold, it was now enacted, that any native of England, Ireland, or Wales, not being an artificer, might go to Gaſcoigne to buy wines, on finding ſecurity to the magiſtrates of the port of departure, that he would buy at leaſt one hundred tuns of wine, and carry them to no other country but his own, on pain of forfeiture of veſſel and cargo, beſides impriſonment. [*Stat.* 43 *Edw. III, c.* 2.]

A war, almoſt entirely maritime, between Waldemar king of Denmark and the citizens of the Hanſe towns was this year concluded. By the treaty of peace Waldemar agreed to put into their hands the towns of Helſingburg, Malmog, Schanore, and Falſterbo, being almoſt the whole of Schonen, for fifteen years, during which they were to enjoy the revenues as a compenſation for the injuries done to them by him *. [*Pontani Rer. Dan. Hiſt. L.* viii, *p.* 499.] Thus was the dominion of the Baltic ſea evidently in the hands of the merchants of the Hanſe.

King Edward, having reſumed the title of king of France, ſent ambaſſadors to confirm the alliance with the earl and people of Flanders. He alſo ordered all his ſubjects to be very careful in preſerving the truce between him and his ſubjects on the one part and his brother David of Bruys of Scotland † and his ſubjects on the other part. The truce with Scotland was ſoon after extended to fourteen years; mutual liberty of trade was confirmed, letters of ſafe conduct being even declared unneceſſary. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *pp.* 624, 625, 632, 635.]

1370, April 22[d]—The king alſo ordered his admirals to protect all Venetian ſhips, carracks, and gallies, coming to England, provided the Venetians gave no aſſiſtance to his enemies, nor took their goods on freight in order to ſcreen them from capture. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *p.* 653.]

Auguſt 4[th]—By a new treaty, between King Edward and the earl and people of Flanders, the Flemiſh merchants, and all other merchants of countries in amity with both parties, were permitted to trade as freely as in time of peace. The Flemings engaged to carry no goods belonging to the French or Spaniards, and to make no Frenchmen nor Spaniards burgeſſes of their towns to enable them to ſail with Flemiſh papers. All Flemiſh veſſels ſhould have clear papers exhibiting the contents of their cargoes, the real proprietors or ſhippers, and the intended port of diſcharge, atteſted by the magiſtrates of the port of departure and by

* Others ſay, they were to have only two thirds of the revenues. Some date the commencement of the Hanſeatic league from the beginning of this war. So very uncertain is Hanſeatic hiſtory; and therefor I truſt the judicious reader will not blame me for giving fewer particulars of it than Mr. Anderſon has done. I am not quite ſo well aſſured, as I wiſh to be, of the authenticity of ſome parts of their hiſtory which I have admitted.

† Notwithſtanding the ſtrong political neceſſity of courting the friendſhip of David at this time, Edward could not find in his heart to give him his proper title of *king of Scotland*, nor even any of thoſe additions which were uſually given to princes of rank inferior to royalty. In like manner Richard II refuſed the title of king to *his moſt dear father of France*, whoſe infant daughter was married to him. See *Fœdera, V.* vi, *p.* 756; *V.* vii *paſſim in* A. D. 1396, *&c.*

the earl. The Flemings alſo engaged to carry no armour, artillery, or ſtores, to the king's enemies. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *p.* 659.] From this treaty we learn, that the expedient uſed by merchants and mariners for ſcreening their property from capture, when their ſovereigns engaged in war, by becoming nominal denizens of neutral powers, is at leaſt as old as the year 1370.

1371, January 1st—A ſhip and two cogs or carracks, belonging to Genoa, and loaded with merchandize belonging to Genoeſe, Florentine, Lucan, Venetian, and Valentine *, merchants, had been ſeized by the Engliſh in the years 1369 and 1370: and now the king ordered that they ſhould be reſtored, and that each of the merchants ſhould receive the packages appearing by the marks to be his property. Soon after (February 3d) the treaty with Genoa of the year 1347 was renewed, and all damages and hoſtilities on both ſides were conſigned to oblivion, the king adding, as a condition, that the Genoeſe ſhould give no aſſiſtance by land or ſea to his enemies. It appears that 2,000 marks were paid to the Genoeſe in the following year by the king; and at the ſame time a perpetual peace, or alliance, between England and Genoa on the above terms was concluded, or confirmed (26th January, 1372). [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *pp.* 663, 670, 673, 676, 679, 682, 706, 707.]

Lent—The parliament, apparently in conſequence of the duty, intended to defray the expenſe of guarding the ſea, being impoſed by the king's authority, enacted, that any new impoſition laid upon wool, wool-fells, or hides, without their aſſent, ſhould be null. [*Stat.* 45 *Edw. III, c.* 4.]

The commons repreſented in parliament, that ſhips were often taken up for the king long before they were wanted, and the merchants ruined by ſupporting their ſeamen in idleneſs; that by the merchants, the ſupporters of the navy, being ſo often deprived of their ſhips, the mariners were driven into other trades; and that the maſters of the king's veſſels took up (preſſed) the maſters of other veſſels, as good men as themſelves, whereby the men were alſo obliged to ſeek other means of living, and the ſhips were rendered uſeleſs; and that by theſe means the navy was reduced. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 113.]

1372, February 7th—Notwithſtanding this remonſtrance, the king iſſued orders for all veſſels in England and Wales to enter into his ſervice, and to aſſemble on or before the firſt day of May in the harbours of Southampton, Portſmouth, Hamel in the Rys, and Hamel Hoke, all on the coaſt of Hampſhire oppoſite to the Iſle of Wight. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *p.* 708.]

April 7th—A merchant of York obtained leave to ſhip four pipes of Rheniſh wine at York for Kingſton upon Hull, and thence to carry it to Pruſſia for ſale, he being bound to bring home wood for bows in re-

* Apparently of Valencia in Spain.

turn for the value of it. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *p.* 718.] By this very circuitous carriage we might ſuppoſe, that the merchants of England carried on a moſt active foreign trade, when they would undertake to ſupply the Pruſſians with wine, which grew in a country between themſelves and York. But this was only a rare inſtance for a particular purpoſe.

May 24th—The race of architects, who erected the magnificent cathedrals and abbays in Scotland, the ruins of which are contemplated even in the preſent day with reverence and admiration, ſeem to have been extinct at this time; for we find, that ſix men were licenced to go from England to erect a tomb for David II, the deceaſed king of Scotland; and Scottiſh agents were licenced to travel through England on their way to the continent to procure a ſtone (moſt probably a ſlab of marble) for it, which, we thus ſee, could not be procured in all Great Britain *. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *p.* 721; *V.* vii, *p.* 10.]

There were two conſiderable naval engagements this year. In the firſt the Engliſh fought with the Flemings, without knowing whom they were engaged with, as it is ſaid, and took twenty-five of their veſſels, loaded with ſalt †. The other battle was fought before Rochelle (23d June) with the Caſtilians, who by the ſuperior bulk of their veſſels, and alſo by the execution of ſome cannon, now for the firſt time (as far as we know) uſed at ſea, had ſuch a ſuperiority, that, after fighting almoſt two days, the moſt of the Engliſh veſſels were burnt, ſunk, or taken. [*Anon. Hiſt. Edw. III, p.* 438, *ed. Hearne.—Froiſſart, L.* i, *cc.* 302-304.—*Murim. Contin. p.* 127.]

July 19th—In a league offenſive and defenſive between King Edward and his ſon-in-law, the duke of Bretagne, reciprocal freedom of intercourſe upon land and water, and free trade in all parts of both countries, were ſtipulated. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *pp.* 738, 750.]

It is worthy of notice, as illuſtrative of the growth and progreſſive proſperity of the great commercial capital of the Britiſh empire, that at this time at leaſt twenty of the houſes in Burcher (Birchouer or Birchin) lane, in the very heart of the city, came under the deſcription of cottages, and under that denomination were conveyed to St. Thomas's hoſpital in Southwark. [*Rot. pat.* 46 *Edw. III, m.* 2.] It may be alſo obſerved, that about this time ſhops in London appear to have been detached and ſeparate tenements, or at leaſt ſeparate properties, unconnected with houſes ‡, as they are at this day in ſeveral cities and towns.

* The mountains of marble in Scotland were, it ſeems, unknown to the king and his miniſters. Yet marble is mentioned among the productions of Scotland by Fordun, [*L. ii, c.* 8] who ſurvived King David but a few years.

† This ſeems the ſame battle, which Meyer, the annaliſt of Flanders, dates in 1371. He ſays, the Flemiſh ſhips were loaded with wine from Rochelle; and he adds that the Engliſh fleet afterwards blocked up the Straits of Dover, whereupon the citizens of Ghent, Bruges, and Ypres, without regarding the king of France or even their own earl, accommodated matters with the Engliſh, whom they conſidered as their beſt friends and allies, connected with them by the mutual benefits of dayly commercial intercourſe.

‡ Of many documents, which might be adduced in ſupport of this obſervation, one grant by King Edward III to William Latimer may be ſufficient. It conveyed to him 2 meſſuages and 4 ſhops in the

The citizens of London this year repreſented to the king and his council, that by their induſtry and their franchiſes they had gained their livelihood by land and water and in various countries, from which they had imported many kinds of merchandize, whereby the city and the whole kingdom were greatly benefited, and the navy ſupported and increaſed: but that lately their franchiſes were taken from them, contrary to royal grants and Magna charta, which would be of ruinous conſequence to the city, the kingdom, and the navy, and diſable them from paying their taxes. They therefor prayed, that they might have relief, and that the relief might be extended to all the cities and burghs in the kingdom *. [*Brady on burghs, Append. p.* 36.]

1373, January—King Edward having engaged a number of Genoeſe gallies in his ſervice, and appointed the brother of the duke of Genoa to command them, alſo employed Genoeſe officers, ſoldiers, and mariners, who received certain pay, and were moreover to have all the priſoners and merchandize they ſhould take, together with all things that could reaſonably be called pillage, to be divided among themſelves, the caſtles, towns, and ſhips, taken from the enemy being reſerved to the king. [*Fœdera, V.* vi, *pp.* 753, 762, 763.]

November—The city of Briſtol with its ſuburbs was detached from the counties of Somerſet and Glouceſter, in both of which it is ſituated, and made a county of itſelf by parliament; and all its liberties and charters were confirmed. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 119.] Briſtol, ſeated in the heart of the clothing country, was at this time unqueſtionably the ſecond commercial city in England.

By a new regulation for the meaſurement of woollen cloths it was now enacted, that cloths of raye ſhould be 27 elns long and 5 quarters broad, and cloths of colour 26 elns long meaſured by the ridge, and 6 quarters broad; and half cloths in proportion. Thoſe who made cloth for their own uſe, or for clothing their retinue, were not bound by this law. [*Stat.* 47 *Edw. III.*]

1374, July 24th—King Edward, obſerving that the money of Scotland was now inferior to that of England, ordered the chancellor of Berwick to proclaim that the Scottiſh groat ſhould be taken for only three pennies, and other coins in proportion †. [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *p.* 41.]

pariſh of St. Dionis, Langburn ward; 3 meſſuages and 5 ſhops in St. Andrews, Billingſgate; 1 meſſuage and 1 ſhop with a quay adjoining in St. Mary at Hill, Billingſgate; 3 meſſuages with a cellar in St. Botulph's, Billingſgate; and 1 meſſuage and 2 ſhops in St. Mildred's, Bread ſtreet. [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 47 *Edw. III, m.* 18.]

* All the annaliſts ſay, that the merchants of London, Norwich, &c. were inclined to rebell this year: but there is nothing in the preceding or ſubſequent events to warrant ſuch an aſſertion.

† This was but a lumping way of fixing a ſtandard of exchange. By the beſt information we are poſſeſſed of, the ſilver money of both kingdoms was of the ſame ſtandard. The Engliſh coined £1 : 5 : 0, and the Scots £1 : 9 : 4, from a pound of ſtandard ſilver. So, if the Scots had ſubmitted to King Edward's regulation, and given £1 : 9 : 4 of their own money for £1 : 2 : 0 of Engliſh, they would have ſuſtained a loſs of about 14 per cent.—Therefor we are ſure that the people of Northumberland diſregarded the proclamation, or evaded it by colluſive prices.

1375, January 31st—Some Scottiſh traders having been plundered at ſea by pirates from Normandy, King Robert directed his ambaſſadors, then going to the court of France, to demand compenſation. [*Robertſon's Index of charters, &c. p.* 100.]

February 16th—The Scots had very often occaſion to import grain and malt, of which many inſtances might be adduced from the records, but one may ſuffice.—King Edward licenced James, ſon of the earl of Douglas, to purchaſe for the uſe of his own houſehold 100 quarters of wheat and 300 quarters of malt in Lincoln-ſhire and Norfolk, and to ſhip them at any port for Scotland. [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *p.* 58.]

February—Though King Edward in the year 1370 had ordered his naval commanders to reſpect the Venetian flag, the duke of Venice thought it neceſſary again to apply for letters of ſafe conduct for the Venetian veſſels trading to Flanders, and particularly for five gallies, which were ſoon to ſail for that country *. The merchants of Catalonia alſo about this time applied for letters of ſafe conduct, before they would venture to ſail for Flanders. [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *p.* 52.—*Rot. pat. prim.* 48 *Edw. III, m.* 21.]

June 27th—The war with France was ſuſpended by a truce, wherein it was provided, that the ſubjects of both powers might go and come unarmed in either kingdom, and exerciſe merchandize or any other buſineſs. [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *p.* 68.]

1376, January—It being uſual for fraudulent debtors to make over their tenements to their friends in confidence, and live upon the rents of them in the ſanctuaries of Weſtminſter, St. Martins le Grand, and other ſuch privileged places, in order to compell their creditors to accept trifling compoſitions in full payment of their debts, the parliament enacted, that all tenements or chattels, colluſively conveyed, ſhould be liable to the juſt claims of the creditors. [*Stat.* 50 *Edw. III, c.* 6.]

It was enacted, that no woollen cloths ſhould be exported without being fulled; nor ſhould any ſubſidy be demanded for them before they underwent that operation. [*Stat.* 50 *Edw. III, c.* 7.] Thus we ſee the Engliſh, who had hitherto been generally only the ſhepherds, ſpinners, and weavers, for the foreign manufacturers, making a conſiderable advance towards getting the manufacture entirely into their own hands. But it was not till a very long time after that a law againſt exporting cloths, before they were completely finiſhed, could be enacted.

The parliament alſo ordained, that neither ſubſidy nor aulnage ſhould be charged upon the cloth called friſe, made in Ireland, or in England of Iriſh wool brought to England; and alſo that they ſhould not be ſub-

* In a ſimilar application in the year 1382 the duke promiſes, not reciprocal favour to Engliſh merchants in Venice, for there were apparently none, but liberal treatment and favour to the nobles and other ſubjects of England traveling to that city, [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *p.* 354] the ſuperior ſplendour of which thus appears to have already attracted the notice of Engliſh travelers.

ject to the law, lately paſſed, for regulating the lengths and breadths of cloths. [*Stat.* 50 *Edw. III*, *c.* 8.]

The magiſtrates and community of London petitioned the parliament, that they might enjoy their liberties, and that ſtrangers might not be allowed to have houſes, to be brokers, or to ſell goods by retail. Soon after, in the ſame parliament, the community of the city repreſented to the king and council, that their franchiſes were invaded, merchant ſtrangers acted as brokers, and ſold goods by retail, and alſo diſcovered ſecrets to the enemy; and they prayed that a ſtop might be put to thoſe enormities. Their petition was granted, 'ſaving to the German merch-'ants of the Hanſe the franchiſes granted and confirmed to them by the 'king and his progenitors.' [*Cotton's Abridgement*, *p.* 133.]

July 23d—The ſtaple was again fixed on the continent. The inhabitants of Calais having complained to the king, that their city was declining, he ordained, that the ſtaple for wool, hides, wool-fells, and alſo lead, tin, worſted ſtuffs, together with cheeſe, butter, feathers, 'gaulæ *,' honey, peltry ('felpariæ'), and tallow ('cepi' apparently for *ſebi*), ſhould be held there; and he ordered that all thoſe articles †, exported from any part of England, Ireland, Wales, and Berwick upon Tweed, ſhould be carried to Calais, and to no other place. [*Fœdera*, *V.* vii, *pp.* 116, 118.]

Licences were required for bringing corn into England as well as for carrying it out, as appears by a permiſſion granted this year to import 400 quarters from Ireland to Kendale in Weſtmereland. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 50 *Edw. III*, *m.* 5.]

1377, January 30th—Some Florentine merchants being perſecuted by the pope, King Edward took under his protection all thoſe who were in England or Calais by putting them in the Tower and taking all their property into his own hands. He then declared that they were his own real and unfeigned ſervants, and that the property, which he again put into their hands, belonged to him, and was to be improved by them for his advantage, wherefor he ordered all perſons to abſtain from doing them any injury ‡. [*Fœdera*, *V.* vii, *p.* 135.]

January or February—The parliament granted the king a capitation tax of four pennies from every lay perſon of either ſex in the kingdom above fourteen years of age, real known beggars only excepted. The unpromoted eccleſiaſtical perſons of either ſex, except the brethren of the four mendicant orders, paid the ſame tax, and thoſe who were promoted, twelve pennies §. [*Cotton's Abridgement*, *p.* 145.—*Walſingham*, *p.* 191.]

* Gaule, in French, a ſwitch, rod, or pole.—Qu. if oſier branches for the coopers and baſket-makers on the continent?

† They probably comprehended almoſt all the exports of the kingdom, except ſome cloth, and ſometimes corn.

‡ Walſingham [*p.* 190] ſays, the pope gave them the option of being ſlaves to the king of England, or ſubmitting to the mercy of the papal court; and of two evils they choſe the leaſt.

§ Walſingham [*p.* 191] obſerves, that this was an unheard-of tax.

From the accounts of the produce of this tax, happily preſerved *, we are enabled to form a pretty good eſtimate of the population of the whole kingdom, and particularly of the following cities and towns.

	Lay perſons, above 14.	Eſtim. total †.		Lay perſons, above 14.	Eſtim. total.
London, a city -	23,314	34,971	Cambridge -	1,722	2,583
York, a city -	7,248	10,872	Exeter, a city -	1,560	2,340
Briſtol -	6,345	9,517	Worceſter, a city -	1,557	2,335
Plymouth -	4,837	7,256	Kingſton upon Hull	1,557	2,336
Coventry -	4,817	7,225	Ipſwich -	1,507	2,260
Norwich, a city -	3,952	5,928	Northampton -	1,477	2,216
Lincoln, a city -	3,412	5,118	Nottingham -	1,447	2,170
Saliſbury, a city -	3,226	4,839	Winchester, a city -	1,440	2,160
Lynne -	3,127	4,691	Stanford -	1,218	1,827
Colcheſter -	2,955	4,432	Newark - -	1,178	1,767
Beverly -	2,663	3,995	Wells - -	1,172	1,758
Newcaſtle upon Tine	2,647	3,970	Ludlow - -	1,172	1,758
Canterbury, a city -	2,574	3,861	Southampton -	1,152	1,728
St. Edmundsbury -	2,442	3,663	Derby - -	1,046	1,569
Oxford -	2,357	3,536	Litchfield, a city -	1,024	1,536
Gloucester -	2,239	3,358	Chicheſter, a city -	869	1,304
Leiceſter -	2,101	3,152	Boſton - -	814	1,221
Shrewsbury -	2,082	3,123	Carliſle, a city ‡ -	678	1,017
Yarmouth -	1,941	2,911	Rocheſter, a city -	570	855
Hereford, a city -	1,903	2,855	Bath, a city - -	570	855
Ely, a city -	1,722	2,583	Dartmouth - -	506	759

The counties of Bedford, Surrey §, Dorſet, Middleſex excluſive of London ‖, Weſtmereland, Rutland, Cornwall, Berks, Hertford, Huntingdon, Buckingham, and Lancaſter, contained no towns thought worthy of particular enumeration. Cheſter and Durham, being palatine counties and having their own collectors, are not included in the roll; neither is Wales.

The whole number of lay perſons taxed in the ſhires and towns inſerted

* For the publication of them we are indebted to Mr. Topham and the Antiquarian ſociety. See their *Archæologia*, *V.* vii, *p.* 340.

† As many people would endeavour to paſs their children of 15 and 16 as under 14, and many muſt have been omitted by the collectors, we ſhall probably come very near the truth, if we reckon the untaxed perſons, excluſive of beggars, equal to one half of thoſe who paid the tax. Thoſe, who have made the duration of human life their ſtudy, agree that one third of the perſons living are under ſixteen.

‡ It is recorded in the patent rolls [*ſec.* 14 *Ric. II, m.* 3] that *one thouſand five hundred* houſes were burnt in the three principal ſtreets of Carlile. But, notwithſtanding the high authority of a public record, and though the number is expreſſed fully in words, there muſt be a miſtake. Carlile, like almoſt every other town in the kingdom, is ſurely much more populous now than in the fourteenth century: and in the year 1780 the city and ſuburbs contained only 1,605 families, or 6,299 perſons, who lodged in 891 houſes. See Sir Frederic Eden's *State of the poor*, *V.* ii, *p.* 64.

§ Southwark ſeems to be included in London.

‖ It is ſurpriſing that Weſtminſter is not noticed. We can ſcarcely ſuppoſe it included in London; and yet the taxables of Middleſex, only 11,243, ſeem too few to comprehend the inhabitants of that city, or large ſuburb.

in the roll, agreeable to the addition * at the bottom of it, is	1,376,442
Chester, supposed equal to Cornwall - - - -	34,274
Durham, to Northumberland, including Newcastle - - -	16,809
and Wales, including Monmouth-shire, to York-shire with its towns†	131,040
	1,558,565
Proportion assumed for children under fourteen, and omissions -	779,282
Ecclesiastical persons, male and female, except mendicant friars -	29,161
Suppose the number of ecclesiastics in Wales and Durham, mendicant friars, and other beggars - - - - - -	132,992
The whole people of England and Wales appear to have been about	2,500,000

The parliaments very often granted taxes of tenths and fifteenths to be levied upon perſonal property. In a record of the year 1373, when both a tenth and a fifteenth were collected, the following appear to have been the only cities or towns which paid ſeparately from the ſhires ‡.

London paid -	£733	6	8	Kingston upon Hull	£33	6	8
Briſtol - -	220	0	0	Bath - -	13	6	8
York - -	162	0	0				

During the long reign of Edward III the commerce and manufactures of England appear to have been in a progreſſive ſtate of advancement, notwithſtanding the rapid ſucceſſion of contradictory laws by which they were haraſſed. The merchants began to open their eyes to the beneficial effects of taking the exportation of wool and other Engliſh produce into their own hands; and conſequently they poſſeſſed more ſhipping §, and carried on more active trade, than their anceſtors had ever done. The woollen manufacture, which almoſt ever ſince the reign of Edward has been eſteemed the chief ſupport of England, made ſuch a progreſs, that before his death the people ſeem to have been almoſt entirely cloathed with it; we ſee Engliſh cloths even a conſiderable article of export, and have reaſon to believe that no great quantity of Flemiſh or other foreign cloth was imported. The regulations for the fiſhery, though far from being judicious, ſhow that it was at leaſt an object of attention. But the rage of conqueſt ſwallowed up every other conſideration: to that the intereſts of commerce were unheſitatingly ſacrificed upon every occaſion; and even the marriages projected ‖ for his children were directed by belligerent politics. Thence, though he got vaſt ſums by marriage contracts and by the ranſoms of two captive kings, he expend-

* The total diſagrees with the particulars, and alſo with the ſum. But it is impoſſible to ſay, where the errors lie. The appearance of four pairs of towns, perfectly equal to each-other, is at leaſt a ſtrange circumſtance, if not erroneous. That Boſton, a town of conſiderable foreign trade, ſhould contain only 814 people above 14 years of age, is alſo very ſurpriſing. But it muſt be acknowleged, that there is much inaccuracy in the numbers, and alſo in the words, of many of the records of the middle ages.

† In the numbers aſſumed for Cheſter, Durham, and Wales, I have followed Mr. Chalmers in his *Eſtimate of the ſtrength of Great Britain*, *p.* 14, *ed.* 1794.

‡ This tax-roll was preſented to the ſociety by Mr. Topham at the ſame time with the others, and is alſo publiſhed along with them.

§ The proof of the increaſe of ſhipping is found, notwithſtanding the aſſertion to the contrary, in the firſt *Navigation act*, paſſed in the beginning of his ſucceſſor's reign.

‖ Many marriages were projected, which did not take place.

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ed more of the money of his ſubjects (who, dazzled with the ſplendour of his fruitleſs victories, generally gave it with good will) than any of his predeceſſors. The acquiſition of the crown of France was the darling wiſh of his heart, and the great object of all his politics. But, of all that he had conquered in that kingdom, there remained ſubject to him at his death only the ſingle town of Calais, an uſeleſs incumbrance upon the treaſury of England *: and, fortunately for Great Britain, his attempt to conquer France deprived him of almoſt all the territories inherited by him from his anceſtors in that kingdom, except Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and the iſlands in the Channel. In his reign the integrity of the ſterling money was loſt ſight of, and permanent taxes became familiar to the Engliſh; but that hardſhip was in ſome degree alleviated by the repreſentatives of the commons, the branch of the parliament moſt connected with commerce, beginning to feel and aſſert their own political importance as an eſſential part of the legiſlative body, and truſtees for the purſes of their conſtituents. If Edward had ſet himſelf down quietly (and there was nothing to hinder him) to mind the beſt duty of a king, and the beſt intereſts of his ſubjects, the Engliſh might very ſoon have become a great agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial, people.

November—Before the introduction of manufactures created profitable employment for the people not neceſſarily engaged in agriculture, (for the population of Europe, though far ſhort of the numbers now maintained in the more civilized parts of it, was more than ſufficient for cultivating the ground, as cultivation was then managed) the ſuperfluous people attached themſelves to chiefs, by whom they were maintained in idleneſs in peaceable times, and whoſe ſtandard they followed in battle, to defend the country, to convulſe it by civil war, or to attack a neighbouring chief, juſt as their lord commanded them. In this ſtate of ſociety even the ſmaller barons found it impoſſible to live in ſafety in the neighbourhood of a great lord without connecting themſelves with him by an obligation of military ſervice on their part and a promiſe of protection on his. Thus was a kingdom, though nominally united under one ſovereign, actually divided into a number of independent territories, the lords of which paid no more obedience to the king or the laws than what their own inclinations or intereſts prompted them to: and thence we find the perſonal character of the ſovereign in thoſe ages have a much greater effect in exalting a kingdom to a tranſitory ſuperiority, or ſinking it into a temporary decline, than ever appears in the better conſtituted and conſolidated governments of later times. It appears, that ſome people of ſmall eſtates in England, perhaps deſirous of imitating the condottieri, or leaders of the companions, who,

* In the ſecond year of King Richard II it was aſſerted in parliament, that Calais coſt £20,000 a-year. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 174.]

independent of any ſovereign authority, about this time rendered themſelves the terror of France, Spain, and Italy *, alſo ſet themſelves up as chiefs of retinues of armed idlers. The retinues or bands of each chief were diſtinguiſhed by uniform hats and clothing, which were called liveries †, and ſerved as a ſymbol of union and attachment. The parliament, ſenſible of the pernicious tendency of ſuch aſſociations, prohibited the uſe of liveries under pain of impriſonment and forfeiture. [*Statute* 1 *Ric. II, c.* 7.] But the law, though ſeveral times renewed, had little effect ‡, till the extenſion of manufactures and commerce, by which the lower claſſes of the people found uſeful employment and were enabled to eat the bread of independent honeſt induſtry, and the nobles found more agreeable means of employing their redundant wealth, gradually, but much more effectually, relieved the kingdom from the nuiſance of chiefs, who were above the law, and vaſſals, who knew no law but the commands of ſuch chiefs.

1378, Summer—John Mercer, a merchant of Scotland §, who uſed to trade to France, and was in great favour with the king of that country on account of his prudence and good ſervices, when returning home to Scotland in the year 1377, was driven by ſtreſs of weather upon the coaſt of England, ſeized, and confined in the caſtle of Scarburgh, till an order from court effected his diſcharge ‖. His ſon, to revenge the injury, cruiſed before Scarburgh with a fleet compoſed of French, Scots, and Spaniards, and took ſeveral veſſels. John Philpot, an opulent citizen of London, thereupon took upon himſelf the protection of the trade of the kingdom, neglected by the duke of Lancaſter, who, without the name of regent, governed the kingdom in the minority of his nephew, and having hired a thouſand armed men, ſent them to ſea in ſearch of

* The companions conſiſted chiefly of Engliſh and French ſoldiers, diſbanded after the peace of Bretigny in the year 1360, who, unwilling or incapable to return to honeſt induſtry, aſſociated under the banners of profligate chiefs, and ſupported themſelves by plunder. The king of France ſeized the opportunity of the civil war in Spain to perſuade them to enter into the ſervice of Henry of Traſtamare, who by their means became king of Caſtile. The two daughters, legitimate or illegitimate, of Peter the Cruel, the dethroned tyrant, were brought to England, and married to King Edward's two ſons, John and Edmund, the former of whom immediately aſſumed the title of king of Caſtile and Leon, and thereby drew the enmity of King Henry upon England.

† The name and the uniformity of dreſs ſtill remain in the ſmall retinues of noblemen and gentlemen.

‡ So little regard was paid to this law by the courtiers, that Simon Burley, warden of the Cinque ports and a great favourite with King Richard, every Chriſtmas gave from 140 to 220 pieces of cloth, ſome of them ſcarlet and others gilded ('deauratos'), among knights, ſquires, valets, and others, his dependents. [*Knyghton, col.* 2727.]

§ He ſeems to have been a burgeſs of Perth, apparently the chief port of Scotland after the loſs of Berwick, till the royal reſidence, permanently fixed at Edinburgh, gave Leith a ſuperiority over the other ports of the kingdom. He obtained charters for ſeveral tenements in and near Perth; and he alſo held lands of the earl of Douglas, who calls him his vaſſal in a letter ſent to King Richard, remonſtrating upon the injuſtice of the ſeizure. [*Robertſon's Index, pp.* 66, 74, 120, 129.—*Original letter in Bib. Cott. Veſp.* F vii, *f.* 34.]

‖ Walſingham ſays, if he had been releaſed as a captive for a ranſom, the king and the whole kingdom would have got *inæſtimable* riches by it, and he regrets the loſs of it. This is ſurely overrating the opulence of Mercer at a prodigious rate. The narrow-minded monk, blinded with, what he ſuppoſed, patriotic zeal, did not ſee any injuſtice in detaining a man a priſoner in time of peace.

Mercer, whom they took together with his prizes and fifteen Spaniſh veſſels, his conſorts, all richly loaded *. [*Walſingham, p.* 211.]

October—The act of 1376 having aboliſhed the liberties formerly granted in England to foreign merchants, except thoſe of the Hanſe, it now appeared, that the franchiſes, claimed by the cities and burghs, were deſtructive of trade and hurtful to the community. The parliament therefor, perceiving the advantages derived from the reſort of merchant ſtrangers, revived the acts of the years 1335 and 1351, and gave the foreign merchants liberty to remain in the kingdom as long as they had occaſion, inſtead of being reſtricted to forty days, with permiſſion to buy and to ſell, either in wholeſale or retail, corn, fleſh, fiſh, and other proviſions, and alſo ſpiceries, fruits, furs, ſilk, gold and ſilver wire or thread, coverchefs, and other ſmall wares, from or to any perſon whatever, native or foreigner. But wines were to be ſold in the caſks wherein they were imported, and not to be retailed by any but the freemen of cities and burghs. Cloth of gold or ſilver, ſtuffs of ſilk, ſendal †, napery, linen, canvaſs, and other large articles ‡, might be ſold by foreign importers to any perſon, native or foreigner, in any city, town, fair or market, London not excepted, but in quantities not leſs than a piece, only the freemen of cities and burghs being allowed to ſell thoſe articles by retail as well as by wholeſale. All charters and franchiſes, containing any thing contrary to this act, were annulled, as prejudicial and oppreſſive. The prelates and lords, however, ſtill retained their oppreſſive prerogative of purveying victuals and other neceſſaries, as they were wont to do in old times §: and the ordinances for the ſtaple at Calais were maintained in full force. Strangers were permitted to buy and ſell wool, wool-fells, mercery, cloth, iron, and other merchandize, at fairs and markets in the country as formerly. All magiſtrates and others in authority were deſired to protect the foreign merchants in the enjoyment of the privileges now conferred upon them. —The laws againſt foreſtalling wines, victuals, mercery, and other merchandize, were alſo renewed. [*Stat.* 1, 2 *Ric. II, cc.* 1, 2.]

The parliament in the very next act made an encroachment upon the privileges of the ſtaple at Calais, by granting permiſſion to the merchants of Genoa, Venice, Catalonia, Aragon, and other countries ſituated to the weſtward, and in amity with the king, who brought carraks, ſhips, gallies, or other veſſels, to Southampton or other ports of England, load-

* By this enterpriſe Philpot got much envy and illwill among the nobles and military men, but much applauſe among his fellow-citizens, who choſe him for their mayor at the next election.

† A thin ſilken ſtuff. [*Du Cange Gloſſ. vo. Cendalum.*]

‡ It is well worthy of notice, that woollen cloths are not mentioned, which, conſidering their former importance in the liſt of imports, may be regarded as a good proof, that, if any were now imported, the quantity of them was very ſmall indeed.

§ That oppreſſive and unjuſt prerogative was taken away from all perſons, except the king and queen, in the year 1362, and even for them it was modified ſo as to be pretty tolerable, if the law had been adhered to; but ſimilar acts in ſucceeding reigns ſhow that it was not adhered to, and the legiſlators of 1377 appear not to have known any thing of it.

ed or light, to ſell their merchandize freely, to load with wool, hides, wool-fells, tin, lead, and other merchandize of the ſtaple, and to carry them to their own countries, on paying the cuſtoms payable on goods carried to the ſtaple at Calais, and giving ſecurity not to carry them to the eaſt countries *. [*Stat.* 1, 2 *Ric. II, c.* 3.]

A further infraction of the ordinance of the ſtaple was a permiſſion to merchants of Gaſcoigne and England to carry to the king's friends in Gaſcoigne and alſo in Breſt, which had been lately ceded to the king by the duke of Bretagne, corn and other victuals, together with leather gloves, purſes, caps, and ſome other petty articles. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 157.]

1379, March 6th—Formerly when the kings of England borrowed money, they got it chiefly from the clergy, becauſe they were almoſt the only people who had any money, the wealth of the nobles conſiſting of lands and the produce of them with the ſervices of their vaſſals, and the commons being generally too poor to have any money to lend. The loans, made by King Richard, ſhow that a happy change in the circumſtances of the people had already begun to appear. In the firſt year of his reign he borrowed 'infinite thouſands of pounds from certain merch-' ants:' [*Rot. pat. prim.* 1 *Ric. II, m.* 12] and at this time we find in a liſt, evidently defective †, of 145 ſubſcriptions, as we would now call them, to a loan, that 55 of them were by ſix biſhops, and by abbats, priors, and others belonging to eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments, eight of them being for £100 each; 74 by noblemen and gentlemen from £100 down to £2 ‡; and 17 by the communities of cities and towns, as follows.

London	£5,000	0	0	Winchester	£40	0	0	Hadley	£50	0	0
Gloucester	40	0	0	Brentwood	10	0	0	St. Edmundsbury	33	6	8
Bedford	20	0	0	Coggeshale	40	0	0	Alderton and Baudsey, Suffolk	33	6	8
Northampton	40	0	0	Cambridge	66	13	4				
Cirencester	33	6	8	Maldon	40	0	0	Ipswich	40	0	0
Salisbury	100	0	0	Retford	33	6	8	Briſtol §.	666	13	4

[*Fœdera, V.* vii, *p.* 210.—*Rot. pat. sec.* 2. *Ric. II. m.* 17.]

* Genoa, Venice, &c. though ſituated to the eaſtward of England, were accounted weſtern countries, becauſe their ſhips paſſed the weſt parts of France and England in coming to the later. The Netherlands and the countries adjacent to the Baltic ſea were the eaſt countries. This act permits Engliſh wool to be exported to Spain. How the times are altered!

† I call it defective, becauſe we may be aſſured, that no biſhop or earl could excuſe himſelf from contributing on ſuch an occaſion, and many towns, of more importance than thoſe which appear, are omitted.

‡ Several of the ſubſcriptions are by two or more perſons conjunctly; but, as they are not diſtinguiſhed as merchants or by any profeſſional addition, we are not warranted to ſuppoſe them partners in trade.

In the year 1346 there was a loan, not by ſubſcription, but by preſcription, the king ſending his mandate to each perſon to advance ſuch a ſum as he thought proper to order. Of 89 lenders 19 ſeem to be laymen, one of whom, John of Cherleton of London (apparently the mayor of the merchants of the ſtaple, and the only one in the liſt who can be ſuppoſed a citizen, merchant, or trader) was charged with £1,000, by much the largeſt ſum in the liſt. On that occaſion the towns were not required to advance money but to furniſh preſcribed numbers of men. [*Fœdera, V.* v, *pp.* 491, 493.]

§ To a leſs general loan in the year 1377 the city of Briſtol ſubſcribed £621 : 13 : 4; Robert Spicer, a merchant of Briſtol, £45; and ſome other laymen, very conſiderable ſums. The archbiſhop of Canterbury on that occaſion ſubſcribed £333 : 6 : 8, and now only £100. [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *p.* 177.]

June 6th—The king, conſidering the great force of warlike ſhips, which the French had upon the north (or rather eaſt) coaſt of England, and the damage ſuffered by the people of Scarburgh in particular by captures, and by paying £1,000 in ranſoms within two years, whereby they were brought almoſt to ruin, ordered two ſhips, two barges, and two balingers, properly fitted for war, to cruiſe upon that coaſt. For ſupporting the expenſe of thoſe veſſels he, at the requeſt of the commons in parliament, ordered the admiral and wardens of the North ſea to levy a duty of ſix pennies per tun upon every ſhip and crayer for each voyage outward and homeward upon that ſea, except thoſe trading between London and Flanders or Calais (which on the other hand were not intitled to the protection of the ſquadron); ſix pennies per tun from fiſhing veſſels for every week they ſhould be employed upon the herring fiſhery, or for every three weeks upon any other fiſhery; ſix pennies per tun upon all veſſels with coals from Newcaſtle to be paid quarterly; and ſix pennies per laſt of grain for each voyage from all ſhips, crayers, and veſſels, trading to Pruſſia, Norway, Sconen, or the adjacent countries. [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *p.* 220.] We here ſee the Newcaſtle coal trade an object of the attention, and alſo of the favour, of government, being taxed the loweſt, while the herring fiſhery was very unwiſely taxed the higheſt. The attention of government to the coal trade appears further in an order iſſued ſoon after this time for meaſuring the keels * at Newcaſtle. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 8 *Ric. II, a tergo,* 34.] And that coals, together with grindſtones, were then, as at this day, the chief objects of the induſtry of the country adjacent to Newcaſtle, may be preſumed from their being firſt mentioned among the things ſwept away by a great flood in the rivers of Northumberland about the beginning of the year 1377. [*Walſingham, p.* 191.]

This year an opulent merchant of Genoa offered to raiſe Southampton to a pre-eminence above every port on the weſtern coaſts of Europe by making it the depoſit of all the Oriental goods, which the Genoeſe uſed to carry to Flanders, Normandy, and Bretagne, which countries would thenceforth be ſupplied from it, to the great advantage of England, provided the king would allow him to ſtore his goods in the caſtle of Southampton. If this plan had been carried into execution, it was ſuppoſed, that pepper would have been ſold in England at four pennies a pound, and other ſpiceries in proportion. But the Genoeſe merchant was murdered upon the ſtreet in London; and the Engliſh merchants, who are ſaid to have thought his ſcheme ruinous to their own trade, are charged with having hired the aſſaſſins. [*Walſingham, pp.* 227, 533.]

It muſt be acknowledged, that the people of England, eſpecially thoſe engaged in any kind of trade or manufactures, were ſo far from being ſenſible, that an acceſſion of well-employed capital, or of induſtrious

* River craft for carrying the coals onboard the ſhips, and uſed as meaſures then, as now.

hands, is a powerful encouragement to every branch of the induſtry of the country in which they ſettle, that they were continually perſecuting the foreign traders and workmen with every inſult and injury in their power. The weavers in particular were perpetually quarreling with the Netherlanders, whoſe example was deſtined to exalt their trade to a ſurpriſing height of affluence and dignity. After a long ſucceſſion of ſquabbles, embittered by national pride and a colliſion, real or ſuppoſed, of intereſts, between the weavers of London and thoſe from the Netherlands *, an agreement was effected between them this year, which was confirmed by royal authority, as were alſo at the ſame time the liberties granted to the foreign weavers by Edward III. [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 3. *Ric. II, m.* 7.]

1380, February 10th—The accident of a Catalan ſhip bound from Genoa to Sluys, the port of Bruges in Flanders, being driven onſhore at Dunſter in Somerſet-ſhire, where ſhe was ſeized, and the application of ſome Genoeſe merchants for the reſtoration of their property ſhipped onboard her, gives us a ſpecimen of the articles carried from Italy to Flanders in thoſe days. They conſiſted of

Green ginger;	White sugar, perhaps sugar-candy;
Ginger cured with lemon juice;	Empty boxes, 6 bales;
Arquinetta, one bale;	Dry prunes;
Dried grapes, or raisins;	'Octo balas risarum,' qu. rice?
Sulphur;	Cinnamon, 5 bales;
Wadde (perhaps woad) 172 bales;	One pipe 'pulveris salvistri;'
Writing paper, 22 bales;	Bussus †, 5 bales.

[*Fœdera, V.* vii, *p.* 233.]

Summer—Some privateers of Hull and Newcaſtle took a Scottiſh ſhip, the cargo of which was valued by the captors at *ſeven thouſand* marks. [*Walſingham, p.* 239.] But there were probably very few veſſels, belonging either to England or Scotland, which had cargoes of ſuch value ‡.

September 8th—What muſt have been the condition or management of the navy of England, when the French, after having inſulted many parts of the ſouth coaſt, went up the Thames as far as Graveſend with only four gallies, burnt ſome houſes in that town, and after plundering and deſtroying on both ſides of the river, carried off their prey and priſoners with impunity? [*Murim. Contin. p.* 150.—*Stow's Ann. p.* 449.]

November—The king in parliament, ordered, that all kinds of wine, oil, honey, and other liquors, ſhould be gauged on importation, agreeable to the law formerly made for gauging wine. [*Stat.* 4 *Ric. II, c.* 1.]

* Some years before this time the Netherland weavers in London were ſo numerous, that different places were appointed for their deliberations on the affairs of their communities, thoſe of Flanders having the church-yard of St. Laurence Pultney, and thoſe of Brabant that of St. Mary Somerſet. [*Stow's Survey, p.* 407, *ed.* 1618.]

† Probably the fineſt Egyptian flax (Βυσσος) carried to Flanders for making cambrics. See Sanuto, p. 24, or above, p. 491. There are ſome other articles unknown, which I have left in the original Latin.—A further ſpecimen of Genoeſe exports to Flanders will be ſeen under the year 1386.

‡ I have already had occaſion to obſerve that Walſingham daſhes his numbers at random.

About this time, according to the account of Zeno's voyage, with Doctor Forſter's geographical illuſtration of it, the chief port of the Orkney iſlands was frequented by many veſſels from Flanders, Bretagne, England, Scotland, Norway, and Denmark, attracted by the vaſt abundance of fiſh caught there, by means of which the inhabitants got great wealth. [*Forſter's Diſcoveries in the North, pp.* 183, 202, *Engl. tranſl.*]

1381—Capitation taxes, begun in the laſt year of King Edward III, now followed each other in rapid ſucceſſion. In the year 1379 thoſe of the higher ranks were made to pay for their titles as well as their property; for example, a duke or archbiſhop £6 : 13 : 4, an earl, counteſs dowager, mayor of London, £4; other mayors from 6*s* 8 to 40*s*; merchants from 1*s* 6 to 20*s*, &c. and every perſon, male or female, above ſixteen, 4*d*. In 1380 a tax of twelve pennies was impoſed upon every perſon of either ſex above the age of fifteen, except mere beggars. [*Parliam. hiſt. V.* i, *pp.* 346, 358.] Theſe taxes were exacted with much tyrannic rigour, indecency, and brutal inſult, infinitely more galling than the payment itſelf. The conſequence was an inſurrection of the lower claſs of the people, whom the ſeverity of depreſſion, and perhaps ſome faint glimpſe of the independence which commerce and manufactures were deſtined to confer upon their poſterity, diſpoſed to engage in any deſperate attempt to meliorate their condition. For ſome little time they carried all before them, and were, as may be ſuppoſed, guilty of many atrocities. They obtained from the king charters for the abolition of ſlavery, for freedom of trade, and for the ſubſtitution of money rents for lands in place of oppreſſive ſervices. But Walter, a Kentiſh tiler, who was their leader, being killed by William Walworth mayor of London (June 15th), the unorganized multitude were immediately diſperſed: and ſimilar tumults in other parts of the country were alſo quelled. Then the king, or rather his counſelors, conſidering the charters of liberty as extorted, and 'prejudicial to the king, the nobles, 'and the church,' revoked them, and ordered the villeins and others, who were under feudal ſubjection to ſuperiors, to return to the accuſtomed duties and labours of their condition (July 2d). But thoſe convulſions were not without beneficial conſequences: they admoniſhed the feudal lords to be more moderate in the exaction of ſervices, which had no foundation in mutual agreement, and were not warranted by reciprocal advantages; they induced them to conſent to the emancipation of their villeins on moderate terms *; and, though they were to all appearance completely ſuppreſſed, the remembrance of them inſpired the vaſſals with a deſire for the independence enjoyed by their brethren employed in trades in cities and burghs, and particularly in the woollen

* Simon Burley demanded 300 pounds of ſilver for the freedom of one of his bondmen; a price perfectly equal to an abſolute denial: and his ſeizure and impriſonment of the man, according to Stow, [*Annales, p.* 451] provoked the inſurrection in Kent.

manufactures, now become pretty extenſive, which never ceaſed to operate, till manufactures finally baniſhed ſlavery from the land, and liberty became the inherent birthright of every Britiſh ſubject. [*Knyghton, col.* 2633.—*Walſingham, p.* 247.—*Fœdera, V.* vii, *pp.* 316, 317, 371.]

November—The parliament, after premiſing, that, in conſequence of the grievous miſchief of carrying abroad money and bullion, there was ſcarcely any gold or ſilver left in the kingdom, ſtrictly prohibited all merchants and clergymen, aliens or natives, from carrying abroad any gold or ſilver in coin, bullion, or veſſel, or by exchange. But money for paying the king's garriſons on the continent might be exported. Prelates, great lords, and ſome others, having occaſion to make payments beyond the ſea, might remit money by exchange on obtaining the king's ſpecial licence for the expreſs ſum. But the negotiators of the exchange were to be ſworn, that they would ſend no gold nor ſilver out of the country for the purpoſe of anſwering their bills. No perſon, either of the clergy or laity, except lords and other great men, real known merchants, and the king's ſoldiers, was to be allowed to go out of the kingdom *: and to render the prohibition the more effectual, London and ſome other principal ports were declared the only places, whence any perſon could paſs over to the continent. The infringers of this law were to be puniſhed by heavy forfeitures. [*Stat.* 1, 5 *Ric. II, c.* 2.]

In order to augment the navy of England, which was now ſaid to be greatly reduced, it was enacted, that no ſubject of the king ſhould ſhip any merchandize, outward or homeward, except in ſhips of the king's allegiance, after the next Eaſter, on penalty of forfeiture of veſſel and cargo. [*Stat.* 1, 5 *Ric. II, c.* 3.] This was the firſt *Navigation act* paſſed by the parliament of England.

If any Engliſhman paſſed over the ſea to import wines, he was prohibited from ſelling them in England at above £5 per tun for the beſt wine of Gaſcoigne, Oſey, or Spain, and £4 for the beſt Rochelle wine, or above 6*d* per gallon for any of them in retail. Rheniſh wine, being imported in caſks of various ſizes, was to be ſold by the gallon only, and not above 6*d*, whether in wholeſale or retail. Inferior wines to be ſold in proportion. The king ſtrictly commanded, that no ſweet wine or claret (' clarree') ſhould be retailed in the kingdom after the 24th of June 1382 †. [*Stat.* 1, 5 *Ric. II, cc.* 4, 5.—*Fœdera, V.* vii, *p.* 378.]

The citizens of Cork in Ireland this year obtained from the king an ample confirmation of their liberties. [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 5 *Ric. II, m.* 32.]

1382, January—The parliament granted liberty to all foreign merch-

* This prohibition was in direct oppoſition to the 42d article of the Magna charta, which uſed to be formally ratified, without paying any other attention to it, at the beginning of every ſeſſion of parliament.

† By Stat. 1, 6 Ric. II, c. 7 they were permitted to be retailed at the price of Gaſcoigne and Rheniſh wines.

ants, of every nation in amity with the king and kingdom, to come into England, to reſide as long as they pleaſed in franchiſed places or others, to manage their buſineſs under the king's protection, and to return to their own countries at their pleaſure. [*Stat.* 2, 5 *Ric. II, c.* 1.] It appears from the ſtatutes, that this liberty required to be re-enacted in the year 1387.

The parliament alſo permitted all merchants, natives or foreigners, to carry wool, hides, and wool-fells, to any country, except France, if they choſe to pay the Calais ſubſidies and duties before-hand, for which they offered a diſcount of 6/8 from the duty on each ſack of wool, 6/8 on every 240 wool-fells, and in proportion on hides, to continue till Michaelmas 1383. [*Stat.* 2, 5 *Ric. II, c.* 2.] This was, I believe, the firſt attempt to anticipate the revenue.

At the requeſt of the merchants, who found themſelves much injured by the French cruiſers, the parliament impoſed a ſubſidy of 2*ſ* per tun on all wines imported, and ſix pennies per pound on the value of woollen cloth and other merchandize imported or exported, except wool, hides, and wool-fells, over and above all other cuſtoms and ſubſidies, which were to conſtitute a fund for the expreſs purpoſe of guarding the ſea. [*Stat.* 2, 5 *Ric. II, c.* 3.] *

May 4th—I know not whether we may venture to conſider all the articles, which the pope's collector was allowed to ſhip at Briſtol without paying duty, as ſpecimens of Engliſh manufactures. They conſiſted of 6 pieces of green tapeſtry powdered with roſes, a preſent for the ſovereign pontiff; 1 great curtain of green ſerge; 2 blue bancals † of tapeſtry work; 5 pairs of ſheets ('lintheaminum'), 2 blankets, and 6 blue curtains, for beds; 1 large coverlet for a bed; and 6 cuſhions for a chamber; 5 red bed-curtains; 2 long and 2 ſhort pieces of red ſtuff for ornaments to a chamber, with a blue bancal; 2 large pieces of red ſerge, worked with the arms of the pope, the king, and the church ‡, for adorning a hall; 2 large bancals and 1 ſmall piece of red ſerge for a hall; 1 piece of red and black tapeſtry; 1 palat, 5 mantles of Iriſh cloth, one of them lined with green cloth; 1 mantle of mixt-coloured cloth likeways lined with green; 1 garment of ruſſet lined with Iriſh cloth; 1 green woollen cloth for counting upon; 3 covered beds § with teſters; 1 blue ſtriped cloth for a valet; 5 elns ('alas') of blue cloth, and 16 of mixt cloth of two kinds; 6 elns of blanket; 1 mantle of mixt colour lined with vair

* Walſingham [*p.* 281] after a very brief account of the acts of this parliament, cries out, 'What is the uſe of ſtatutes of parliament, when 'they have not the ſmalleſt effect? The king with 'his privy council uſed to change or aboliſh all 'that was done in parliament by the community 'of the whole kingdom, and even the nobles themſelves.' The rapid changes of the laws by the legiſlators was ſufficiently diſtreſſing to the people, and eſpecially to thoſe engaged in trade, without the additional uncertainty produced by ſuch an interference (which would now be called unconſtitutional) of royal authority.

† *Bancale* is tranſlated *bench* or *ſeat* by the gloſſariſts. But it muſt here be ſome kind of ſtuff, perhaps a covering or cuſhion for a bench.

‡ The women of England were famous from very remote ages for their ſuperior ſkill in embroidery. See above, *pp.* 290, 348.

§ 'Cooperta lecta,' apparently for *cooperti lecti.*

(' bayro'), with a ſupertunic and capuce lined with their own ſtuff; 1 blue mantle lined with griſe (' griſeo') with a ſupertunic of the ſame colour lined with its own ſtuff; 1 garment lined with ſquirrel (' calabre'), with a tunic lined with blanket, and a capuce lined; 1 garment without ſleeves, lined with vair, with a tunic lined with lamb-ſkin; a fur of vair for a ſupertunic; a cap and a pair of gloves lined with griſe, and a pair of beaver gloves; a tunic of mixt colour lined with blanket; 2 round mantles, one mixt, and one black; 2 garments of Norfolk cloth, one lined with black cloth, and one with green; and a caſſock of another form; 4 ſtrait tunics of blanket; 1 entire blue robe lined with fine linen; 1 garment of bloody colour lined with fine linen; 1 violet capuce lined with ſcarlet *; 10 elns of blue, with hand-towels and other linen cloths; a tabard † with a ſupertunic and capuce of the ſame ſtuff, lined with blue linen; 1 blood-coloured capuce lined with black; 1 ſcarlet capuce lined, and 1 blood-coloured one unlined; and 30 books belonging to the collector.—He had alſo licence to ſhip at Southampton a parcel of images of ſaints, with many veſſels of pewter, knives, &c. which ſeem, as well as the books, to have been his own traveling equipage. In the year 1388 a ſimilar licence was given for ſhipping a bed of cloth of gold on a red ground, with gold foliage worked on a white ground (' frecto') with covering, &c. and curtains of red tartarine ‡, and ſome other articles of furniture §. Such exemptions from cuſtom in favour of foreign eccleſiaſtical dignitaries occur pretty often. [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *pp.* 356, 357, 577, 590.]

October—It was now enacted, that Engliſh merchants, being in foreign ports, and not finding any ſufficient Engliſh veſſels there, might ſhip their goods onboard foreign veſſels. [*Stat.* 1, 6 *Ric. II, c.* 8.]

Aliens were permitted to bring fiſh and all other kinds of victuals into any city or town, and to cut them and ſell them in any manner they thought proper. [*Stat.* 1, 6 *Ric. II, c.* 10.]

Landlords, or hoſts, in London, Yarmouth, Scarburgh, Winchelſea, Rye, and other coaſt towns, were ordered to deſiſt from their noxious practice of foreſtalling herring or other fiſh, or proviſions of any kind, on pretence of any cuſtom or charter, all ſuch being hereby abrogated: and they were upon no account to hinder fiſhermen or victualers, natives or foreigners in friendſhip with the king, from ſelling their wares, as they might think proper. The fiſhmongers of London were prohibited

* There ſeems to be no doubt, that ſcarlet cloths were now dyed and completely finiſhed in England: and we find eight cloths, ſcarlet, black, and ruſſet, (Engliſh manufacture undoubtedly) thought worthy of being ſent as preſents to the great lords of France in the year 1383. [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *p.* 415.] It is alſo worthy of obſervation, that Iriſh cloth makes ſome figure in this enumeration.

† The tabard was a dreſs worn by knights over their armour, having their armorial bearings repreſented on it in embroidery. It is ſtill worn by the heralds on ſolemn occaſions.

‡ Quere, if the party-coloured ſtuff, now called *tartan*, with red the predominant colour?

§ This liſt of articles, which throws light upon the coſtume, as well as the manufactures, of the age, will be very acceptable to ſome readers, and will prove tedious to others. The later have only to ſkip over it.

from buying any freſh fiſh to ſell again, except eels, luces *, and pikes, which either they or the foreigners might ſell in London. [*Stat.* 1, 6 *Ric. II, c.* 11.]

October 22[d]—The exportation of corn appears not to have been lawful without ſpecial licences; but now a general proclamation was iſſued, prohibiting, under penalty of veſſel and cargo, any exportation of corn or malt to any foreign country, except to the king's territories in Gaſcoigne, Bayonne, Calais, Breſt, Cherburg, Berwick upon Tweed, and other forts held for the king. [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *p.* 369.]

1383—In the beginning of this year a large Genoeſe carrack was driven by ſtreſs of weather into Sandwich †. It was reported, that the merchants of London, who had on hand great quantities of fruit, various ſpicery, oil, &c. fearing that their goods would be rendered unſaleable by the arrival of ſo great a quantity of freſher articles, bribed the Genoeſe to ſail for Flanders: and it was ſaid, that their cargo, if it had been landed, was ſufficient to make a glut of the articles it conſiſted of throughout the whole country. [*Walſingham, p.* 296.] But we may be permitted to doubt, if one cargo, though a very large one, could have had ſuch an effect, eſpecially as the Genoeſe were under no obligation to ſell their goods under their value.

October—There being great complaints of frauds in cloth, the parliament ordered, that all cloths expoſed to ſale, and found contrary to law, ſhould be confiſcated, and the informer ſhould have one third of the value ‡. [*Acts 7 Ric. II, c.* 9.]

The reſtraints put upon the ſale of wines, victuals, fiſh, &c. were repealed: and the dealers were placed under the controul of the mayor and aldermen of London. [*Acts 7 Ric. II, c.* 11.]

No perſon was permitted to carry armour, corn, malt, or any other victuals or refreſhments to Scotland. [*Acts 7 Ric. II, c.* 14.]

1384, January 26th—A truce was concluded between King Richard and his adverſary of France, to continue till ſun-riſing on the 1st of October 1384. The merchants of both countries were allowed to trade in either country in lawful merchandize, but not in armour or other pro-

* A luce is a pike in the laſt ſtage of his growth. The gradation of names is frie, gilt-head, pod, jack, pickerel, pike, luce. [*Harriſon's Deſcription of Britain, p.* 224 in Holinſhed, ed. 1586.]

† Sandwich has apparently ariſen in place of Rhutupis, the principal port of Britain in the time of the Romans, when there was a navigable arm of the ſea, open at both ends, between Thanet and the main land. The ſtrait was much diminiſhed in the age of Bede, and has ſince dried up entirely, its place being now moſtly occupied by two ſmall rivers: and I apprehend this great carrack muſt have rode in the bay before Sandwich, but could not enter the river, which probably never was capable, ſince it became a mere river, of receiving a *large* ſhip. In the year 1385 two French prize ſhips, which were too large to get into Calais, were brought over to Sandwich. [*Walſingham, p.* 319.] See an account of the changes, this ſtrait, or river, has undergone, by Doctor Campbell, [*Political Survey, V.* i, *p.* 392] who would have been glad to add the arrival of theſe ſhips to the facts he has collected.

‡ It appears, that the aulnage, or ulnage, was farmed: [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 8 *Ric. II, m.* 27] and thence it is probable, that the duty was not very faithfully performed. About this time there are very frequent orders in the patent rolls for a ſtrict inſpection of cloth offered for ſale.

hibited goods; and veſſels driven on either coaſt by ſtreſs of weather, or putting in for want of proviſions, were not to be maltreated. The truce was afterwards prolonged to the 1st of May 1385, and the kings of Caſtile and Scotland became parties to it. [*Fœdera*, *V.* vii, *pp.* 419, 441.]

Both kingdoms immediately felt the happy effects of the ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities in a briſk commercial intercourſe, wherein the Normans were diſtinguiſhed as the moſt active traders. By them was England ſupplied in the ſpring of this year with an extraordinary abundance of wine, fruits, ſpicery, and fiſh, which were all ſold wonderfully cheap; and, as gold and ſilver were given by the Engliſh in exchange for them, the reciprocal advantages of the intercourſe made the people on both ſides very deſirous of a permanent peace *. [*Walſingham*, *Hiſt. p.* 308.]

About this time Edinburgh, though lately become the general reſidence of the kings of Scotland, was reckoned by Froiſſart, a French author who had viſited it, rather inferior to Tournay or Valenciennes, cities in the Netherlands, and eſtimated to contain ſcarcely four hundred houſes †. The houſes, according to Walſingham, [*Hiſt. p.* 308] were thatched with ſtraw ('ſtramentum'), as, indeed, thoſe of the cities of England generally were. Edinburgh was this year deſtroyed in conſequence of an Engliſh invaſion: and its ſituation, ſo near the border, whereby it was expoſed to a frequent repetition of ſuch diſaſters, was ſufficient to prevent the citizens from erecting valuable houſes, though they had had the means. It is not probable that any other town in Scotland, unleſs perhaps Perth, contained even ſo many houſes as Edinburgh.

King Richard in his ſeventh year appointed William Brampton of London to be governor ‡ of the merchants of the wool-ſtaple at Middleburg; and he directed him to ſearch all merchants, natives or aliens, ar-

* This ſpirited trade of the Normans, who with reſpect to the ſpiceries appear to have been the carriers between the Mediterranean ports and England, gives ſome ſupport to what is ſaid of their early adventurous voyages and ſettlements on the coaſt of Africa. (*See above, p.* 572.) The Normans were undoubtedly the greateſt merchants on the weſt coaſt of France, as thoſe of Marſeille were on the ſouth coaſt. Robert Bremville was at this time diſtinguiſhed as the moſt opulent and powerful merchant in Normandy. [*Walſingham*, *Hiſt. p.* 318.]

† Though the houſes, and conſequently the population, of Edinburgh are rated ſo low by Froiſſart, we find he places it nearly on a level with the opulent manufacturing city of Tournay. And from the tax-roll of England in the year 1377 it is preſumable, that the cities of Exeter, Worceſter, and Wincheſter, were not larger or more populous than Edinburgh, if, indeed, they were equal to it, and that Litchfield, Chicheſter, Carliſle, Rocheſter, and Bath, were certainly much ſmaller. Such were cities in thoſe days. There is, therefor, no need to ſuppoſe Froiſſart miſtaken, and to correct his account by altering it to *four thouſand*, a number ſcarcely inferior to that of the houſes in London, and vaſtly too great for any other city or town of England in that age; or to ſuppoſe that he muſt mean *lands*, as they are now called in Edinburgh, each floor of which is a ſeparate habitation, nearly ſimilar to a ſet of chambers in the inns of court in London. The very ſubſtantial ſtile of building, neceſſary for ſuch large edifices, was apparently then confined to eccleſiaſtical and military architecture in both the Britiſh kingdoms.

‡ The title of *governor* ſeems to have come in place of that of *mayor of the ſtaple*. This is probably the firſt eſtabliſhment of the ſtaple at Middleburg, of which, I believe, we have no other record, except the return *from it* to Calais in the year 1388. 2

riving there, for gold or ſilver carried out of England. [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 7 *Ric. II, m.* 13.]

1385—This year the governor of Calais, the ſeamen of the Cinque ports, and others, took above 800 veſſels of various kinds, ſhips, gallies, cogs, carracks, barges, lines, balingars, &c. from the French *. Of theſe ſome, which were taken near Calais, in conſequence of the fleet being diſperſed by a ſtorm in September, were remarkably large and lofty: one in particular had been recently built for the Norman merchants in the Eaſt country at the expenſe of 5,000 francs (£833 : 6 : 8 ſterling) for a protection to the reſt of the fleet; and they had ſold her at Sluys to Cliſſon, the conſtable of France, for 3,000 francs (£500). Another ſhip belonging to the ſame Cliſſon, taken by the Cinque-port veſſels, was valued at 20,000 franks, which muſt have comprehended her cargo, and is therefor no great ſum, if compared with the value of ſome of the Mediterranean ſhips and cargoes. (*See above, p.* 504.) Two of them were loaded with ſpiceries, and ſome of them with *white herrings* to the amount of 400 laſts †. [*Knyghton, col.* 2676.—*Walſingham, p.* 318.]

1386, March 28th—In an order for preſſing veſſels and ſeamen into the king's ſervice, the fiſhermen of Blakney, Cley, Cromer, and the adjacent coaſts, were exempted. [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *p.* 507.] As a contraſt to this indulgence, it may be obſerved, that the fiſhermen of Suſſex and Kent were taxed three pennies upon every boat-load for fortifying the town of Rye. [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 8 *Ric. II, a tergo* 32.] The fiſhermen of Rye moreover gave a ſhare of their fiſh to the king: and thoſe of Winchelſea gave a ſhare to the rector of the church. Probably both thoſe taxes were general, at leaſt on that part of the coaſt; and in moſt places the fiſhermen have been obliged to give a ſhare of their earnings to their ſuperior lords ‡.

June 27th—In a truce between England and Scotland 'it is accordit, 'that ſpeciale aſſurance ſal be on the ſee frá the Watir of Spee to the 'Watir of Tamyſe, for all marchandes of báth the roialmes and here 'godes §.' [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *p.* 527.]

September 16th—Loans to the king were now much more frequent than formerly. There was one in the year 1382; and in that year the king

* Walſingham ſays, 'There were taken and ſlain 'in thoſe ſhips 226 ſeamen and mercenaries. Bleſſ- 'ed be God for all things.'

† It is pretty generally believed (notwithſtanding this and many other authentic proofs of the contrary, to be found in this work) that no herrings were cured in any other way than what are called *red herrings*, till Van Beukelen invented the method of curing *white herrings* in the fifteenth century.

‡ Edward III granted to the abbat of Stanley for ever the profits ariſing from the 'kingeſhare' in the fiſhing boats of Rye. The tenth part of the fiſh caught at Winchelſea, called 'Chriſteſhare,' was granted, probably rather confirmed, to the rector of St. Thomas's church in Winchelſea by Henry IV. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 37 *Edw. III, m.* 22; *tertia* 2 *Hen. IV, m.* 30.] Priſes of fiſh were due from the fiſhermen of Hertlepool to the lord of the place. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *p.* 573.]

§ Spee, *Spey*—Tamyſe, *Thames*—here godes, *their goods*, and eſpecially *cattle*.—This is the ſecond appearance of the native language of the country in Rymer's *Fœdera Angliæ*, the firſt being alſo a truce between the two Britiſh kingdoms, dated 15th March 1384-5, [*p.* 468] which contains nothing relating to commerce.

repaid £2,000, which he had borrowed from the city of London by laying his crown and ſome valuable trinkets in pawn. The king now made a loan, wherein the ſums ſubſcribed, or demanded, were larger than in any preceding one. Of 51 ſubſcriptions there were 25 by eccleſiaſtical perſons, from £433 : 6 : 8, the ſum lent by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, down to £13 : 6 : 8; none by the barons; and 26 by cities and towns, as follows.

London *					Chichester	-	£ 40	0	0	Nottingham	£ 50	0	0
formerly £5,000	£9,000	0	0		Lynne	- -	100	0	0	Norwich	- 100	0	0
and again 4,000					Worcester	-	20	0	0	Ipswich	- 40	0	0
Cambridge	-	60	0	0	Leicester	- -	66	13	4	Winchester	50	0	0
Cirencester	- -	20	0	0	Gloucester	-	54	0	0	Shrewsbury	66	0	0
Salisbury	- -	200	0	0	Lincoln 100	0 0	170	16	0	Derby	- 20	0	0
Coventry 133	6 8				and 70	16 0				Canterbury	50	0	0
and 82	10 0	315	16	8	York	- -	100	0	0	Hereford	50	0	0
and 100	0 0				St. Edmundsbury	-	66	13	4	Litchfield	13	6	8
Bristol	- -	200	0	0	Oxford	- -	40	0	0				

Whether the people of Boſton were refractory, or it was the general form, we find, by a mandate directed to that town, that every perſon living in it and its ſuburbs, poſſeſſing property to the value of £20, was ordered under pain of impriſonment, to contribute his proportion of £200, the ſum demanded by the king. [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *pp.* 341, 359, 543, 544.] It does not appear that intereſt was ever paid upon any of thoſe loans, which were therefor in effect taxes, even if they were punctually repaid, of at leaſt the value of the intereſt. In the preceding year the king borrowed £1,600 from a Lombard merchant. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 9 *Ric. II, m.* 31.] Whether he had the uſe of that money without intereſt, depended upon circumſtances between him and the lender.

September 25th—The king obſerving that the increaſed demand had raiſed the price of armour and horſes, which he thought wicked and unreaſonable, directed proclamations to be made in the counties of Lincoln and Cambridge, and the Eaſt and North ridings of York-ſhire, ordering that they ſhould be ſold no higher than formerly †. [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *p.* 546.]

This year ſome Genoeſe cogs and carracks, loaded with wines, ſpices, ſtuffs of gold and ſilk, gold, ſilver, pretious ſtones, &c. bound for Flanders, were ſeized on the coaſt of Kent, and carried into Sandwich. By the interceſſion of Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk and chancellor of the kingdom, the captors were ordered to give up the veſſels to the owners, who were moreover indemnified for the damage ſuſtained by them ‡. [*Knyghton, col.* 2678.—*Walſingham, p.* 322.]

* The London loans do not appear along with the reſt in the Fœdera; but they are found in the patent rolls, *prim.* 9 *Ric. II, m.* 42 and *prim.* 10 *Ric. II, m.* 5.

† Though the proclamation was probably of no avail for the purpoſe intended by its author, it ſerves to let us know, that thoſe parts of England mentioned in it were then, as they are at this day, the chief breeding countries for horſes.

‡ With the ſame blind avarice, wherewith he had inveighed againſt the reſtoration of Mercer (*ſee above, p.* 586) Walſingham now reprobates this act of juſtice of the earl of Suffolk, whom, intending to diſhonour him, he calls a merchant, the ſon of a merchant, more engaged from his infancy in commerce than in military affairs, more acquainted with bankers than with ſoldiers. In thoſe days the church and the army engroſſed all reſpectability to themſelves.

The king of France got together a fleet of about *twelve hundred* veſſels for an invaſion of England, which he ſtationed at Sluys and along the adjacent coaſt, having alſo a great army * encamped upon the land. Though the Flemings ſaw their country devoured by ſo many myriads of conſumers, ſo important was the herring fiſhery in their eſtimation, that the ſafe arrival of all their fiſhermen was thought a conſolation for all the hardſhips they had ſuffered. [*Froiſſart, L.* iii, *c.* 35.—*Meyeri Ann. Flandr. f.* 207 a.—*Walſingham, p.* 325.]

1387, March 24th—A great fleet of Flemiſh, French, and Spaniſh, veſſels, ſailing together, as uſual in thoſe days, for mutual protection, was attacked by the earl of Arundel, who took 126 veſſels, loaded with between twelve and thirteen thouſand tuns of wine †, the whole of which the citizens of Middleburg offered to purchaſe at £5 per tun, ready money, which was no ſlight proof of their opulence: but their offer was declined, and the prizes ſent to England. Some time after he attacked the harbour of Sluys, where he took ſeveral Flemiſh, and alſo ſome Scottiſh, veſſels. [*Knyghton, col.* 2692.—*Walſingham, pp.* 326, 539.]

1388, February—Some laws favourable to commerce, enacted by Edward III, were now renewed, whereby foreign merchants were allowed to ſell in wholeſale or retail in London or any other city, burgh, &c. in England, notwithſtanding any claim of excluſive privileges, and all new impoſitions upon merchandize were declared to be illegal and of no effect. [*Stat.* 11 *Ric. II, cc.* 7, 9.]

Auguſt 21st—That ſome Engliſh merchants traded to Pruſſia, has been noticed under the years 1372 and 1379. Outrages, as uſual, were committed on both ſides in the reign of Edward III, probably in the very infancy of the trade. The Pruſſians complained, that ſix of their veſſels had been plundered by the Engliſh at the Swyn in Flanders. At the prayer of his ſubjects the grand maſter arreſted ſome Engliſh veſſels at Elburg and Dantzik: and, in return, ſome Pruſſian veſſels were arreſted at Lynne. Conrad Zolner, now the grand maſter of Pruſſia, deſiring to have matters amicably adjuſted, had ſent ambaſſadors to England, and Engliſh ambaſſadors had alſo been ſent to him. After long negotiation, it was now agreed upon at Marienburg, the reſidence of the grand maſter, that juſtice ſhould be done to the Pruſſian complainants at London, and to the Engliſh at Dantzik; that Engliſh merchants ſhould have free acceſs to every port of Pruſſia, with liberty alſo to carry their merchandize to any part of the country, and to trade freely, 'as it uſed 'to be in antient times,' the Pruſſians having equal liberty in England. If any diſpute ſhould ariſe, the king and the grand maſter were to uſe

* Some writers, who think nothing worth notice that does not at leaſt border upon the incredible, have increaſed the fleet to 1,400 ſhips, and the army to 600,000 men.

† Walſingham makes the wine 19,000 tuns; but the loweſt numbers are generally the trueſt; and Knyghton is the earlier writer.—Stow ſays, the wine was ſold in England for 13*s*/4 a tun; but that ſeems a miſtake; for the king paid 20*s* for the wine taken by prerogative as his priſe.

their beſt endeavours to accommodate it; and, if they could not conciliate matters, the merchants were to be allowed a year to withdraw with their property from either country. [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *pp.* 525, 579, 581, 588, 599.—*Rot. pat. prim.* 9 *Ric. II, m.* 11.—*Hakluyt, V.* i, *p.* 148.]

The Engliſh ambaſſadors, who were ſent to Pruſſia, were alſo directed to adjuſt ſome diſputes with the merchants of the Hanſe. [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *p.* 602.]

September—Ever ſince the inſurrections in the year 1381 the court and parliament had been intent upon depriving the inferior claſſes of the people (or rather *the people*, for the barons and clergy were but a ſmall part of the whole population) of any opportunity, or even hope, of bettering their condition. In this ſeſſion the parliament enacted, that no ſervant ſhould remove from one hundred to another, unleſs traveling upon his maſter's buſineſs, and not even in pilgrimage for the good of his ſoul, without a teſtimonial under the king's ſeal, which it muſt have been next to impoſſible to obtain.—The penalties for taking more than the preſcribed wages were renewed; and the wages for country labour were fixed by law *.—Boys and girls, who were employed in huſbandry till they were twelve years of age, were to be confined to it for life †.—Servants in huſbandry were prohibited from carrying armour, except bows and arrows for practice on Sundays and holidays.—No beggars were permitted to travel about, except certified people of religion, hermits, and 'ſcholers of the univerſities' having the letters of the chancellors. Impotent beggars were to be provided for by the people of the towns, if they were able and willing.—Beggars, alleging that they had been impriſoned beyond ſea, were required to have teſtimonials.—The ſtatute of labourers was to be in force, as well in cities and burghs as in the open country. [*Stat.* 12 *Ric. II, cc.* 3-9.]

It was enacted that ſtriped or coloured cloths and half cloths, made in Briſtol and the counties around it, ſhould be agreeable to the law of the year 1373 in length and breadth. [*Stat.* 12 *Ric. II, c.* 14.] This law is mentioned here, only becauſe it proves that the country around Briſtol was then, as it has ever ſince continued, the chief ſeat of the clothing trade.

The ſtaple was ordered to be removed from Middleburg, and to be again eſtabliſhed at Calais by the firſt of December. [*Stat.* 12 *Ric. II, c.* 16.]

1389—In the year 1379 a general privateering commiſſion was given to the people of Dartmouth. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 3 *Ric. II, m.* 10.] In 1385 they brought away ſome rich veſſels from the mouth of the Seine, one of which, called Cliſſon's barge, had not its equal in England or France.

* See them in the Appendix.

† This law was made for preventing the children of villeins from becoming free by being artiſans in burghs. It was evaded by the villeins, who put their children apprentices, when very young, to trades, which they afterwards followed or not, as inclination or circumſtances directed.

[*Walſingham, p.* 315.] And this year, after Eaſter, a merchant of Dartmouth, with a fleet fitted out by himſelf, is ſaid to have taken 33 veſſels loaded with about 1,500 tuns of Rochelle wine *. [*Knyghton, col.* 2735.]

June 18th—In another truce with France the articles for mutual freedom of trade were inſerted, as in that of 1384. [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *p.* 627.]

The king licenced Hugh of Hulme in Middlewych and his ſons to boil ſalt † and brew ale, and to ſell them and other merchandize. [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 12 *Ric. II, m.* 11.]

He alſo granted to Thomas Scot the fiſhery of the Thames from London bridge down to Yenlade. [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 12 *Ric. II, m.* 21.] This ſeems an invaſion of the juriſdiction of the city: and it ſubjected the inhabitants to the extorſion of a monopoliſt of river fiſh.

1390, January—The parliament conſidering, that the prices of proviſions could not be permanently fixed ‡, directed, that the juſtices of peace ſhould every year aſcertain the wages to be given to tradeſmen and labourers, and alſo limit the price of proviſions §. [*Stat.* 1, 13 *Ric. II, c.* 8.]

Becauſe the cloths called cogware and Kendal cloths of the breadth of three quarters or one yard, made in ſeveral parts of England, and uſually ſold from 3*s*4 to 5*s* per piece to poor people, or for exportation, were made of wool which was fit for no other uſe, they were allowed ſtill to be made of the accuſtomed lengths and breadths, notwithſtanding the law for regulating the finer cloths, provided they were made of wool no better than had hitherto been uſed for them. [*Stat.* 1, 13 *Ric. II, c.* 10.]

Frauds were now beginning to diſgrace the woollen manufacture in the counties of Somerſet, Dorſet, Briſtol, and Glouceſter, then, as in a great meaſure now, the chief ſeats of it; and a common mode of evading detection was to tack the cloths ſo as to render it very difficult to inſpect the inner part of the piece, which was ſometimes of inferior wool, different colour, deficient breadth, or otherways diſhoneſtly made. By theſe deceptions the merchants, who had the misfortune to export ſuch cloths, were expoſed to great loſſes; even their lives were in danger from the reſentment of foreigners; and the national character of the manufacture was ſinking in foreign countries. It was therefor enacted, that all cloths ſhould be ſold, agreeable to the practice in Eſſex, without any ſuch tacking: and the cloth-workers, weavers, and fullers, were re-

* Theſe ſeem the prizes, which, according to De Witt, [*Intereſt of Holland, p.* 235 *Engl. tranſl.*] the Engliſh carried into Dort and Ziriczee; and, as thoſe towns had refuſed to join their earl in the war againſt England, the veſſels belonging to merchants living in them were reſtored by the Engliſh captors.—If the numbers are near correct, the veſſels carried leſs than 50 tuns each, which is not likely. This capture exceeded in number, though probably not in value, the French fleet from Martinique, taken by Commodore Walker in a ſingle privateer, alſo from Dartmouth, in the year 1745.

† Thoſe ſalt-works made a part of the revenue of the Saxon kings, as noticed above, p. 295.

‡ Such I conceive to be the meaning of the words, 'pur ce qe homme ne purra mye mettre en 'certein les pris des bledz et autres vitailles.'

§ This act orders that no hoſteller ſhould make bread for horſes, but it ſhould be made by the bakers. The hoſtellers are allowed a profit of a halfpenny upon a buſhel of oats.

quired to affix their ſeveral ſeals to every cloth paſſed through their hands. [*Stat.* 1, 13 *Ric. II, c.* 11.]

November—The parliament now ordered the ſtaple to be removed from Calais by the 6th of January, and to be eſtabliſhed in thoſe towns in England (and, I ſuppoſe, alſo in Wales and Ireland) wherein it was ſettled in the year 1353 *. Every foreign merchant, bringing goods into England, was required to give ſecurity to the officers of the cuſtoms at the port of landing, that he would inveſt one half of the proceeds of his goods in wool, hides, wool-fells, lead, tin, butter, cheeſe, cloth, or other Engliſh commodities. [*Stat.* 14 *Ric. II, c.* 1.] From this act it ſeems preſumable, that they were allowed to carry off half the proceeds of their ſales in money or bills of exchange, if they choſe it †.

Every merchant, drawing a bill of exchange payable at Rome or elſewhere, was required to lay out the whole money received for it, within three months, upon the above-mentioned Engliſh commodities. [*Stat.* 14 *Ric. II, c.* 2.]

In order to keep up the price of wool, it was enacted, that no denizen of England ſhould buy wool from any perſon but the owners of ſheep or of tithes, unleſs in the ſtaple, nor regrate wool or other ſtaple merchandize. No Engliſhman was allowed to buy wool, except on his own account for ſale at the ſtaple, or for making into cloth. The exportation of wool, hides, and wool-fells, was prohibited to denizens, and allowed only to foreigners. [*Stat.* 14 *Ric. II, cc.* 4, 5.]

It was enacted, that the merchants of England ſhould export their merchandize in Engliſh veſſels *only:* and the owners were deſired to carry them for *reaſonable* freights. [*c.* 6.]

Dartmouth was declared the only port for the exportation of tin. [*c.* 7.]

In order to encourage foreign merchants to come to England, the parliament aſſured them of a courteous reception and fair treatment. [*c.* 9.]

Officers of the cuſtoms were prohibited from being owners of veſſels. [*c.* 10.]

The parliament ordered, that the Scottiſh money ſhould be taken in England for only half its nominal value ‡. [*c.* 12.]

1391, January 17th—The Engliſh merchants trading to Pruſſia, the Hanſe towns, and the adjacent countries, imputing the many troubles

* Some new ſtaple towns were appointed in the 44th year of Edward III. (*See above, p.* 576.) It is obſervable, that ſome places in England were called ſtaple towns, when the ſole legal ſtaple was at Calais, e. g. in the year 1377 the ſtaple was removed from Queenburgh to Sandwich; [*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 157] and in 1385 King Richard removed the ſtaple of wool and wool-fells from Ipſwich and London to Yarmouth. [*Table in the town hall of Yarmouth, publiſhed with Leland's Collectanea, V.* vi, *p.* 286.] It is probable that the exportation of ſtaple goods was then confined to certain ports, and that they were thence called ſtaple ports.

† Their right to carry away one half of their money is explicitly declared in an act, 2 *Hen. IV. c.* 5.

‡ Unleſs there was ſome great, but ſhort-lived, diminution of the money of Scotland, unknown to hiſtoric or antiquarian reſearch, this law was drawn up with ſtill leſs regard to accuracy than the order of 1373. See the table of money in the Appendix.

and diſputes, which had happened in former times, to the want of a proper direction of their community, and, doubtleſs, obſerving the advantages foreign merchants enjoyed by having regulated companies eſtabliſhed in England, had elected John Bebys, a citizen of London, to be governor of the Engliſh merchants in thoſe countries *. Their election was now ratified by the king, who alſo gave the governor full power to diſpenſe juſtice to all the Engliſh merchants in thoſe countries, to accommodate all diſputes between them and the natives, or to demand redreſs from the ſovereigns of the countries: he authorized the governor and his deputies to make ordinances, with the conſent of the Engliſh merchants, for the regulation of their affairs, agreeable to the privileges granted to them (apparently in the year 1388) by the grand maſter of Pruſſia: and he empowered the merchants to meet annually in all time coming for the election of a governor †. [*Fœdera*, *V.* vii, *p.* 693.]

May 24th—The fame of Richard's profuſion attracted to England every thing that was eminently magnificent and coſtly. We now find two merchants of Luca obtaining permiſſion to import two crowns of gold with jewels, and a ſet of furniture of cloth of gold and ſilk for a chamber, to be offered firſt to the king, or ſold to others if he ſhould decline purchaſing them, without paying any cuſtom for them, unleſs they ſhould ſell them ‡. [*Fœdera*, *V.* vii, *p.* 699.]

After ſome years of abundance there was a comparative ſcarcity of corn this year in England, and the price was conſequently very high: but it would have been much higher, if there had not been as great a ſcarcity of money, occaſioned by the reſtraints laid upon the exportation of wool §. On this occaſion London enjoyed the advantages flowing from ſuperior commerce and police: for, while wheat was ſelling at Leiceſter from 13/4 to 16/8 per quarter, it was ſold in London for about 10/. Some veſſels ‖ arrived with corn from the continent in various

* The preſent Britiſh conſul in Pruſſia is probably the ſucceſſor of this governor. The name of conſul, however, was uſed before this time, as appears by the mention of it already in this work, *p.* 536, to ſay nothing of other proofs, which might be adduced, if neceſſary.

† The mercantile companies, who formerly carried on very fierce conteſts for priority of dignity and antiquity, without knowing any ſolid foundation whereon to build their claims, might apparently have found ſomething in this grant to guide them to a knowlege of their antiquity.

‡ In the year 1409 Henry IV licenced a Genoeſe merchant to import an expenſive collar or necklace on ſimilar terms. [*Fœdera*, *V.* viii, *p.* 569.]

§ We thus ſee, that the ſheep of England produced more wool than was required for the manufacture of cloth and other woollen goods for the conſumption of all the people, and the export trade beſides: and it ſeems pretty certain, that few people in England were now clothed in foreign cloth.

Knyghton dates this ſcarcity in 1390; and he ſays, that the wool had lain unſold in many places two, and three, years, in conſequence of the Engliſh merchants not being allowed to export it, and the ſale of it being confined to twelve places for all England. But, as the reſtraints were not enacted till November 1390, they could not produce ſuch effects in 1391, and far leſs in 1390. Stow places the relief procured by the magiſtrates of London in the mayoralty of Adam Bamme, which commenced in November 1390; and thence Walſingham appears more accurate than Knyghton in the date.

‖ Knyghton ſays, 'xi naves.' But I apprehend, the numerals are erroneous. The cargoes of eleven ſhips, unleſs they were much above the uſual burthen, could have but very little effect in reducing the price or alleviating the calamity.

parts of the kingdom: and the magiſtrates of London, with 2,000 marks borrowed from the orphans' cheſt *, together with £480 contributed by the twenty-four aldermen, purchaſed a ſtock of corn, wherewith the poor of London and the adjacent country were ſupplied on eaſy terms. [*Knyghton, col.* 2737.—*Walſingham, p.* 346.]

In the year ending 21st June 1391, during which the quantity of wool exported is ſaid to have been much leſs than uſual, the cuſtoms on it amounted to £160,000, over and above tunnage, poundage, aulnage, pellage, &c. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 472.]

November.—It was enacted, that all merchants, denizens, or aliens, might buy wool from any perſon whatever till the 24th of June next, they bringing to Calais one ounce of gold in bullion for every ſack of wool †. After the 24th of June the ſtaple, now held at the towns appointed by parliament in the year 1353, ſhould be held in ſuch towns upon the coaſt as the lords of the council ſhould direct. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 341.]

The act of the preceding year, for ſhipping tin at Dartmouth only, was now repealed. Tin might now be ſhipped at any port; but it was to be carried only to Calais, as long as wool ſhould be carried thither. [*Stat.* 15 *Ric. II, c.* 8.]

From theſe reſtrictions Calais appears to have been ſtill a ſtaple, at which all wool and tin were to be landed; ſtaples and reſtraints in England, and a ſecond ſtaple and other reſtraints at the ſame time on the continent! The condition of the merchants, who were obliged to deal in ſtaple goods, was truely pitiable in thoſe days of perpetual changes.

It was repreſented in parliament, that the cloths manufactured at Gildford and the adjacent parts of Surrey, Suſſex, and Hampſhire, called Gildford cloths, which uſed to have great reputation as well-made goods, were now much depretiated in conſequence of fullers and others buying them unfulled, and injuring the ſubſtance by overſtretching them in length and breadth. It was therefor now enacted, that no Gildford cloths ſhould be ſold, till they were completely finiſhed and ſealed. [*Stat.* 15 *Ric. II, c.* 10.]

The people of Amſterdam had for ſome time paſt traded to Schonen for herrings ‡, and they had obtained from the king of Denmark a grant of a piece of land for tranſacting their buſineſs. This year the earl of

* This is believed to be the earlieſt notice, *given by any hiſtorian*, of the orphan's fund in the city of London. But it may be preſumed to be much more antient, as we find an eſtabliſhment for the orphans of Sandwich in the year 1290. [*Rot. pat.* 18 *Edw. I, m.* 35.]

† In the year 1397 the parliament ordered the ounce of gold to be carried to the Tower of London; and in 1399 Calais was again appointed to be the place for it. [*Cotton's Abridgement pp.* 362, 393.]

‡ Schook [*Diſſert. de harengis,* § 34] ſays, that the Hollanders had not yet begun to fiſh on the Britiſh coaſt. We know that the Flemings actually fiſhed on the coaſts of England and Scotland above 100 years before, and that the Hollanders obtained a licence in the year 1295 to fiſh on the coaſt of England; and they were probably among the Belgians who frequented the fiſhery in the Firth of Forth in the twelfth century. *See above, pp.* 325, 427, 455.

Holland gave a charter to his faithful ſcabines and ſenators of his city of Amſterdam, authorizing them to elect a prefect, and to govern their lands in Schonen by their own laws *. [*Chart. ap. Pontani Dan. hiſt. p.* 522.]

1392—The merchants of the Hanſe obtained from the king a declaration, that they ſhould be ſubjected to no new impoſitions in any town. [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 15 *Ric. II, m.* 36.]

The magiſtrates of London having refuſed to lend the king £1,000, he took occaſion to quarrel with them, deprived them of their offices, reſcinded the city's privileges, and got a fine of £100,000 impoſed upon it. He was encouraged in theſe oppreſſive meaſures by the nobles, who, not knowing that the improvement of their own lands depended upon the proſperity of trade, envied the growing opulence of the citizens. It was probably thought at court, that the payment of ſuch an exorbitant fine would be impoſſible; and the king hinted a deſire to be reconciled to the citizens, who were ſo tranſported with joy at the news, that they begged to be honoured with his preſence in the city. He accordingly made a proceſſion through the city (Auguſt 29th); and the citizens ſtrained their abilities to receive him with ſplendour and magnificence. Two crowns of gold (probably thoſe imported from Luca in the preceding year), two tables or plates of gold, one repreſenting the Trinity, and valued at £800, and the other a picture of St. Anne, with a vaſt profuſion of other coſtly baubles, were preſented to him and the queen, and gratiouſly received. The fine of £100,000 was remitted, and all offences were pardoned, *except treaſons and felonies* (September 19th). The citizens now rejoiced in the belief that the ſtorm of royal indignation was blown over. But they were ſoon convinced of their miſtake by a demand of £10,000, to be paid for obtaining the king's good will: and that ſum, ſufficiently diſtreſſing, was collected by an aſſeſſment upon all the inhabitants, and actually paid to the king †. [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *pp.* 735, 739.—*Knyghton, col.* 2740.—*Walſingham, p.* 348.]

* According to ſome authors, it was not before the year 1400 that the ſea made a breach through the ridge of hills, which guarded the north coaſt of Holland and Friſeland, into the lakes formed by the ſtagnation of the north mouth of the Rhine, which, according to Pliny, [*Hiſt. nat. L.* iv, *c.* 15] was called the Flevus, and converted them into an inland ſea, well known in modern times by the name of the Zuyder zee, the chief entrance of which is at the iſland called the Texel. Before that irruption took place, Amſterdam could have no other navigation than by boats upon the freſh-water lakes and the rivers connected with them. We here ſee undoubted proof that it was earlier than the year 1400: but it is impoſſible to aſcertain the preciſe time on account of the numerous inundations diſcordantly and indiſtinctly recorded by the Dutch writers. [See *Schook de inundationibus*, and *Junii Batavia, p.* 122.] De Witt [*p.* 301 *Engl. tranſl.*] quotes Pantaleon (publiſhed by M. Voſſius) who dates it in 1170, but without preferring him to thoſe who place it in 1400. Perhaps it may have happened in the great inundation in January 1198-9 recorded by *Hoveden, f.* 326 b. —*Ann. Waverl.* and *Chron. Melros, ad an.* 1198. Meyer [*Ann. Flandr. f.* 117 b] is ſo diſtreſſed by the careleſſneſs of writers reſpecting the inundations, that he is quite angry with them: and, to-be-ſure, there can be little dependence upon the early hiſtory of a country, wherein an event of ſuch importance is ſo very diſcordantly related.

† The preſent citizens of London, accuſtomed to turn much larger ſums in their private concerns than what is here ſtated as perhaps impoſſible to be paid by the community of the city, will not blame me, or rather Walſingham, for ſaying, that the collection of £10,000 diſtreſſed the whole city, when they recollect that £10,000 contained 8,000 pounds or 96,000 ounces of ſtandard ſilver, and could purchaſe 50,000 quarters of wheat at an average price.

1393, January—London, and the other incorporated communities, were now indulged with an act of parliament, prohibiting all foreign merchants from buying and ſelling with each other, and from cutting up or retailing any goods *, except proviſions (' vivres et vitailes'). No ſpiceries were to be carried out of the kingdom, either by denizens or aliens. [*Stat.* 16 *Ric. II, c.* 1.] Thus, after being unfairly deprived of their juſt rights, were the citizens of London, in return for what ought not to have been demanded from them, gratified with what ought not to have been granted to them.

March 8th—Some merchants of Plaſencia, a city on the north coaſt of Spain, having plundered Nicholas Collyng of Chepſtow, the king had granted him letters of repriſal to the amount of £3,200, that he might recompenſe himſelf by taking veſſels belonging to Plaſencia; and he had moreover, at his ſuit, impriſoned all the Plaſencians found in England. But at the requeſt of the earl of Virtues (' comitis Virtutum'), the lord of that city, who appears to have undertaken to compenſate the damage, the letters were now ſuſpended. [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *pp.* 740, 749.]

April 20th—Margaret, queen of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, the countries whoſe naval power four centuries before this time had been a terror to all the weſtern coaſts of Europe, finding her fleet ſcarcely able to make head againſt that of the Hanſe towns, and having applied to the king of England for his aſſiſtance, he licenced three large warlike ſhips of Lynne, with their commanders and mariners, to enter into her ſervice. [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *p.* 744.]

April 22d—The following articles, which were permitted to be ſhipped at London for the duke of Bretagne without paying any duty, may apparently be conſidered as ſpecimens of the manufactures, fiſhery, and trade of England, viz. 1 piece and 15 elns of ſcarlet cloth; 9 cloths of various colours; 15 elns of blanket †; 15 elns of black cloth; 16 ſaddles; 3 buts of Malveſey wine; 132 pounds of ſugar; 50 grelings, 50 lings, 3 barrels of white herrings, 4 cades of red herrings, 120 ſtock-fiſh; 12 braſs pots with covers, and ſundry other articles of metal; 1 bed of bloody colour and green with 8 ' tapetis' (figured cloths, or perhaps bed blankets) and curtains; 1 image of alabaſter, and ſeveral ſmall articles. [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *p.* 745.] From ſome other ſuch licences, occurring in the ſubſequent parts of the *Fœdera* (and particularly *V.* viii, *p.* 117) it appears, that the goldſmiths of England ſtill kept up their reputation as excellent workmen.

1394, January—It was enacted that no ſilver money ſhould be melted for making veſſels or any other things; and that Scottiſh, or other

* It may be remarked once for all, that the tranſient foreign merchant, who could ſubmit to the petty drudgery of retailing his goods, muſt have had but a very trifling cargo.—The reſtraint upon foreign dealers in fiſh, &c. was repealed by Henry IV in the firſt year of his reign.

† Blanket, a coarſe kind of cloth, allotted for the dreſs of country labourers by parliament in the year 1363.

foreign, money ſhould not circulate, but be carried to the mint. [*Stat.* 17 *Ric. II, c.* 1.]

All perſons were now permitted to make cloth and kerſey of any length and breadth, the quantity (and apparently alſo the ſufficiency of the fabric) being certified by the aulneger's ſeal, before it might be offered for ſale. [*c.* 2.]

The merchants, and the makers of the ſtuff called *ſingle worſted*, were allowed to export bolts of it to any country not at war with the king, paying only the cuſtoms and ſubſidies without the Calais duties, notwithſtanding the charters granted to the burgeſſes of Calais and the merchants of the ſtaple of Calais. But they were not permitted to carry any *double worſteds* or *half doubles*, or *ſtriped* or *motled worſteds*. [*c.* 3.]

All the ſubjects of England were allowed to export corn to any country not hoſtile, on paying the due cuſtoms. A power was however reſerved to the king's council to ſtop the exportation, if neceſſary. [*c.* 7.]

According to the ordinances of Edward II and Edward III, the aldermen of London continued in office only one year. But now it was enacted, that they ſhould not be removed out of office at all, unleſs for ſome juſt and reaſonable cauſe *.—The ward of Farringdon being lately very much increaſed in houſes and inhabitants †, it was enacted, that there ſhould be one alderman for the diviſion within the walls, and another for the diviſion without, in all time coming, and that they ſhould thenceforth be called the wards of Farringdon within and Farringdon without. [*cc.* 11, 13.]

Auguſt 29th—The king, underſtanding, that, in conſequence of the failure of herrings in other places ‡, many foreigners, with veſſels, ſalt, and other requiſites for curing herrings, had come laſt year and this year upon the coaſt of York-ſhire, where they had bought up great quantities of herrings, which they ſalted and barreled, or cured red, and carried away for their own advantage, to the great hurt of the whole kingdom by raiſing herrings to an extravagant price, but eſpecially of the inhabitants of Whitby, who ſupported themſelves chiefly by curing herrings, he therefor ordered the magiſtrates of that town § to proclaim, that no ſtrangers ſhould thenceforth be permitted to carry away any herrings. [*Fœdera, V.* vii, *p.* 788.] We do not, however, ſee, that any attention, adequate to the importance of the object, was

* Stow, in his liſt of temporal governors at the end of his *Survey* dates this alteration in the conſtitution of the city in the year 1354.

† We muſt not ſuppoſe, that this ward then approached to any reſemblance of its preſent crowded ſtate. In the ſecond year of Henry IV the biſhop of Saliſbury leaſed two gardens in St. Brides pariſh, Fleet ſtreet for 80 years to George Creſſey, a citizen of London, at a rent of 20*ſ* a-year. [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 2 *Hen. IV. m.* 15.] Perhaps a part of thoſe gardens may be the modern Saliſbury ſquare.

‡ Werdenhagen [*p.* 366] ſays, the fiſhery on the coaſt of Schonen was interrupted by the pirates, who infeſted the Baltic ſea. But King Richard's mandate is far better authority.

§ Similar orders, we may preſume, were ſent to the other towns on the coaſt viſited by the herrings, though they do not appear.

paid to the fiſhery, ſo as to make herrings a conſiderable article of exportation.

1396, October 25th—The Genoeſe, formerly raiſed by proſperous commerce to ſuch a height of power and inſolence that they pretended to prohibit the neighbouring ſtates from navigating the Mediterranean ſea, were ſo far reduced by their inteſtine diviſions as to be incapable of conducting their own government, and now ſurrendered themſelves to the dominion and protection of the king of France, under which they remained till the year 1409, when the French, unwilling to be at the expenſe of maintaining a ſufficient force in their city, obliged them to reſume their independence. [*Stellæ Ann. ap. Muratori Script. V.* xvii, *col.* 1151.—*Muratori Ann. V.* xii, *p.* 473.]

It was not long before the king of France found himſelf obliged to his new vaſſals for a piece of ſervice, which his own ſubjects could not perform for him. The religious and military ardour of ſome of the princes of France and Burgundy had plunged them into a kind of cruſade againſt the Turkiſh ſultan Bajazet, and in the battle of Nicopolis their own impetuous valour made them his priſoners. In the preſents, ſent to the ſultan by the king of France to induce him to ranſom his captives, we have a ſpecimen of the moſt valuable manufactures of Europe. They conſiſted of ſcarlet cloth, fine linen of Rheims, and tapeſtry of Arras repreſenting the battles of Alexander the Great. The ranſom was fixed by Bajazet at 200,000 ducats: and the merchants of Genoa became bound for their ſovereign in an obligation for five times the ſum, 'a leſſon to thoſe warlike times, that commerce and credit are 'the links of the ſociety of nations,' [*Gibbon's Roman hiſt. V.* xi, *p.* 453] and alſo a proof, that the commerce of Genoa was ſtill very great and reſpectable in the eyes of the Oriental princes, who, however, might eſtimate it rather by its former fame than its actual ſtate at the time.

1397, Auguſt 10th—We hear of no loans for ſome years paſt. But there was one made now, the contributors to which were more numerous, and the ſums larger, than in any preceding one. Of 193 ſubſcriptions there were 78 by the clergy, from £1,000 by the biſhop of Wincheſter down to £13 : 6 : 8; 45 by gentlemen from £400 by Sir Robert Knollys down to £3 : 6 : 8; and 70 by cities and towns, as follows.

London	£6,666	13	4	Cambridge	£100	0	0	Chichester	£66	13	4
Briſtol	800	0	0	Winchester	100	0	0	Northampton	66	13	4
Norwich	333	6	8	Colchester	100	0	0	Yarmouth	66	13	4
Boſton	300	0	0	Kingſton upon Hull	100	0	0	Abingdon	66	13	4
Lynne	266	13	4	Hereford	100	0	0	Scarburgh	66	13	4
York	200	0	0	Shrewsbury	100	0	0	Nottingham	66	13	4
Gloucester	200	0	0	Canterbury	66	13	4	Worceſter	66	13	4
Saliſbury	200	0	0	Sandwich	66	13	4	Leiceſter	66	13	4
Lincoln	133	6	8	Stanford	66	13	4	Cirencester	60	0	0
Southampton	113	6	8	Grantham and Harlaxton	66	13	4	Oxford	53	6	8
St. Edmundsbury	106	13	4					Wells ('Walleys')	53	6	8

and others for ſums under £50 down to £6 : 13 : 4. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *p.* 9.]

This liſt, though evidently very defective *, ſhows that the people were much richer, or the king much greedier, now than a few years before.

1398, January—The commons repreſented in parliament, that the ſtaple was appointed to remain at Calais, and that all wool, wool-fells, hides, lead, tin, cheeſe, butter, honey, peltry, and tallow, from England, Ireland, and Wales, ought to be carried to Calais and no other place; but that ſome perſons had purchaſed licences to carry thoſe articles to other ports, which gave them an unfair advantage over other traders, to the deſtruction of the ſtaple, and detriment of the coinage and cuſtoms of Calais. The king thereupon ordained that the ſtatute ſhould be obſerved with reſpect to wool, hides, wool-fells, tin, and lead, and that no licences ſhould be granted to the contrary, unleſs by his own eſpecial grant †. [*Stat.* 21 *Ric. II, c.* 17.]

February 21ſt—The grand maſter of Pruſſia complained to King Richard, that his ſubjects could get no redreſs at his court for damages done to them by the Engliſh: and he therefor renounced the commercial alliance formed in the year 1388, allowing the Engliſh merchants a year to withdraw from his dominions agreeable to the terms then ſtipulated. Such prohibitions were repeatedly iſſued by the grand maſters againſt the Engliſh merchants: but it is not neceſſary to particularize every one of them. [*Hakluyt, V.* i, *pp.* 153, 154.]

The city of London this year purchaſed Blackwell hall, which was thereupon appointed to be the only place in the city wherein any foreigner or ſtranger ‡ ſhould be permitted to ſell woollen cloth. [*Stow's Survey, p.* 518, *ed.* 1618.]

1399, April 16th—King Richard, while preparing for an expedition to Ireland, made his will, whereby it appears, that he had amaſſed a treaſure of 91,000 marks. He was very particular in ordering the ceremonial of his funeral, for which he allotted £4,000. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *p.* 75.] Within ten months the unhappy Richard was depoſed, murdered, and buried without any pomp. He was ſucceeded (September 30th) by Henry duke of Lancaſter, who had no hereditary right, though Richard had been dead; and that uſurpation was the direful ſpring of innumerable woes to England; the royal family was almoſt exterminated, and the kingdom depopulated, by the ſlaughters in the civil wars which enſued, whereby the manufactures and commerce of the country were grievouſly depreſſed, and their advancement retarded.

During the reign of Richard ſeveral projects for mining were ſet on foot in England, but we know not with what ſucceſs. [*Rot. pat. paſſim.*]

* The biſhop of Wincheſter for £1,000, and the biſhop of Hereford for £66: 13: 4 are the only biſhops in the liſt, and there is not one nobleman: but we may be ſure, that no biſhop or nobleman could be excuſed. Walſingham [*p.* 353] ſays expreſsly, that no prelate, no city, no citizen reputed to be rich, in the whole kingdom eſcaped.

† We find the merchants of Newcaſtle in poſſeſſion of ſuch a licence in the year 1401. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 408.]

‡ *Foreigner* or *ſtranger* muſt here mean one not a citizen of London.

It may be obſerved, that England muſt at this time have had no ſtrength of ſhipping beſides thoſe attending the king in his Iriſh expedition, when the duke of Lancaſter, after ſhowing himſelf on ſeveral parts of the coaſt, merely for the ſake of diſcovering what reſiſtance he was to expect, and thereby giving very ſufficient warning, could land deliberately and unoppoſed, with a very trifling retinue.

October—For the eaſe of the poor it was enacted, that cloth, kerſey, Kendal cloth, Coventry friſe, cogware, or any other Engliſh cloth or Welſh cloth, of value not exceeding 13/4 per dozen *, ſhould not be required to be ſealed, or to pay any duty, for the ſpace of three years. [*Stat.* 1 *Hen. IV, c.* 19.]

It was enacted, that the ſtaple for wool-fells, ſkins, lead, and tin, ſhould be held *only* at Calais; ſaving that the merchants of Genoa, Venice, and other places towards the Weſt, in friendſhip with the king, might diſcharge their merchandize at Southampton, and take in ſuch ſtaple wares; and ſaving alſo to the people of Berwick their liberties for their wool †. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 393.]

October 27th—Letters of marque and repriſal were granted not only for revenging or compenſating hoſtile aggreſſions upon individuals, but alſo for procuring payment of debts due to them in foreign countries, as appears by ſuch letters now granted to John of Waghen of Beverley againſt the ſubjects of the earl of Holland, becauſe he had not compelled two of them to pay ſome money due to Waghen. King Henry moreover ordered his admirals to detain all veſſels and property found in England belonging to Holland and Zeland, till the earl ſhould determine the affair according to juſtice ‡. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *p.* 96.]

December 6th—King Henry ſummoned the grand maſter of Pruſſia, and the governors of Lubeck, Wiſmar, Roſtock, Stralſund, and Grippeſwald, to appear in perſon, or by deputies, before his council to anſwer to the merchants of England, who complained, that they were not treated in thoſe places ſo well as the merchants from them were treated in England, though the expreſs condition, upon which they had obtained their privileges in England, was, that Engliſh merchants ſhould enjoy the ſame advantages in their countries §. He alſo warned the merchants of the Hanſe, that if they allowed others to enjoy, under colour of their name, the privileges granted only to themſelves, he would totally aboliſh and annull their charter. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *p.* 112.]

About this time Timour (corruptly called Tamerlane) completed the

* It appears by an act 11 Hen. IV, c. 6, that a *dozen* of cloth was a half piece conſiſting of *fourteen* yards.

† Their liberties authorized them to export all the wool produced on the north ſide of Coquet river to any place whatſoever. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 482.]

‡ Waghen, however, got no ſatisfaction, and his letters of marque were renewed in 1412 and 1414. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *p.* 733; *V.* ix, *pp.* 125, 188.]

§ When thoſe conditions were ſtipulated, the reciprocity was merely nominal, for there were very few Engliſhmen who traded to foreign countries: but there were now many, and thence more frequent occaſions of quarrel.

conqueſt of Hindooſtan, a country, which, by the great riches and unmilitary temper of its inhabitants, has repeatedly invited, and fallen a prey to, thoſe ſcourges of the human race called conquerors.

1400—About this time the fiſhery on the coaſt of Aberdeen-ſhire, which in later ages has been almoſt abandoned to the Dutch, was frequented by the Engliſh. The Scots fitted out a ſmall fleet under Sir Robert Logan to drive away or deſtroy the Engliſh veſſels. But Logan's force was apparently inſufficient, for he himſelf was taken by the veſſels belonging to Lynne. [*Walſingham*, *p.* 364.]

The Roman world comprehended now but a few miles beyond the walls of Conſtantinople, the peninſula of Peloponneſus or Morea, and ſome trifling ſpots and iſlands. Manuel, the unhappy emperor, was driven by the terror of the Turkiſh arms to mendicate pecuniary aſſiſtance from the deſcendents of thoſe *barbarians*, who had uſurped his weſtern provinces. From the obſervations of the emperor, or his attendants, on the different countries viſited by them, I ſelect ſuch particulars as ſhow the ſtate of commerce and manufactures, at leaſt as they appeared to the Greeks.—The natives of Germany excell in the mechanic arts, and they boaſt of the invention of gun-powder and cannons. Above two hundred free cities in it are governed by their own laws.—France contains many flouriſhing cities, of which Paris, the royal reſidence, is pre-eminent in wealth and luxury.—Flanders is an opulent province, the ports of which are frequented by merchants of our own ſea (the Mediterranean) and the Ocean.—Britain (or rather England) is full of towns and villages. It has no vines and but little fruit, but it abounds in corn, honey, and *wool, from which the natives make great quantities of cloth.* London, the capital, may be preferred to every city of the Weſt for population, opulence, and luxury. It is ſeated on the River Thames, which, by the advantage of the tide, dayly receives and diſpatches trading veſſels from and to various countries.—Venice * excells all the cities of Italy in the opulence of its citizens and the magnificence of its buildings. The Venetians ſend every year ten triremes † to the Ionian and Ægæan ſeas to protect the ſhips trading to Egypt and Africa againſt pirates; and they are relieved by other ten at the end of a year's cruiſe. Twenty-two veſſels, larger than others, trade to Alexandria, Syria, Tanais (or Aſof), the Britiſh iſlands, and Africa, under the care of the ſons of the nobles, for ſuch is the cuſtom. [*Laon. Chalcocondyles*, *L.* ii, *pp.* 36-50; *L.* iv, *p.* 105.]

1401, January 11th—King Henry propoſing to go to war, and under-

* The deſcription of Venice is taken from the emperor's viſit to it in the year 1438, and brought in here for the ſake of connection.

† From Sanuto [*p.* 57] and many other Italian authors it is pretty certain, that the terzaroli (gallies with three men to an oar) were the veſſels, to which they, and this Greek writer imitating them, gave the claſſical name of triremis or τριηρης. Stella, the Genoeſe chronicler, ſays expreſsly that the triremes were the ſame veſſels, which in his time were *idiotically* called gallies. The real triremes were then as much unknown and forgotten, as if they had never exiſted.

ſtanding that barges and balingers were the veſſels moſt proper for that purpoſe, ordered the community of the city of London to provide one of each at their own expenſe. The other conſiderable towns, inland as well as maritime, were taxed, ſome to find a barge, and ſome a balinger; and the ſmaller towns were made to join, two, three, or more, according to their abilities, to find a barge or a balinger *. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *p.* 172.]

January—In order to put a ſtop to the frauds committed by means of the currency of Flemiſh and Scottiſh coins in England, it was enacted, that they ſhould be all coined into Engliſh money in England or Calais; and that no more ſhould be admitted into the kingdom †. [*Stat.* 2 *Hen. IV, c.* 6.]

June 8th—Notwithſtanding the complaints on both ſides, and the formal renunciation of the grand maſter, the commercial intercourſe between England and Pruſſia was ſtill kept up, and many Engliſh merchants were ſettled in that country. But the harmony was interrupted by the capture of a Pruſſian veſſel by the Scots, which being retaken by ſome veſſels belonging to Lynne, it was reported in Pruſſia that ſhe was taken by the Engliſh, and, in conſequence thereof, all the Engliſh ſubjects found in that country, with all their property, were arreſted. King Henry, therefor, now wrote to the grand maſter in order to correct the miſrepreſentation, and requeſted him to take off the arreſt from his ſubjects and their property. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *p.* 203.]

This year the magiſtrates of Barcelona eſtabliſhed their bank of exchange and depoſit, called *Taula de cambi* (Table of exchange), upon the ſecurity of the funds of the city, and with the intention of extending the accommodation afforded by it to foreigners, as well as to their own citizens. And it appears, from records ſtill extant, that foreign bills of exchange were uſually negotiated in it, and that the directors of it gave aſſiſtance to the manufacturers, when making their purchaſes of raw materials, ſuch as *Engliſh wool*, &c. The Spaniſh writers call this bank the firſt eſtabliſhment of the kind in Europe ‡. [*Capmany, Mem. hiſt. de Barcelona, V.* i, *Com. pp.* 144, 213; *V.* ii, *Col. dipl. p.* 203.]

1402, Auguſt 11th—The magiſtrates of Bruges complained to King Henry's council of ſeveral injuries, and particularly, that a fiſherman of Oſtend, when fiſhing for herrings in the North ſea, and alſo one belonging to Briel in Holland, had been taken by the Engliſh, and carried into Hull, though *they lowered their ſails* § the moment the Engliſh called to them. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *pp.* 273, 276.]

* In the preceding year ſeveral of the barons found veſſels for the king at their own expenſe. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *p.* 125.]

† The meaning muſt be, that they ſhould no longer be current. A refuſal to admit money would have been in direct oppoſition to the policy of the age.

‡ I have not been able, even with the aſſiſtance of a Venetian gentleman, to find any information concerning the conſtitution and management of the bank of Venice in the early ages of its exiſtence. Capmany and the authors preceding him muſt have conſidered them as very different from thoſe of the bank of Barcelona. The creditors of the republic of Genoa were not yet incorporated as a banking company.

§ This acknowlegement of the dominion of the ſea is marked with capital letters by Rymer.

October—All importers of merchandize, whether Engliſh or foreigners, were ordered by parliament to inveſt the *whole* proceeds of their cargoes in Engliſh merchandize for exportation, reſerving money only for their neceſſary expenſes. Neither was any perſon whatſoever permitted to export gold or ſilver without the king's ſpecial licence. [*Stat.* 4 *Hen. IV*, *cc.* 15, 16.]

It is probable that the Canary iſlands, which were undoubtedly known to the Phœnicians of Gadir, and by report even to the Romans, were never entirely forgotten in Europe *. The French and Spaniards claim the merit of having diſcovered them in the year 1395, and ſeem to acknowlege that they were put upon the ſearch for them by the report of Macham's diſcovery of Madeira. Jean de Bethencourt, a Norman gentleman of Dieppe, now made a conqueſt of thoſe iſlands. [*Hakluyt*, *V.* ii, *part* ii, *p.* 1.—*Mem. de litterature*, *V.* xxxvii, *p.* 521.]

1403, March 10th—It is vexatious to find the records filled with complaints, made by the continental merchants and eſpecially thoſe of the Hanſe, of outrages and depredations committed by Engliſh ſeamen, who, it muſt be acknowleged, ſeem too often to have conſidered power as the only ſtandard of right. The aldermen and jurates of the Hanſe merchants reſiding at Bruges complained of the capture of a Pruſſian veſſel loaded with wine in July 1402; and the conſuls of the maritime cities of the Hanſe aſſembled at Lubeck repreſented, that a veſſel belonging to Stetin was taken by the mayor of King Henry's city of Bayonne, who preſumed to detain her in defiance of the king's order for reſtitution †. The magiſtrates of Lubeck, and thoſe of Hamburgh, alſo repreſented, that a veſſel loaded with 29 laſts of herrings ‡ was taken on her way from Malmo to Flanders in Autumn 1402 by ſome veſſels belonging to Lynne and Blackney. [*Fœdera*, *V.* viii, *pp.* 269, 270, 284, 287, 297.]

June 27th—It was agreed, in a truce with France, that all perſons, veſſels, and property, ſhould be mutually and freely reſtored; that merchants and others might go about their buſineſs in either kingdom without any hinderance, and without needing letters of ſafe-conduct; and that, for the ſecurity of navigation, all armed veſſels ſhould be called into port. It was afterwards further ſtipulated, that during the approaching herring ſeaſon the fiſhermen of both kingdoms might fiſh freely and together from Graveling and Thanet down to the mouth of the Seine and Southampton; and, if they ſhould be obliged to go into port, they ſhould be kindly received on either ſide. [*Fœdera*, *V.* viii, *pp.* 305, 336.] But all theſe harmonious meaſures were very ſoon broken.

* See above p. 112 for Gadir, &c. and p. 327 for a voyage made to them by the Saracens in the twelfth century.

† The veſſel was ſtill detained in April 1404, when the aldermen and jurates of the Hanſe at Bruges again requeſted the king to enforce reſtitution. [*p.* 354.]

‡ We thus ſee, that the capricious herrings had again returned to their old ſtation on the coaſt of Schonen.

This year treaties, containing ſtipulations for mutual freedom of trade, were entered into with Caſtile, Portugal, and Flanders. [*Fœdera*, *V.* viii, *pp.* 312, 327, 329.] All of them were frequently renewed; and the renovation is a ſufficient proof of their inefficiency.

1404, January—The parliament made it felony to multiply gold or ſilver, or to practiſe the art of multiplication. [*Stat.* 5 *Hen. IV*, *c.* 4.]

The parliament, in their anxiety to keep money within the country, obliged all foreign merchants to give ſecurity that they ſhould lay out their money on Engliſh merchandize, and moreover compelled them to ſell their goods within three months after their arrival, and to Engliſhmen only, but upon no account to other foreigners. The magiſtrates of the ſea-ports were alſo directed to aſſign lodgings to foreigners *. [*c.* 9.]

To prevent deceptions in putting off gilt or plated locks, rings, beads, candleſticks, harneſs for girdles, chalices, ſword-pomels, powder-boxes, and covers of cups, for ſolid metal, all ſuch workmanſhip upon copper or latten was prohibited, except ornaments for the church, of which ſome part ſhould be left uncovered to ſhow the copper or latten †. [*c.* 13.]

May 13th—King Henry borrowed 1,000 marks from ten merchants of Genoa, and for payment he allowed them to retain the duties on goods to be imported, and on wool, hides, wool-fells, cloth, and other goods, to be exported, by them in London, Southampton, and Sandwich, for four months; and he engaged to pay them the balance, if any, at the end of four months by the hands of his treaſurer. Five merchants of Florence lent him 500 marks on the ſame terms. And in the following year ſums to the ſame amount were lent by the ſame parties, and on the ſame terms. [*Fœdera*, *V.* viii, *pp.* 358, 359, 383.]

June 6th—The king empowered the Engliſh merchants trading to Pruſſia, Schonen, and other places within the limits of the Hanſe, to meet, as often as they ſhould think proper, for the purpoſe of electing governors; to whom he delegated the ſame authority over the Engliſh merchants, and for obtaining juſtice in diſputes between them and the natives of the places of their reſidence, conſiſtent with the privileges and authority granted to them by the grand maſter of Pruſſia or other potentates, which had been conferred on a ſingle governor of the merchants in the year 1391. [*Fœdera*, *V.* viii, *p.* 360.]

December 4th—The commercial reader will undoubtedly be pleaſed to ſee how nearly the tenor of bills of exchange, and the circumſtances attending the non-payment of them, about four centuries ago reſembled thoſe of the preſent day. Antonio Quarti, a merchant of Luca reſid-

* The reſtraints of this law, being found deſtructive to the trade, were partly repealed in the enſuing year, with a ſaving of the privileges of London, and a prohibition of exporting foreign goods imported by foreigners; a prohibition apparently unneceſſary.

† This act deſerves notice merely as an evidence of the perfection to which gilding and plating were then brought in England.

ing at Bruges, the center of the commerce of the weſtern parts of Europe, had ſold two bills of exchange for 1,000 ſcutes each to John Colombo, a merchant of Barcelona alſo reſiding at Bruges, to be paid by Franciſco de Prato a merchant of Florence, in the uſual manner, at Barcelona. The following is a cloſe tranſlation of one of the bills *.

Franciſco de Prato and Company at Barcelona.

In the name of God, Amen, the 28th day of April 1404. *Pay by this firſt of exchange at uſance to Piero Gilberto and Piero Olivo one thouſand ſcutes at ten ſhillings Barcelona money per ſcute; which thouſand ſcutes are in exchange with John Colombo at twenty-two groſſes per ſcute. Pay on our account, and Chriſt keep you.*

Antonio Quarti ſal. of Bruges.

The other differs only in the date, 18th of May, and being payable to Piero Gilberto and Piero de Scorpo.

The bills were ſent to Barcelona, but were not paid by Prato; and William Colombo, as agent for Gilberto, Olivo, and Scorpo, purchaſed ſcutes in Barcelona to pay the bills, for the expenſe of which he claimed reimburſement from Antonio Quarti, and for that purpoſe returned the bills proteſted to John Colombo at Bruges. But Quarti alleged that William Colombo ought to have got money for the bills at the bank (*taula di cambi*) of Barcelona, according to the cuſtom of the city in ſuch caſes, which would have been leſs expenſive, and that therefor he was liable only for the expenſe attending the re-exchange in that form, and not for the expenſes and intereſt demanded by John Colombo. Thus the matter reſted at this time, when the magiſtrates of Bruges wrote to thoſe of Barcelona, requeſting information upon the uſage reſpecting bills of exchange in their city: and to their letter we are indebted for this curious relique of commercial antiquity. [*Capmany, Mem. hiſt. de Barcelona, V.* ii, *Col. dipl. p.* 203.—*above, p.* 612.]

1405, July 16th—The king had ordered ſome pirates of Whitby to make reſtitution to two Daniſh merchants, whoſe veſſels they had taken. But they paid no attention to the mandate; and an officer was now ordered to bring them before the king, that they might anſwer for their diſobedience.—The Scottiſh traders were alſo haraſſed by lawleſs Engliſh cruiſers, ſome of whom, belonging to Cley on the coaſt of Norfolk, ſhowed themſelves as regardleſs of their ſovereign's commands, and of their own contracts, as if they had been ſubject to no government, and might act as independent of controul upon the land, as they did upon the ſea. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *pp.* 404, 450.—*MS. Bib. Cott. Veſp.* F vii, *n*. 22, 89, 116, 117, 118.]

* For the ſatisfaction of the reader I here add the original bill.

Franciſco de Prato & Comp. à Barſalona.

Al nome di Dio, Amen, a di xxviii Aprile 1404.

Pagate per queſta prima di camb. à uſanza a Piero Gilberto è Piero Olivo ſcuti mille à ſold x Barſeloneſi per ſcuto: i quali ſcuti mille ſono per cambio che con Giovanni Colombo a groſſi xxii d. g. ſcuto: & pag. a noſtro conto, & Chriſto vi guardi.

Antonio Quarti ſal de Bruggiat.

September 4th—The king, desiring to anticipate the receipt of the taxes voted by parliament, commissioned the shirref and some other gentlemen in every shire to oblige the richest men to advance the money for the taxes to be collected in their district, which should be repaid to them by the collectors. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *p.* 412.]

October 12th—In the Scottish court of the Four burghs, held at Stirling, it was ordained, that every royal burgh on the south side of the River Spey should annually commission two or three sufficient men as members of the parliament of the Four burghs, which, I have already observed, was a board of trade*. [*Regiam majestatem, &c. f.* 153 b.]

1406, March—The magistrates and traders of London having taken upon them to prevent the cloth-makers and the dealers in wine, iron, oil, wax, and other articles, from selling their goods by wholesale in London to any but the citizens, the parliament enacted, that they might freely sell their goods by wholesale in London to any of the king's subjects. [*Stat. 7 Hen. IV, c.* 9.]

It was enacted, that those, who did not possess twenty shillings yearly in land or rent, should not put their sons or daughters to be apprentices. But such persons were allowed to send their children to school†. [*c.* 17.]

April 6th—The parliament having assigned to the merchants the guard of the sea from the 1st of May 1406 to the 29th of September 1407, they were empowered to receive 3*s* upon every tun of wine, and one shilling in the pound of the value, besides a quarter of the subsidy, upon wool, hides, and wool-fells, they being bound to keep 2,000 fighting men sufficiently armed, and 1,000 mariners, upon the sea. The merchants were also directed to appoint an admiral for the south and another for the north, to be invested by the king with the usual powers of admirals to punish all offenders, take up vessels, press men, and appoint deputies‡. In a few months the funds allotted to the merchants were stopped in consequence of complaints of the many losses sustained for want of a sufficient guard upon the sea. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *pp.* 437, 439, 449, 455.—*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 452.]

October 5th—The king again granted his protection till the 2d of February to all fishermen of France, Flanders, and Bretagne, for their fishing business only, and provided they did nothing contemptuous or prejudicial to him or his kingdom. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *p.* 451, *and see* 459.]

1407, February 5th—The English merchants trading to Holland, Ze-

* Skene, in his title, most thoughtlessly calls Edinburgh, Stirling, Berwick, and Roksburgh, *the four burghs*, though he ought to have known, even from the opposite page of his own book, that Lanark and Linlithgow were at this time substituted for Berwick and Roksburgh, which were in the hands of the English.

† The poor would fully comprehend the oppressive tendency of this law, which was to prevent their children from acquiring the small portion of freedom enjoyed by mechanics. The permission to learn to read was of little avail before the art of printing brought books within the reach of the poor.

‡ Together with the maritime towns, to which the king sent notice of this regulation, we find not only Lincoln, Norwich, Beverley, and Nottingham, which were accessible by boats, but Grantham, which could scarcely have any connection with the sea.

land, Brabant, and Flanders, feeling the inconvenience of a want of regulation and government, obtained authority from the king to elect governors, on whom he conferred the ſame powers, which had been given to the governors of the merchants in Pruſſia, &c. they acting agreeable to the privileges and authority granted to them by the lords of the places of their reſidence *. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *p.* 465.]

March 10th—In a convention between the ambaſſadors of King Henry and thoſe of the duke of Burgundy, who was alſo earl of Flanders, it was agreed, that the king's ſubjects of England, Calais, Ireland, &c. and thoſe of Flanders or other parts of France †, whether dealers in wool, hides, proviſions, or other goods, except cannon and other warlike ſtores, ſhould have mutual freedom of trading by land between Calais and Flanders ‡.—All merchants, mariners, and veſſels, ſhould have free entrance into the ports of either ſide with their goods, they carrying no cannon or other warlike ſtores beyond what were needful for their own defence.—No repriſals ſhould be made on either ſide on account of alleged hoſtilities or pillage; but all ſuch ſhould be duely redreſſed by the ſovereigns on both ſides.—The liberty lately granted to the fiſhermen on both ſides, was confirmed, and extended to the whole coaſt of France.—Pirates were not to be allowed to enter the ports on either ſide, nor to go out of them to prey upon the ſubjects of the other ſide, nor to ſell, or land, their plunder in any port.—In caſe of any infraction of the treaty, commiſſioners, appointed by the king of England, the captain of Calais, or the company of the ſtaple, on the one ſide, or by the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, or the four members of Flanders, on the other, ſhould have free paſſage by ſea or land to demand redreſs.—The merchants of Brabant, Holland, Zeland, Italy, &c. who were accuſtomed to frequent the wool ſtaple at Calais, ſhould have free paſſage to and from it by land or water with their wool or other merchandize, except cannon and other warlike ſtores.—This treaty was to be in force for one year, and not to be broken, even though hoſtilities could commence between England and France within that time.—On occaſion of one of the ſeveral renewals of this treaty, King Henry obſerved, that the ſuſtenance of the Flemings depended upon trade, and very much upon drapery. We may thence infer, that the chief dependence of their manufactures was ſtill upon Engliſh wool. The policy of the kings in keeping up the commercial intercourſe of their ſub-

* This is the charter, by which the company of *merchant-adventurers* claimed the exerciſe of excluſive trade. But there is here no mention of any excluſive privilege, nor any hint of a corporate body, or a collective name, whether *of St. Thomas Becket* or *adventurers*. Wheeler, Miſſelden, Malynes, and other keen diſputants on both ſides of thoſe now-dormant conteſts, ſeem all to have aſſerted boldly without giving themſelves much trouble in ſearching for records to ſubſtantiate their pretenſions.

† Flanders is here reckoned a part of France, of which it was a fief: and this treaty is expreſsly ſaid to be authorized by the king of France, as the duke's over-lord.

‡ The merchants were to have no dogs with them, and to catch no rabbits on the downs between Calais and Graveling.

jects, even when themſelves ſhould be at war, ſhows, that they were beginning to diſcover that their own welfare depended on the proſperity of their ſubjects *. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *pp.* 469-477, 530, 548.]

July 11th—It was alſo ſtipulated, in a truce of one year between King Henry and his ſtep-ſon the duke of Bretagne, that the merchants of either party ſhould have freedom of trade in the dominions of the other, without being concerned in any hoſtilities. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *p.* 490.] This treaty was alſo frequently renewed.

June 27th—The king again anticipated his revenue by borrowing on the ſecurity of his ſubſidies on wool, hides, and wool-fells, for the payment of his garriſon at Calais. The tranſaction merits notice only as ſhowing that laymen were now become more able to advance money than formerly, the happy effect of the ſilent influx of commercial opulence. The ſums were as follows.

The biſhop of Durham	£ 66	13	4	John Norbury †	£2,000	0	0
The earl of Weſtmerland	500	0	0	John Hende † -	2,000	0	0
William lord of Roos	166	13	4	Richard Whityngton †	1,000	0	0
Hugh lord of Burnel	166	13	4	The merchants of the ſtaple	4,000	0	0

The Italian company of the Albertini alſo lent £1,000, for which they were allowed to retain the cuſtoms on wool, &c. exported by them at London, Dover, and Southampton, till their debt ſhould be paid up. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *p.* 488.]

The bank of Genoa may be properly ſaid to have commenced this year. It had been uſual for the republic to borrow large ſums from the citizens, and to aſſign certain branches of the public revenue as funds for the payment of the intereſt, which were put under the management of ſome of the moſt reſpectable citizens, who were to pay the intereſt to the creditors, and account to the ſtate for the funds entruſted to their care. In proceſs of time the multitude of thoſe funds, there being apparently as many as there had been loans, bred confuſion; and it was now thought proper to conſolidate the whole into one capital ſtock, to be managed in one bank, called *the chamber of St. George*, and to be governed by eight protectors elected annually by the creditors or

* On a ſomewhat-ſimilar occaſion it was obſerved by Rapin, that England and the Netherlands were ſo cloſely connected in trade, that it could not be interrupted without remarkable prejudice to both, and therefor treaties for guarding the intereſts of commerce were often made even in times of the hotteſt war. He adds, that '*this 'maxim was infinitely better than what has been fol-'lowed ſince of making a prey of the merchants, which 'proves to their ruin.*' [*Rapin's Acta regia, V.* ii, *p.* 367, 8*vo ed.*]

† Norbury was treaſurer of the exchequer in the laſt year of Richard II, and firſt of Henry IV, and afterwards king's treaſurer, as appears by the Patent rolls. The other two gentlemen were citizens of London, and great builders of churches, colleges, &c. Hende was elected mayor in 1391 and 1404. Whityngton was ſubſtituted by royal authority in place of Adam Bamme, who died in his mayoralty in 1397, and he was elected mayor in that year, and alſo in 1406 and 1419, ſo that he was in office at the time of this loan, and in all three years and five months. He ſeems to have been alſo mayor of the ſtaple at Calais, but reſiding in London, about 1420. [*MS. Bib. Cott. Galba*, B i, *no.* 172.] The manufacturers of books for children have moſt unaccountably taken it into their heads to make Whityngton originally a ſcullion boy, and have very conſiſtently provided a great fortune for him by means of a cat.

ſtock-holders. Under this form of government the affairs of the bank were conducted very proſperouſly, till the further increaſe of the public debts, and the acceſſion of whole towns and territories, among which was the little nominal kingdom of Corſica, made them ſenſible of the inconvenience of annual ſucceſſions of new protectors, and determined them, in the year 1444, to elect eight new governors, of whom only two were to go out every year. [*Bizari Ann. Genuenſ. pp.* 205, 797.—*J. De Laet de princip. Ital. pp.* 175, *et ſeqq.*]

Emden is noted as a retreat of the northern pirates in the year 883. [*R. Hoveden, f.* 240 b.] At this time the citizens, being diſtreſſed by their too-powerful neighbours, applied for aſſiſtance to the aſſociated cities of Hamburgh and Lubeck, whoſe maritime power was now very reſpectable. They were the firſt of their nation, who were aſſumed into that confederacy; and, in conſequence of the ſupport of their new allies, they in their turn became formidable to their enemies. [*Pontani Rer. Dan. hiſt. p.* 539.]

1408, March 1ſt—The Engliſh merchants trading to Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, were empowered to elect a governor, whoſe functions and authority were made ſimilar to thoſe of other governors of merchants, already ſpecified. It appears, that his reſidence was at Bergen, and that he was alſo called alderman of the merchants. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *pp.* 511, 685.] The office of governor of the Engliſh merchants trading to a particular country now beginning to be general, it will not be neceſſary to particularize any more of them.

The city of Wiſbuy with the iſland of Gothland, after being jointly poſſeſſed by the northern heroine, Margaret queen of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and by the Vitalian pirates, was wreſted from them by a fleet equipped by the citizens of Lubeck, Dantzik, Thorn, and Elbing, and put into the hands of the grand maſter of Pruſſia, from whom Eric, king of Sweden (under Margaret), endeavoured to take it. But, by the mediation of the emperor Wenceſlaus, he agreed to pay the grand maſter nine thouſand *Engliſh nobles* for the ſurrender of the iſland, which accordingly took place in the year 1408, Eric not being able to raiſe the money before that time *. [*Pontani Rer. Dan. hiſt. pp.* 531, 532, 539.]

The people of Holland were now beginning to lay the foundation of that commercial importance, which afterwards aſtoniſhed the world.

* Olaus Magnus [*L.* ii, *c.* 22] makes the price 20,000 nobles or dubloons; and he makes Queen Margaret the purchaſer, as does alſo Puffendorf, who ſtates the ſum 10,000 nobles. Thus it appears, that all the acts of the Engliſh parliament could not prevent the gold of England from finding its way to the continent: and the Engliſh nobles continued to be current money in the Netherlands, as appears by a payment of 100,000 of them to the duke of Burgundy *at the current rate* in the year 1431. [*Meyeri Ann. Flandr. f.* 278 a.]

After this we hear little or nothing of the celebrated commercial city of Wiſbuy, which in the ſixteenth century, perhaps earlier, was only known by its ruins, among which the fragments of poliſhed marble, doors made of iron, braſs, and copper, and windows made of copper covered with gold and ſilver, exhibit proofs of the magnificence of the antient inhabitants. [*Ol. Mag. L.* ii, *c.* 22.]

The frequent ſquabbles between the cities and villages of Flanders and Brabant, reſpecting the right of the villages to make woollen cloth, had driven many of the manufacturers to take refuge in England and Holland, and eſpecially in the later, whereby the towns of that province were greatly increaſed in magnitude and population. The Hollanders alſo engaged in maritime commerce: but their trade was much infeſted by piratical veſſels fitted out by their neighbours of Eaſt Friſeland. The earl and the barons, thinking themſelves not at all intereſted in the proſperity of the commerce of their country, uſed to pay no attention to thoſe depredations; and they went on with impunity, till the citizens of Amſterdam and ſome other places in North Holland, with the aſſiſtance of thoſe of Lubeck, Hamburgh, and Campen, cleared the ſea of thoſe pirates *.

1409, May—The magiſtrates of Norwich were authorized to inſpect and meaſure all worſted ſtuffs made in their own city and in all Norfolk, and to affix their ſeal, without which they ſhould not be offered for ſale †. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 474.]

Auguſt 23[d]—King Henry granted permiſſion to the merchants of Venice to bring their carracks, gallies, and other veſſels, loaded with merchandize, into the ports of England and his other dominions, to tranſact their buſineſs, to paſs over to Flanders, to return to his dominions, to ſell their goods without impediment or moleſtation from his officers, to load their veſſels with wool, cloth, or other Engliſh merchandize, and to return to their own country. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *p.* 395.] We find frequent renewals of this permiſſion, with the ſame routine of the trade, in the ſubſequent years.

October 10th—A negotiation and correſpondence were kept up during ſeveral years for the purpoſe of effecting an amicable compenſation for the damages ſuſtained by the ſubjects of England on the one ſide, and thoſe of Pruſſia and the Hanſe confederacy on the other, from the freebooters of both ſides. As the complaints brought forward on each ſide in the courſe of this buſineſs contain many curious facts illuſtrative of the nature of the trade between England and the Eaſt country, a brief enumeration of them will not, I truſt, be deemed tedious. At the laſt meeting, held at the Hague in Holland in Auguſt 1407, the Engliſh complained, that in the year 1394 a ſhip of 200 tuns belonging to Newcaſtle, valued at £400, having onboard woollen cloth, wine, gold, and money, to the value of £133 : 6 : 8, was taken.—An inhabitant of Hull, being paſſenger onboard a Pruſſian veſſel, was robbed of goods to the amount of £53 : 6 : 8.—In 1395 an Engliſhman was robbed of 5

* See *Voſſii Annal. L.* xv, *p.* 126, or *De Witt's Intereſt of Holland, p.* 161, and alſo *p.* 47, *of Engl. tranſl.* and *Meyeri Ann. Flandr. paſſim.*

† Sir Robert Cotton obſerves, that the grant contains all the terms, fabrics, and quantities, of the various kinds of worſted ſtuffs. They are probably the ſame as thoſe which the reader may find under the year 1422.

pieces of wax, 4 hundred of werke, and half a laſt of oſmunds *, near the coaſt of Norway.—In 1396 a cog of Hull, with 300 woollen broad cloths and 1,000 other cloths, value £200, was taken.—In 1398 another veſſel of Hull, with oil, wax, and werke, value £300, was taken.—In 1399 an Engliſh paſſenger in a Dantzik veſſel was robbed of two cakes of wax, value £18.—In 1394 werke, wax, oſmunds, and bow-ſtaves, to the value of 1,060 nobles, belonging to three citizens of York, were taken out of a veſſel of Elbing.—140 woollen cloths, worth £2 : 13 : 4 each, beſides other things, were taken from another citizen of York onboard a veſſel of Holland.—In 1393 a citizen of London was robbed of woollen cloth, green cloth, meal, and fiſh, to the value of £133 : 6 : 8.—In 1405 another citizen of London was plundered of 5 laſts of herrings in the North ſound.—In 1398 eleven packs of woollen cloth, value £366 : 13 : 4, the property of merchants of Colcheſter, were plundered out of a Pruſſian veſſel.—In 1394 four merchants of Yarmouth and Norwich were robbed of woollen cloth to the value of £666 : 13 : 4, which they had onboard a Pruſſian veſſel.—In 1401 a veſſel belonging to Zeland was plundered of hides of oxen and ſheep, butter, maſts, ſpars, boards, queſting ſtones, and wild werke, value £66 : 13 : 4, the property of a merchant of Yarmouth.—In 1402 a barge belonging to Yarmouth was taken near Plymouth, with 130 weys of ſalt and 1,000 pieces of canvaſs of Bretagne, value £333 : 6 : 8.—In 1405 another veſſel of Yarmouth was taken in Selaw, a port of Norway, loaded with ſalt, cloth, and ſalmon, value £40.—Six veſſels belonging to Cley, chiefly loaded with ſalt fiſh, were taken, and moſt of them carried over to Norway.—The people of Wiveton loſt two doggers and another veſſel employed in the fiſhery, with their fiſh, &c. and two veſſels of Zeland, loaded in Pruſſia with maſts, ſpars, &c. for account of a merchant of that town, who alſo loſt a pack of woollen cloth, plundered out of a veſſel belonging to Lynne.—In the year 1394 the pirates took Bergen in Norway, and burnt twenty-one houſes, value £146 : 13 : 4, belonging to the merchants of Lynne, whom they alſo plundered of property to the amount of £1,815.—In 1394 four veſſels of Lynne, loaded with cloth to the value of £3,623 : 5 : 11, beſides wine and other goods, were taken on their way to Pruſſia.—In 1396 a crayer belonging to Lynne, with oſmunds and other goods to the value of £643 : 14 : 2, was taken between Bergen and the Scaw; and two veſſels were robbed of cloth and other goods, alſo belonging to merchants of Lynne.—In 1399 many articles of conſiderable value, belonging to a merchant of Lynne, were plundered out of a veſſel, apparently foreign, belonging to Michael Van Burgh. The complainants further ſtated, that many men were killed, and many carried away as priſoners, and forced to pay heavy ranſoms: and the Engliſh commiſſioners aſſerted, that thoſe outrages were perpetrated by pi-

† I can find no ſatisfactory explanation of *werke*, *oſmunds*, and ſome other articles mentioned in theſe complaints.

rates fitted out by the Hanſe towns, and chiefly by the citizens of Wiſmar and Roſtock *.

From this ſtatement we learn, that woollen cloths now formed a conſiderable part of the exports of England, and that there was ſome exportation of wine notwithſtanding a law againſt it. From the frequent mention of Engliſh property onboard foreign veſſels, it alſo appears, that the *navigation act*, which has been pretty generally ſuppoſed to have remained in full force ever ſince its firſt enactment, was but little attended to.

The complaints of the merchants of the Hanſe turned chiefly upon infringements of their chartered privileges by the communities of London and other corporations. They alſo ſtated, that beſides the antient duty of 3/4 upon every ſack of wool paid by them in addition to the duty paid by Engliſh exporters, they were of late compelled to pay 1/7 as an impoſt for the town of Calais, contrary to the terms of their charter; that the officers of the cuſtoms over-rated their goods for the payment of poundage duties, and exacted duties for ſome kinds of cloth, which were exempted by the charter of merchants; that they were compelled to pay the duties twice upon goods, which they had occaſion to remove from one port of England to another; that the officers augmented their fees, and demanded new ones; and alſo created unneceſſary delays, whereby the merchants often loſt their markets, and got their goods damaged by lying three or four weeks upon the wharfs; that the officers at Southampton overcharged them 2/ for every laſt of herrings †, pitch, and ſoap-aſhes, 2*d* for every hundred of bow-ſtaves and wainſcot boards, and 4*d* for every hundred of Richolt boards, imported by them; and that they had alſo been impoſed upon by the magiſtrates of Newcaſtle. The Engliſh commiſſioners, on the other hand, affirmed, that the Hanſe merchants had combined to diſtreſs the commerce and manufactures of England by refuſing to hold any intercourſe with Engliſh merchants in the Hanſe towns ‡, or to buy any Engliſh cloth from Engliſhmen, and had even impoſed fines upon thoſe who had Engliſh cloth in their poſſeſſion. They accuſed them alſo of paſſing the goods of people not belonging to the Hanſe under their names, in order to ſhelter them from paying the proper duties; and they demanded a liſt of the cities, towns, and companies, claiming the privileges granted by the kings of England to the Hanſe aſſociation, and alſo, if the general aſſociation diſavowed the hoſtile proceedings now complained of, the names of the cities wherein the Engliſh were ſo maltreated.

* Krantz [*Hiſt. Norweg. L.* vi, *c.* 8] alſo ſays, that thoſe pirates, whom he calls Vitalians, acted by the authority of the cities of Wiſmar and Roſtock.

† Herrings thus appear to have been imported, as well as exported, in thoſe times.

‡ To ſuch exceſs did they carry their barbarity in one of their principal cities, that they refuſed to purchaſe cloth from ſome Engliſh merchants, who had arrived deſtitute of proviſions or money, though they deſired to ſell it only for the purpoſe of obtaining food.

The people of Hamburgh claimed reſtitution to the amount of 9,117 nobles 1 ſhilling and 8 pennies; and upon examination their demand was reduced to 416 nobles 5 ſhillings.

Bremen demanded	4,414 nobles			not ſettled.			
Stralſund	7,415	1	8	reduced to	253 nobles.		
Lubeck	8,690	3	4		550		
Gripeſwald	2,092	3	4		153	3	4
Campen	1,405	0	0	not ſettled.			

At laſt the commiſſioners, or ambaſſadors, having made the beſt ſettlement they could, King Henry now gave his obligations as follows, viz. To the grand maſter of Pruſſia for his ſubjects of Pruſſia and Livonia,

payable 11th November 1409	-	*Engliſh nobles*	5,318	4	5
2d February 1410	-	-	-	5,318	4	5
2d February 1411	-	-		10,637	2	2
2d February 1412	-	-	-	10,637	2	2
and to the magiſtrates of Hamburgh, due 2d Feb. 1411				416	5	0

At granting theſe bills he ſtipulated that the money ſhould not be carried away in gold or ſilver, but in bills of exchange *.

The grand maſter, on the other hand, became bound to pay 766 nobles to the Engliſh ſufferers. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *pp.* 601-603.—*Hakluyt, V.* i, *pp.* 154-179.]

December 4th—The commercial treaty with Pruſſia was renewed. Mutual freedom of trade, and oblivion of paſt injuries, were agreed upon. In caſe of any ſubſequent outrages the ſovereigns were bound to make ſatisfaction for the aggreſſions of their ſubjects; failing which, the ſovereign of the party injured was at liberty to arreſt any ſubject of the other power, found in his dominions, within ſix months after preferring the complaint. It was alſo ſettled, that ſeveral ſums, particularly expreſſed (and all reckoned in nobles), ſhould be paid for outrages committed by the ſeamen of Hull, Scarburgh, Blakney, Cromer, Plymouth, Dartmouth, Calais, and Bayonne, and alſo by a vice-admiral of England for proviſions taken from a Pruſſian ſhip of 300 tuns, together with 838 nobles due by Henry de Percy for corn bought for the caſtle of Berwick upon Tweed in 1403. On the other ſide only 200 nobles were found due for an outrage committed by a man of Dantzik. [*Hakluyt, V.* i, *p.* 181 †.]

1410, April 28th—In a royal grant of tolls for paving the ſtreets of

* I remember reading in a newſpaper a ſpeech, made in reply to a remonſtrance againſt continental ſubſidies, wherein it was aſſerted, that this country ſuffered nothing by ſuch ſubſidies, as they were paid in broad cloth and bills of exchange. The antient politicians of England, like this modern one, muſt have ſuppoſed that bills of exchange could be got for nothing.—The ſtatement of all the accounts in Engliſh nobles affords an additional proof of the common currency of that ſpecies of Engliſh gold coin upon the continent, contrary to act of parliament.

† The king's commiſſion for treating is in the Fœdera, as is alſo the treaty itſelf, but without the ſtipulations for compenſation, in a confirmation of it in December 1410 by the ſucceeding grand maſter. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *pp.* 612, 664.]

Cambridge and the adjacent roads, there are ſome things worth notice. Coals (ſold by the chalder), turfs, reeds, and ſegs (ſedges), appear to have been articles of fuel; ſalmon, freſh or ſalted, and *porpuſes*, paid one farthing each; herrings, a halfpenny per barrel; a large boat (' navis') loaded with herrings or other fiſh, 4*d*; a fiſhing boat with fiſh, oiſters, or muſſels, 2*d*; a cart-load of fiſh, freſh or ſalted, 2*d*. Iriſh cloth muſt have been pretty common in England, as we find it here charged, equally with worſted ſtuffs, canvas, and ſome other articles, 2*d* per hundred (' centena'). [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *p.* 634.]

This year Sir Robert Umfraville, vice-admiral of England, with ten ſhips of war, entered the Firth of Forth, both coaſts of which he plundered, the Scots having apparently had no naval force fit to oppoſe to him. He burnt many veſſels, among which was one, probably belonging to the crown, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Galliot of Scotland; and he carried off fourteen veſſels (called good ſhips), with prizes of woollen and linen cloth, pitch, tar, woad, meal, wheat, and rye. Unfortunately we are not able to diſtinguiſh, what part of thoſe goods were Scottiſh manufacture and produce, and what imported: but, if there is no exaggeration, the quantity of them was ſo very great, that the ſale of them lowered the prices in England; and thence Umfraville got the name of Robin Mend-market. [*Stow, Ann. p.* 549.]

1411, June 25th—Guns were now become an article of Engliſh manufacture and exportation, as appears by a licence for ſending two ſmall guns for a ſhip, along with the king's great gun, to Spain. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *p.* 694.]

1412, February 3d—The ſhare, which the Engliſh had now obtained of the active commerce of Europe, was ſuch as arouſed the jealouſy of thoſe mercantile communities, who, in virtue of long, and almoſt unrivaled, occupancy, conceived the commerce and navigation of Europe to be their own patrimonial inheritance: and, agreeable to the ferocious and unprincipled manners of the age, they had recourſe to the moſt atrocious meaſures for cruſhing the Engliſh adventurers, before they ſhould acquire much wealth and power. William Waldern and a conſiderable number of other principal citizens of London * had ſhipped wool and other goods, to the amount of £24,000, onboard ſeveral veſſels † for the Mediterranean ‡, under the care of factors, or ſuper-

* William Waldern was elected mayor in 1412 and 1422. His partners were Drue Barantyn, mayor in 1398, 1408, who lent the king £1,500 in 1409; [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 11 *Hen. IV, m.* 5] John Reynewell, mayor in 1426; and other gentlemen, who had been ſhirrefs, &c.

† We are not told, whether the veſſels were Engliſh or foreign; and Mr. Anderſon ſuppoſes them Venetian, and thereby accounts for the ſeizure by the Genoeſe. But there ſeems no reaſon to ſuppoſe them any other than Engliſh.

‡ ' Verſus partes occidentales *per* Diſtrictus de ' Marrok' (to the weſtern countries *by* (or *through*) the Straits of Morocco); that is to ſay, *within the Mediterranean*. For the application of *weſtern* to countries really *ſouth-eaſt* from England, ſee above, p. 588 note, and p. 610. There is not a ſhadow of a reaſon to ſuppoſe the voyage intended for Morocco, a country which never had occaſion to import wool. The ſhips were probably deſtined to Catalonia or Tuſcany.

cargoes, to whom, as it was a great, and apparently a new, undertaking, the king gave letters recommending them to the friendſhip and good offices of the Genoeſe government. But ſo little reſpect did the Genoeſe pay to the king's letters, that they ſeized the veſſels, and publicly ſold their cargoes in Genoa. In conſequence of this act of hoſtility, the king ordered proclamation to be made in London and the other ports of England, and in Calais, that none of his ſubjects, nor any ſtranger within his dominions, ſhould ſend abroad any merchandize, money, or bills of exchange, for account of the Genoeſe, or receive any merchandize brought in Genoeſe veſſels, except ſuch as ſhould be brought in as prize in virtue of the letters of marque, which he had granted to the injured merchants, empowering them to take all Genoeſe veſſels they could find, till they ſhould be reimburſed of £24,000, their prime coſt, and £10,000 for damages. Thus were a few merchants of London at war with the whole republic of Genoa. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *pp.* 717, 773.]

In the North ſea the Hanſeatic aſſociation, actuated by the ſame ſpirit, and utterly regardleſs of that probity, which conſtitutes the principal feature of the modern commercial character, committed many outrages upon the Engliſh. About the year 1390 they entered the harbour of Bergen in Norway with a fleet of armed veſſels, attacked the Engliſh merchants ſettled there under the charter of the ſovereign of the country, and burnt their houſes and merchandize to the value of £2,000, together with ſecurities for debts to the amount of above £1,000 *. Notwithſtanding the interpoſition of the king of Denmark in favour of the Engliſh, the Hanſe pirates continued to haraſs and abuſe them, and, in mere wantonneſs of cruelty, drowned 100 fiſhermen belonging to the coaſt of Norfolk, who had fled to a Norwegian port for ſafety from enemies. A ſhipmaſter of Bremen, whoſe veſſel was chartered by ſome merchants of Lynne, was threatened with death, if he ſhould perform his contract. Some Engliſh merchants were robbed of hard fiſh to the value of £100 in Bergen, where the ſovereign of the country ſeems to have exerciſed no government. The Hanſe merchants at Bergen entered into a combination to have no intercourſe with the Engliſh ſettled there; and by ſuch means they hoped to drive them out of the North ſea. King Henry repeatedly arreſted the merchants of the Hanſe at Boſton, in order to make them anſwer for the aggreſſions of their brethren in Norway; for, according to the repreſentation of the merchants of Lynne, the whole of the Hanſe confederacy were combined in a determination to diſtreſs the Engliſh trade: but they found means ſomehow to get out of his graſp. He then wrote to the alderman † of the Engliſh merchants at Bergen, and alſo to the alderman of the Hanſe merchants there, deſiring them to inquire into the truth of the complaints,

* Perhaps this is the ſame outrage, which is already noticed, under the year 1409, as committed in 1394.

† The ſame who was formerly called governor.

and ſend him information. We are not informed, what effect theſe meaſures produced: but we find by a letter from Henry to the magiſtrates of Bergen, dated 22d September 1411 *, that the Engliſh had been treated as the aggreſſors: and the affair appears to have been ſtill unſettled in December 1415. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *pp.* 684, 700, 722, 736; *V.* ix, *p.* 415.]

March 5th—The Engliſh were alſo inſulted in Portugal. A ſhip of 200 tuns belonging to a merchant of London, and carrying a merchant or ſupercargo, and a purſer, beſides her commander, was ſeized in Liſbon on a falſe information, after having taken in a cargo of oil, wax, and other merchandize; but there is no mention of wine. Her commander and people were loaded with irons, and obliged to ſupport themſelves at their own expenſe in the priſon, wherein they were kept ſeveral weeks, till the error was diſcovered. Thomas Fauconer †, the owner, ſtated that the freight of his ſhip amounted to 6,000 crowns of gold, for which, and the damage and expenſes, he got King Henry to make a demand upon the king of Portugal. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *p.* 727.]

June 11th—King Henry having written to the magiſtrates of Ghent, Bruges, Ypres, and the free territory of Flanders, deſiring to know, whether they would adhere to the terms of their truce with him, or aſſiſt their earl againſt him, they, preferring the proſperity of their trade to the gratification of their earl, anſwered, that they wiſhed to preſerve peace with England: and the truce was thereupon proclaimed on both ſides. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *pp.* 737, 751, 756.—*Meyeri Ann. Flandr. f.* 238 b.]

June, July—The king borrowed 10,000 marks from the community of the city of London, 400 from Norwich, and other ſums from the prelates and nobles, for an expedition to Guienne. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *pp.* 747-767.]

July 5th—The king, having given letters of repriſal ‡ to ſome merchants, from whom two veſſels loaded with wine, &c. to the value of 5,250 marks, had been taken by a French lord, at the ſame time declared, that merchants going to, or returning from, the ſtaple at Calais ſhould not be liable to ſeizure in virtue of thoſe letters. [*Fœdera, V.* viii, *p.* 755.] Thus did this favourite town enjoy the privileges of a neutral port §.

Notwithſtanding the turbulent ſtate of England during the reign of

* It is worthy of notice, that in this letter the king appears to rank the Engliſh merchants of Lynne trading to Bergen among the merchants of the Hanſe;—'Mercatores villæ noſtræ de Lenn, 'partes de North Berne prædictæ mercantiliter 'uſitantes, ex una, *cæteroſque* mercatores de Hanſa, 'regnum noſtrum Angliæ modo conſimili frequent-'antes, parte ex altera.'

† This gentleman was elected mayor in 1414; and in his mayoralty the city lent the king 10,000 marks, for which he received jewels in pledge. [*Stow's Survey, p.* 934.—*Fœdera, V.* ix, *pp.* 298, 405.]

‡ Letters of marque or repriſal were generally granted for the recovery of private property, whereby the execution of juſtice, perhaps injuſtice, was put into the party's own hands. Of a general privateering commiſſion *one* inſtance has occurred in the year 1375. See above, p. 600.

§ Another inſtance of the trade with Calais being protected from capture occurs in *Fœdera, V.* ix, *p.* 156.

Henry IV, the commerce and manufactures of the kingdom appear to have been in a ſtate of progreſſive improvement. The guard of the ſea (to the neglect of which by his predeceſſor he owed his elevation) was more ſtrictly maintained; piracy was more rigorouſly ſuppreſſed; and more attention was beſtowed in terminating the quarrels, or petty wars, of the ſeamen and merchants of England with thoſe of the continent, than in any preceding reign.

1413.—The book of duties on imports and exports, compiled at this time under the authority of Fernando I, king of Aragon, gives a good idea of the trade and commercial policy of the antient and flouriſhing city of Barcelona.—All goods, imported or exported, paid a duty of two thirds per cent ad valorem, except thoſe imported from Conſtantinople, Syria, and Egypt, which paid only one third.—Corn and all vegetables, wine, and pork, were free from duty on importation; but they were charged with five per cent on exportation, except to Majorca, Minorca, and Iviza. Wrought ſilver, jewels, arms, and wearing apparel, exported as merchandize, paid two and a half per cent.—Cloth and other manufactures paid no duties on exportation: and the like goods, imported for fairs, paid only at the place of ſale, where a duty of three quarters per cent was levied on the ſales, the home manufactures being charged three eights.—Ships built for foreign countries, and all ſhip timber exported, paid three per cent on the value.—Small parcels, not exceeding in value five ſueldos (twenty reals of modern money), paid no duty, either inward or outward.—Neither was any duty charged on caſks, wrappers, or other packages.—Veſſels arriving in port, and neither landing nor trans-ſhipping any goods, were not required to pay any duty. [*Capmany, Mem. hiſt. de Barcelona, V.* i, *Com. p.* 231.] The wiſdom and liberality of theſe regulations, in an age wherein cuſtoms were generally impoſed with no other view than merely to raiſe a revenue for the ſovereign, muſt impreſs us with a very high opinion of the commercial policy and experience of the Barcelonians, in which they appear to have been nothing inferior to the moſt enlightened legiſlators of the preſent age *. It is a pity that we have no ſimilar documents of the commercial juriſprudence of Venice or Genoa, or of the Hanſe towns. In all ſuch matters our own country, now ſo pre-eminent, was then exceedingly deficient.

King Henry V, in the beginning of his reign, confirmed the privileges granted by his predeceſſors to the Venetians and to foreign merchants in general. [*Fœdera, V.* ix, *pp.* 26, 72.]

* Other proofs of the commercial wiſdom and liberality of Barcelona have already appeared in this work. But the general wiſe policy of the other duties and exemptions ſeems to render the genuineneſs of the duty on ſilver ware, jewels, &c. *exported* for ſale ('ſi ſe extrahian por via de com-'mercio') rather doubtful. Capmany has not inſerted the original in the *Coleccion diplomatica*, which occupies almoſt the whole of his ſecond volume: and I obſerve that Sir John Talbot Dillon, when mentioning theſe duties in his *Hiſtory of Peter the Cruel*, has written '*imported*' inſtead of *exported*, perhaps from the original *Llibre dels IV ſenyals del general de Catalunya*, which certainly is more conſiſtent with found commercial policy.

1414, May 26th—The king farmed the ſole right of drawing bills of exchange for the uſe of perſons going to the papal court, the city of Venice, or other foreign places, for three years, to Louis John, at an annual rent of £133 : 6 : 8; and he bound him down to export no gold or ſilver on account of his bills. The merchants were, however, allowed to draw bills for their merchandize, but upon no other account. But no perſon was permitted to carry money to Bruges or any other place for remittances to the papal court or elſewhere. The leaſe of the trade of exchange was afterwards renewed to Roger Salvern and Louis John, and the rent raiſed to £200. [*Fœdera, V.* ix, *p.* 130.—*Rot. pat.* 5 *Hen. V, m.* 1.]

September 26th—It is probable that gun-powder was not made in England in the year 1386, as we find a quantity of it eſteemed more valuable than all the other articles found onboard two French ſhips taken at that time. In 1412 the ambaſſadors of the earl of Alençon were licenced to export 400 pounds of ſaltpetre and 100 pounds of ſulphur, along with other military ſtores, whence we may infer, that powder was then made in England: and now we find the exportation of gun-powder ſtrictly prohibited. [*Walſingham, p.* 323.—*Fœdera, V.* viii, *p.* 754; *V.* ix, *p.* 160.]

November—The parliament ordained, that goldſmiths ſhould take no more than £2 : 6 : 8 for the Troye pound of ſtandard ſilver gilded; and that they ſhould charge only a reaſonable price for gilding *. [*Acts 2 Hen. V, ſtat.* 2, *c.* 4.]

The exemption from the obligation of carrying the ſtaple goods to Calais, granted to the commercial ſtates of Italy and Spain by the act of the ſecond year of Richard II, was renewed. The parliament alſo confirmed to the merchants and inhabitants of Berwick their privilege of purchaſing wool, hides, and wool-fells, of the growth of Tiviotdale and the adjacent part of Scotland then ſubject to England, and of England as far ſouth as the River Cocket, and to ſell the ſame in Berwick, or to export them. The merchants of Jerſey, Guernſey, Bretagne, and Guyenne, having made a practice of buying unfounded tin and ſhotten tin in Cornwall, and carrying it to France, the Netherlands, &c. all perſons, except thoſe above-excepted, were ſtrictly ordered to carry all kinds of ſtaple goods to Calais. [*c.* 6.]

1415, March, April—King Henry, having determined to aſſert his claim upon the crown of France by the ſword, ſent commiſſioners to hire veſſels for him in Holland and Zeland. He alſo ordered all the veſſels in England of twenty tuns burthen and upwards to be taken into

* By this act the goldſmiths were allowed £1 : 1 : 8 for the gold and workmanſhip. If that was too little to pay for ſufficient gilding, they had only to make it ſlight; for the law did not, like the one now in force, aſcertain the quantity of gold to be laid on a given ſurface. Neither did it determine, what was a reaſonable price for gilding. Butler, the author of Hudibras, who underſtood that matter better than our antient legiſlators, ſays, that the worth of any thing is ſo much money as 'twill bring.

his ſervice; and the whole, Engliſh and foreign, were directed to aſſemble in the ports of Southampton, London, Sandwich, Winchelſea, and Briſtol. The commanders of ſeveral ſhips, which, being diſtinguiſhed as *belonging to the Tower*, may be preſumed to have been *royal ſhips*, were commiſſioned to preſs men for their veſſels. The whole fleet, collected for the invaſion of France, conſiſted of 1,500 veſſels. [*Fœdera, V.* ix, *pp.* 215, 216, 218, 238.—*Walſingham, p.* 390.]

November—The parliament ordered, that none of the foreign coins, called galley halfpennies becauſe imported in the Genoeſe gallies, thoſe called ſeſkyns and doydekyns, nor any of the Scottiſh ſilver money, ſhould any longer be current in England *. [*Acts* 3 *Hen. V, ſt.* 1, *c.* 1.]

November 28th—King Henry, in order to conciliate the favour of the king of Denmark and Norway, ordered proclamation to be made in all the ports on the eaſt ſide of England, that none of his ſubjects ſhould go to any of that king's iſlands, eſpecially Iceland, for the ſpace of a year, to catch fiſh, or do any other buſineſs, except what uſed to be done in antient times. [*Fœdera, V.* ix, *p.* 322.] It may be obſerved, that ſtockfiſh, which were common in England above a century before this time, were all brought from the Norwegian territories.

This year John king of Portugal, with the aſſiſtance (according to Walſingham) of ſome Engliſh and German merchants, took the city of Ceuta, ſituated on the ſouth ſhore of the Straits of Morocco (or Gibraltar), from the Saracens of Africa. If it be true, that by converſations with the Saracen captives John's ſon Henry firſt conceived an idea of the practicability of a route to India by ſailing round the ſouth end of Africa, the capture of Ceuta is of great importance indeed in commercial hiſtory. [*Walſingham, p.* 393.—*Purchas's Pilgrims, B.* ii, *p.* 5.]

Henry, the fifth ſon of King John by Philippa the daughter of John duke of Lancaſter, was a prince enlightened beyond the ſtandard of the age; and he ſpread the illumination of ſcience all-around him by the munificent encouragement he gave to learned men and artiſts, whom he endeavoured to attract from all countries to his reſidence at Sagres near Cape St. Vincent, where he erected an obſervatory, and eſtabliſhed ſchools for the ſciences conducive to the improvement of navigation. James, a man eminently ſkilful in geography, navigation, and the uſe of the inſtruments then known, whom he invited from Majorca, inſtructed the Portugueſe youth in thoſe ſciences: and, cheriſhed by the beams of royal favour, a number of artiſts quickly ſprung up, who compoſed maps, wherein all parts of the world, known by report as well as by diſcovery, were inſerted, with very little attention to correctneſs in their configuration or poſition. Thoſe maps, ſuch as they were, diſſe-

* The currency of the galley halfpennies had already been prohibited by an act 11 Hen. IV, c. 5. Stow, however, ſays, that they continued current in ſome degree even in his own younger days, being ſomewhat broader, but thinner, than the Engliſh halfpennies of his time, which were much inferior in weight of ſilver to the halfpennies of the age of Henry V. [*Survey of London, p.* 262.]

minated among the Portugueſe a ſcience hitherto ſcarcely known to any Chriſtian nation, except the commercial ſtates of Italy *, and contributed to nouriſh that ſpirit of enterpriſe, which in time accompliſhed the greateſt revolution that ever happened, or probably ever can happen, in the commercial world.

Prince Henry, being deſirous of making diſcoveries upon the weſt coaſt of Africa (but whether with the expectation of finding a paſſage to India, I will not venture to ſay) ſent out two veſſels, with orders to proceed as far as poſſible along the coaſt, which they traced only as far as Cape Bojador in 27 degrees north latitude. [*Purchas's Pilgrims, B.* i, *c.* 2, § 1; *B.* x, *c.* 1; *and authors there quoted.*]

1416, March—The crimes of clipping, waſhing, and filing, the money of the kingdom were declared by parliament to be treaſon; and the puniſhment of them, as well as of importing baſe money, was committed to the judges. [*Acts* 3 *Hen. V, ſtat.* 2, *cc.* 6, 7.]

It has been obſerved (p. 515) that merchant veſſels uſed to ſail in fleets in time of war, that their united force might enable them to repell the attacks of the enemy. Before they ſailed, they elected admirals among themſelves, and all the commanders, in preſence of the magiſtrates of the port of departure, ſwore to ſtand by their admirals. In conſequence of a ſeparation of the veſſels of a fleet from Bourdeaux, one of the admiral ſhips, a veſſel belonging to Hull with a valuable cargo, was taken: and the owner of her applied to parliament to oblige the owners of the other veſſels to indemnify the loſs ſuſtained by their deſertion. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 548.]

It appears from the rolls of the king's wardrobe, that the greateſt part of the linen uſed in England, eſpecially by thoſe of the higher ranks, was imported, and was chiefly of the fabrics of Reynes (or Rennes) and

* If we may credit the accounts given of maps executed in this age, eſpecially the Venetian ones, not only the Cape of Good Hope, under the name of the *Fore front of Africa*, but even the Straits of Magellan, called the *Dragon's tail*, were now known. Pedro, an elder brother of Henry, is ſaid to have got a map of the world at Venice in the year 1428, wherein thoſe ſouthern extremities of the old and new continents were delineated: and Galvano relates, that Francis de Soſa Tavares told him, that in the year 1528 he ſaw a map, drawn in 1408, containing 'all the navigation of the 'Eaſt-Indies with the Cape of Bona Sperança '(Good Hope) according as our later maps have 'deſcribed it.' [*Purchas, B.* x, *p.* 1673.] To theſe may be added the maps, ſtill preſerved in the library of St. Mark at Venice, bearing the name of Andrea Bianco and the date of 1436, and publiſhed by Formaleoni, wherein Africa appears with a *clear ſea to the ſouthward of it*, one of the Açores, or Weſtern iſlands, has the name of *Braſil* *, and to the weſtward of them there is actually delineated a great iſland called *Antillia*. But it may well be doubted, whether envy of the naval pre-eminence, ſnatched out of their hands by the Portugueſe and Spaniards, may not have inſtigated the Venetians to make interpolations upon, and give fictitious dates to, ſome antient maps; for iſlands can eaſily be inſerted in the void ſpace repreſenting the ſea long after the original conſtruction of a manuſcript map, without the overcrowding or eraſure, which detect interpolations in a manuſcript book; and we, who ſee them only in engraved copies, have not the ſmalleſt opportunity to judge of their genuineneſs.

* In Terceira, one of the Açores, there are two hills called Breſyl. [*Linſchoten's Voyages, pp.* 181, 186.] I know not if it be worth while to obſerve, that 'Hy Braſail, or 'the enchanted iſland, the paradiſe of the pagan Iriſh,' was ſuppoſed to be ſituated in the Ocean to the weſtward of Ireland. [*Vallancey's Coll. de reb. Hibern. No.* xi, *p.* 282.]

Champagne in France, and of Flanders and Brabant in the Netherlands *. [*Fœdera, V.* ix, *pp.* 334, 335.]

'Henry Barton (mayor of London) ordained lanthornes with lights 'to be hanged out in the winter evenings betwixt Hallontide and 'Candlemaſſe.' [*Stow's Survey, p.* 935.]

This year the Hollanders in their herring fiſhery began to uſe the veſſels called buſſes. [*Schoockii Diſſert. de hareng.* § 35.]

1417, July 31st—The truce with the duke of Burgundy, who was alſo earl of Flanders, Bologne, &c. was renewed till Eaſter 1419. It was agreed, that during war with Genoa all goods, belonging to the Flemings or others, found onboard Genoeſe veſſels, ſhould be liable to ſeizure and condemnation; but that the property of the Engliſh in Flanders and of the Flemings in England ſhould not be liable to any arreſt, unleſs for debts contracted, or crimes committed, after the date of the truce. In the ſubſequent confirmation by the duke, it was alſo provided, that no damage ſhould be done to the merchants, ſeamen, pilgrims, clergymen, and fiſhers, on either ſide; that veſſels belonging to either party, taken by corſairs, and carried into the ports of the other party, ſhould be reſtored to their owners, or the value be made good to them; proviſions and merchandize might be imported in neutral veſſels into either country without moleſtation; unarmed merchant veſſels chaſed by enemies ſhould be freely admitted into the ports of either party; the Engliſh ſhould make a ſpacious road from Calais to Gravelings, and the Flemings ſhould continue it along the Downs of Flanders, for the uſe of merchants and other perſons of both countries, who were to have no dogs with them, and not to moleſt the rabbits on the Downs; the Engliſh ſhould have the liberty to make faſt their veſſels in the Flemiſh ports, as practiſed by the French, Hollanders, Zelanders, and Scots, the Flemings having the like liberty in the Engliſh ports; neither party ſhould carry goods belonging to the enemies of the other. The duke moreover engaged, that the four members of Flanders ſhould become bound for the due execution of this treaty, and that he would obtain the confirmation of his over-lord, the king of France. It was alſo declared, that the treaty ſhould be obſerved in all his territories from the coaſt of Flanders to Cologne on the Rhine; and that no infringement of any of the articles by individuals of either ſide, nor even war between France and England, ſhould effect any breach of it. [*Fœdera, V.* ix, *pp.* 476, 483.]

Auguſt—King Henry, obſerving that the ſhips, brought to aſſiſt the French by the Caſtilians and Genoeſe, were much larger than thoſe of his fleet, had got ſome large veſſels, called *dromons*, built at Southampton, ſuch, ſays an old writer, as were never ſeen in the world before,

* The excellence of the linens of thoſe countries is celebrated in many romances and poems compoſed before the age now under our conſideration. Fine linen of Rheims made a part of the preſents ſent by the king of France to Bajazet, as already noticed, p. 608.

three of which had the names of the *Trinity*, the *Grace de Dieu*, and the *Holy Ghoſt*. But the principal veſſels of the whole fleet, wherewith he now made his ſecond invaſion of France, were two large ſhips, moſt magnificently fitted up. One of them, called the *King's Chamber*, in which he embarked himſelf, carried a ſail of purple ſilk (ſurely only for holiday exhibitions) whereon the arms of England and France were embroidered; and the other, called the *King's hall*, was alſo very ſumptuouſly adorned *. [*Fragment, and Libell of Engliſh policy, in Hakluyt, V.* i, *pp.* 185, 203.—*Tit. Liv. Vit. Hen. V, p.* 33.]

We have already ſeen that the Normans were the moſt ſpirited merchants in France; and, as commerce and manufactures mutually ſupport each other, we find them alſo the greateſt manufacturers, at leaſt in the woollen branch. The arrival of the Engliſh army in Normandy ſtruck ſuch a terror throughout the province, that above twenty-five thouſand families fled from it into the adjacent province of Bretagne (whoſe duke was then in friendſhip with King Henry) and carried the art of making woollen cloth among the Bretons, who were hitherto ignorant of it: and thus was Henry's invaſion the means of ſpreading that manufacture more widely through France. [*Meyeri Ann. Flandr. f.* 250 b.]

1418, May 4th—King Henry, having got poſſeſſion of Normandy, and underſtanding that his ſubjects of that country had been grievouſly oppreſſed by heavy duties impoſed upon ſalt in times paſt by his adverſaries, and tyrannically compelled to buy ſalt at exorbitant prices, gave notice, that he, being deſirous to relieve his poor people from ſuch oppreſſion, and to govern them according to juſtice, licenced the Normans and his other French ſubjects to buy whatever quantities of ſalt they ſhould think proper in places to be appointed by him. And foraſmuch as it was uſual in all Chriſtian kingdoms to levy cuſtom upon every kind of merchandize bought or ſold, and ſalt among others, and he was in great need of money to carry on the war, he impoſed a duty of one fourth part of all ſalt ſold, to be levied in kind or in money at his option, and ordered that all ſalt ſhould be ſtored in warehouſes to be eſtabliſhed by him, and meaſured by his meaſurers, under penalty of forfeiture of the ſalt, the fleſh ſalted, carts, horſes, harneſs, &c. [*Fœdera, V.* ix, *p.* 583.]

September 24th—Alfonſo king of Aragon having about a year before granted protection to the ſubjects of England with their veſſels and merchandize in his territories, which ſeems to have been little, if any thing, more than a ſhadow of favour in order to obtain a ſubſtance by way of reciprocration, King Henry now granted ſimilar protection to the ſub-

* As the Libell of Engliſh policy has no mention of the King's chamber and the King's hall, it is not improbable, that thoſe names may have been given on the occaſion to two of the three large ſhips particularly named in it.

jects of Aragon, [*Fœdera, V.* ix, *p.* 622] who, as we shall see afterwards (A. D. 1438), knew how to make the best use of the privilege.

1419, July 14th—The truce or treaty with Flanders for the security of trade was renewed. King Henry having made a demand of £10,000 as a compensation for merchandize taken from some merchants of England and Ireland in the port of Sluys, and also several privileges respecting the conveyance of money through Flanders to the staple at Calais, the Flemish ambassadors declared, that those matters were not within their commission; and it was agreed, that they should be adjusted in a subsequent meeting to be held at Calais. [*Fœdera, V.* ix, *pp.* 769, 779.]

October 12th—King Henry accordingly appointed commissioners to meet those of the duke of Burgundy. But the Flemings were prevented from attending by the troubles consequent upon the murder of their duke, till January 1420, when the treaty was renewed till the 1st of the ensuing November, and a commission was appointed to liquidate the claims for damages on both sides. [*Fœdera, V.* ix, *pp.* 804, 843.]

This year Schahrok, the son of the great Timour, sent ambassadors to the emperor of Cathay, or China. Some merchants went in their train; but no commercial transactions are noted in a pretty circumstantial account of the embassy, from which we learn, however, that the arts were then in as high a degree of perfection in that great empire as they are at this present day. [*Thevenot, Voyages curieux, partie* 4.]

1420, December—The parliament gave a new proof of their anxiety to stock the kingdom with gold by an act obliging every merchant stranger buying wool in England, to be carried to the western countries* without previously going to the staple, to deliver to the master of the mint in the Tower one ounce of gold bullion for every sack; and the same was also to be delivered for every three pieces of tin. [*Acts* 8 *Hen. V, c.* 2.]

The Portuguese began this year to cultivate the island of Madeira. The first settlers did not think of planting vines, but gave their attention chiefly to sugar canes, brought from Sicily, which succeeded very well, the prince's fifth part amounting in some years to 60,000 arobas, or about 15,000 hundredweights †. [*Purchas, B.* ii, *c.* i, § 2.]

We have the following picture of the commerce of Venice about this time in a speech addressed by the duke Tommas Mocenigo to the senators.—The annual value of goods exported was ten millions of ducats, and the profits, outward and homeward, were about four millions. The shipping consisted of 3,000 vessels of from ten to two hundred amforas burthen carrying 17,000 seamen, 300 ships carrying 8,000 seamen,

* In the second year of Richard II the parliament explained which countries they comprehended under the term *Western*. See above p. 587.

† I do not pretend to give a clear account of the discovery and settlement of every island occupied in this age on the west side of Africa. The Portuguese and Spanish accounts are apparently irreconcilable.

and 45 gallies, great and ſmall, manned by 11,000 ſeamen *: and there were 16,000 carpenters employed in the dock-yards. The mint of Venice coined annually 1,000,000 of ducats in gold, 200,000 pieces of ſilver of various ſizes, and 800,000 ſoldi. Every year 500,000 ducats were ſent into Syria and Egypt, and 100,000 ducats to England (the balance of the Venetian trade with England being thus one fifth of the ſum paid for the oriental productions, for it may be obſerved that the Venetians aſſuredly carried a great deal of merchandize to England, and probably very little to Syria and Egypt). The Venetians received annually from the Florentines 16,000 pieces of cloth, from middling quality to the very fineſt, which they ſent to Apulia, Sicily, Barbary, Syria, Cyprus, Rhodes, Egypt, Romania, Candia, and the Morea through Iſtria. Though the Florentines ſold ſo much cloth to Venice, they alſo carried thither 7,000 ducats weekly, and purchaſed French and Catalonian wool, crimſon, and grain, ſilk, gold and ſilver thread (or wire, 'filati'), wax, ſugar, and violins. The value of the houſes in Venice was eſtimated at ſeven millions of ducats, and the annual rents at half a million. [*Sanuto, Vite de duche di Venezia, ap. Muratori Script. V.* xxii, *col.* 959.]

1421, May 6th—As we can have but few opportunities of ſeeing any account of the antient revenue and expenditure of the kingdom of England, the following ſtatement of them for one year ending with Michaelmaſs, preſented to the king by the treaſurer of England, appears worthy of notice, eſpecially as it ſhows, that, even in thoſe days, the greateſt part of the public expenſes were ſupplied from the trade of the country.

The revenue conſiſted of

Customs on wool	£3,976	1	2
Subsidy on wool	26,035	18	8
Small customs	2,438	9	1¼
Duty of 12 pennies on the pound in the value of goods (the whole amount of which thence appears to have been £164,750:15:10)	8,237	10	9½
	40,676	19	9¼
Causual revenues paid into the exchequer	15,066	11	1
Total revenue	55,743	10	10¼

Out of the above were to be supported

The custody or defence of England	£5,333	6	8
——— of Calais and its marches in time of war	19,119	5	10
——— of the marches of Scotland and Roksburgh, in war	19,500	0	0
——— of Ireland †	1,666	13	4

* The 3000 veſſels carried only five or ſix men each on an average, and the 300 ſhips about twenty one each. Of the 45 gallies ſome muſt have been formidable veſſels, each of them having, upon an average of the whole 45, about 244 ſeamen, a ſufficient complement for a very reſpectable modern frigate.

† With reſpect to the marches of Scotland we have the correſponding teſtimony of the hiſtorian of Croyland, [*ap. Gale, p.* 563] that the keeping of Berwick alone coſt about this time 10,000 marks annually; and thence he concluded, that the poſſeſſion of it was a loſs, rather than an acquiſition, to England. Thus thoſe two antient

The custody of the castle of Frounsake -	£666	13	4
Salaries of the treasurer, keeper of the privy seal, judges, barons of exchequer, and and other officers of the court	3,002	17	6
——— of the officers of the customs, &c.	547	0	0
——— of dukes, earls, knights, esquires, abbess of Shene, &c. - - -	7,751	12	7½
Annuities charged on the customs -	4,374	4	3
Salaries of officers of the customs in the several ports*	274	3	4
Total expenditure - -			†52,235 16 10½
Surplus of revenue - - - - -			£3,507 13 11¼

out of which were to be defrayed the charges of

The king's and queen's houſehold and wardrobe (' camera—hoſpitio—' garderoba'); The king's works, the new tower at Portſmouth—clerk of the king's ſhips—the king's lions and the conſtable of the Tower—artillery—the king's priſoners—ambaſſadors—meſſengers, parchment, &c.—the ducheſs of Holland.

There remained unprovided for

Old debts for Harfleur and Calais—the king's wardrobe, and clerks of the king's ſhips and works—arrears to annuitants—debts of King Henry IV, and of Henry V when prince of Wales. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *p.* 113, *ex MS. Bib. Cott. Cleop.* F iii.]

May—It being cuſtomary to build the keels, uſed at Newcaſtle for carrying coals onboard the ſhips, larger than the ſtandard meaſure of twenty chaldrons, in order to evade part of the duty of two pennies, payable by all perſons not free of Newcaſtle, it was enacted, that their burthen ſhould be meaſured and marked by commiſſioners appointed by the king ‡. [*Acts 9 Hen. V, ſtat.* i, *c.* 10.]

Notwithſtanding the late law againſt vitiating the money, it was now in ſo bad a ſtate, that the parliament enacted, that the gold money of England ſhould only be taken by weight. And the people were ordered to carry their light and vitiated money to the tower to be recoined, the king, in conſideration of their loſs, foregoing the emolument due to him upon the coinage ‖. [*c.* 11.]

May 29th—Peace being made with the king of France (May 21st), it was immediately followed by a reconciliation with the Genoeſe, and by

Gibraltars, Calais and Berwick, appear to have coſt almoſt ſixteen times as much as the whole kingdom of Ireland.

* As the officers muſt have been very numerous, this very ſmall amount of all their ſalaries accounts for the frequent complaints of their extortions.

† In this account we find the very uſual diſagreement between the totals and the particular numbers: but, as it is impoſſible to trace the error, we muſt take them as they ſtand in the record.

‡ The parliament ſeem to have known nothing of an order ſimilar to this act in the reign of Richard II. See above, p. 589.

‖ Stow [*Survey of London, p.* 85] ſays, that the nobles were taken this year in payment of the fifteenth granted to the king at the full value of 6/8, if they were worth 5/8. That regulation was probably ſubſequent to the diminution of the money, for which ſee the appendix.

a new treaty, whereby all paſt injuries were conſigned to oblivion. Each party was at liberty to trade with the enemies of the other, but not to give them any aſſiſtance by ſea or land. In caſe of a breach of this *perpetual* alliance the ſubjects of either party were to be allowed eight months * to retire with their property. The ſubjects of each power might import and export in the ports of the other all kinds of merchandize not prohibited, on paying the uſual cuſtoms, and freely tranſact their buſineſs. Infractions of this treaty by individuals ſhould be duely puniſhed, but ſhould make no breach of the friendſhip between the contracting powers. The duke and community of Genoa became bound to pay to William Waldern and his partners, who had obtained letters of marque againſt them, (ſee above, p. 625) £6,000 ſterling, as the full balance for damages remaining unſatisfied †. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *p.* 117.]

December—The parliament enacted that exchanges for gold and ſilver money ſhould be eſtabliſhed in London and other places in the kingdom, where money ſhould be coined for the public on paying 5*ſ* for the Tower pound of gold, and 1*ſ*3 for the ſame weight of ſilver, as the dues of ſeignorage and coinage. [*Acts* 9 *Hen. V, ſt.* 2, *c.* 2.]

For the eaſe of the merchants and others reſiding at Calais, it was enacted, that a mint and coinage ſhould be eſtabliſhed there during the king's pleaſure, ſaving to him his dues from the coinage, &c. [*c.* 6.]

1422, Auguſt 31ſt—It pleaſed God to cut off King Henry in his brilliant career of victory, and to ſave the Britiſh iſlands from becoming provinces of the French empire. I ſay the Britiſh iſlands; for not only Ireland, as an appendage of England, would have been ſubject to the king of France and England, but Scotland alſo, as ſoon as the French ſhould have perceived, that, inſtead of being a conquered and depreſſed people, they were really the predominant nation, and had acquired a great and valuable addition of territory and of naval and military power along with their new king, muſt have ſubmitted to the irreſiſtible united naval and military forces of France, England, and Ireland: and then the agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, of the Britiſh kingdoms would have been as completely ſubſervient to the intereſt and policy of France, as ever thoſe of Ireland and the colonies were to theſe of England. By the invaſions of France England was depopulated ‡; and Henry, like his predeceſſor who firſt ſtarted the fatal pretenſion to the ſovereignty of that kingdom, found himſelf reduced to the miſerable and illuſory expedient of diminiſhing the value of the current money of the kingdom ‖. In ſhort, the intereſts of commerce and the

* In the treaty with Pruſſia in 1387 the merchants were allowed *twelve* months to ſettle their buſineſs in caſe of a rupture.

† In the year 1414 the Genoeſe made offers of compenſation to the injured merchants, which were probably not ſatisfactory: [*Fœdera, V.* ix, *p.* 160.] It is obſervable, that this treaty, which contains but little matter, is almoſt as prolix as a modern one.

‡ One proof of the depopulation is recorded by parliament, in the act 9 *Hen. V, ſt.* 1, *c.* 5, whereby the ſherrifs, inſtead of being changed annually, were to continue ſeveral years in office, *becauſe a ſufficient number of perſons duely qualified for the office could not be found.*

‖ See the appendix.

happineſs of the people were equally diſregarded during this ſplendid reign of conqueſt and deſolation. The Scots, by their ſtrenuous exertions againſt Edward III, and their opportune aſſiſtance to France againſt Henry V, contributed largely to prevent the ſubjection and ruin of Great Britain.

October—In the firſt year of Henry VI ſeveral laws reſpecting money and the ſtaple of Calais were confirmed by parliament. [*Acts 1 Hen. VI.*]

The Genoeſe had obtained from the Greek emperor, Michael Palæologus, a leaſe of a mountain on the coaſt of Aſia Minor, containing a mine of alum; and near it they built a ſmall fort, which gave birth to a town called New Phocæa, being nearly on the ſite of the antient Phocæa, a city of ſome note in the early annals of commerce. The Turks, when they became maſters of the country, permitted the Genoeſe to enjoy their trade in alum as before. The French, Germans *, Engliſh, Italians, Spaniards, Arabians, Egyptians, and Syrians, were their purchaſers; and the factory, or colony, continued to proſper, till their trade was interrupted by the war with Catalonia, which prevented the Genoeſe veſſels from tranſporting the alum to France, Spain, England, and even to their neighbouring ports of Italy †. [*Ducas, c. 25, pp.* 89-91.]

1423, October—The parliament permitted gold and ſilver to be carried out of the kingdom for military expenſes, and to pay for horſes, oxen, ſheep, and other things, bought in Scotland for the ſervice of the adjacent parts of England, and for thoſe purpoſes only. In order to prevent alien merchants from ſmuggling money out of the country, every company was obliged to find ſecurity that none of the partners ſhould export gold or ſilver. [*Acts 2 Hen. VI, c. 6.*]

Frauds in the ſizes of ſeveral kinds of caſks having become common, the parliament ordained, that no perſon ſhould import, or make within the realm ‡, a tun of wine meaſuring leſs than 252 gallons Engliſh mea-

* The Flemings are ſurely comprehended here under the name of Germans.

† I am here obliged to differ from Mr. Gibbon, an author, whoſe general accuracy, ſtrict attention to authority, and extent of reſearch, are almoſt unequaled. He ſays, [*V.* xii, *p.* 52] that the Engliſh are mentioned by Ducas among the nations that reſorted to New Phocæa; an early evidence of Mediterranean trade.—I was myſelf very much pleaſed to think that the Engliſh were now carried by the ſpirit of commercial enterpriſe almoſt as far from home, as their anceſtors had been by the frenzy of ſuperſtition, till I conſulted the original author, who only ſays, that the mariners ſailing from the eaſt to the weſt thought alum a uſeful and convenient cargo for their ſhips, (as, I ſuppoſe, it has, like common ſalt, the virtue of preſerving the timbers) and that the French, Germans, Engliſh, &c. purchaſed the alum dug from the mountain, which is very valuable to fullers and dyers. In this paſſage Ducas does not expreſsly ſay, where thoſe nations bought the alum; but the ſubſequent information in p. 91 leaves no doubt, that they received it in their own ports from the Genoeſe veſſels. In the year 1450 we ſhall ſee alum to the value of £4,000 delivered by the Genoeſe to Henry VI king of England.

‡ 'Si eſt ordeinez et eſtablez, qe null homme '* * * * apporte en le royalme d'Engleterre, de 'qel paiis qe ceo ſoit, ne face deins meſme le roy-'alme, tonell de vyn, s'il ne conteigne del meſure 'd'Engleterre $\frac{xx}{xii}$ et xii galons.'—Does the verb *face (make)* apply to the tun, or to the wine? Was wine made in England at this time in ſuch quantities as to be an object of trade and legiſlative regulation, or was it only mentioned from ſuperabundant caution? Doctor Henry [*V.* viii, *p.* 270] thinks that this act indicates, that the wines made in England were conſiderable in quantity, and of the ſame kinds with foreign wines.

ſure, the pipe 126, the tertian and hogſhead in proportion; that the barrel of herrings or eels ſhould contain 30 gallons, the butt of ſalmon 84 gallons, and ſmaller caſks in proportion, the fiſh in all of them, whether imported or cured at home, being fully packed. [*c.* 11.]

The laws for regulating the ſtandard quality of ſilver were renewed. The ſilverſmiths were ordered to affix their own mark to their work. Keepers of the touch (or eſſay-maſters) were appointed in London, York, Newcaſtle upon Tine, Lincoln, Norwich, Briſtol, Saliſbury, and Coventry, who were to ſtamp all ſilver work of the due ſtandard with a leopard's head. In other places the ſilverſmiths were allowed to ſell their wares with their own ſtamp only, but liable to a penalty of double the value of any ſilver found under the ſtandard of ſterling money. [*c.* 14.]

1424, February—James, king of Scotland, having bound himſelf and his kingdom to pay £40,000 ſterling, by inſtallments in the courſe of ſix years, to Henry VI, king of England, for his board or keeping *, gave his own obligation, and delivered a number of hoſtages of the firſt families in Scotland; and moreover, as if thoſe ſecurities were not ſufficient, the communities of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen, as the moſt opulent towns of Scotland, gave their obligations for 50,000 marks each, every one of them thus taking burthen for the whole, which, by an allowance of 10,000 marks as the portion of Lady Jane, daughter of the duke of Somerſet, married to King James, was reduced to that ſum inſtead of the original 60,000 marks. In a truce of ſeven years, which accompanied this pecuniary tranſaction, the only article, in the ſmalleſt degree connected with commerce, provided that the merchants, pilgrims, and fiſhers, of either party, driven by ſtreſs of weather into the ports of the other, ſhould not be ſeized. [*Fœdera*, *V.* x, *pp.* 324, 329 †.]

May—James I, king of Scotland, was diſtinguiſhed by a bright genius, a vigorous mind cultivated in the ſchool of early adverſity, and an eager deſire to improve the condition of his kingdom, which had been in a retrograde ſtate ſince the death of King Alexander III. With his reſtoration commences the regular ſeries of the written laws of Scotland ‡, which will henceforth furniſh authentic materials for the commercial

* 'Pro tempore quo dictus dominus Rex Ja-'cobus ſtetit in preſentia regum Angliæ'. The commiſſioners carefully avoided the word *ranſom*, as they did not chuſe to ſay that James was a priſoner.

† The pages here quoted are only thoſe containing the obligations of the four towns, which had the heavy honour of being ſecurities for their ſovereign, and the article of the truce referred to. Of the hundreds of writings concerning the liberation of King James, thoſe printed in the ninth and tenth volumes of the Fœdera, though only a part, are far too numerous to be particularly quoted.

‡ It is worthy of obſervation, that the laws of Scotland, which had hitherto all been written in Latin, were after the reſtoration of James, with the exception of about half a dozen, all expreſſed in the language of the people, who were to be governed by them, and the ſhirrefs were directed to make them ſufficiently public throughout the kingdom. In England the laws were either in Latin or French, and moſtly French, till the reign of Richard III, when the firſt Engliſh ſtatute was enacted, which was long after the French language had become obſolete even among the upper ranks.

hiſtory of that kingdom. In his firſt parliament the great and ſmall cuſtoms and the burgh mailles (or rents) were annexed to the crown. —The ſlaughter of ſalmon in the improper ſeaſon was ſtrictly prohibited *—Cruives and yairs (engines for catching fiſh) were prohibited in tide rivers; and thoſe, who had right to ſet them in rivers above the tide, were enjoined to obſerve the laws for preſerving the breed of the fiſh.—All mines, yielding three halfpennies of ſilver out of a pound of lead, were declared the property of the king †.—The exportation of gold and ſilver was permitted, but loaded with the prohibitory duty of 3/4 per pound ($16\frac{2}{3}$ per cent); and foreign merchants were to prove by the evidence of their hoſts, that they had inveſted the proceeds of their imports in Scottiſh merchandize, or paid the duty for exporting the money.—The following duties were impoſed upon cattle and other goods carried out of the kingdom.

	s.	d.
Horſes, oxen, and sheep, one shillings per pound of the value		
Herrings, per thousand	0	1
Herrings, barreled, taken by natives, per last	4	0
—— by foreigners, ——	6	0
Red herrings, cured in Scotland, per thousand	0	4
Skins of mertriks (martins) each	2	0
—— of fowmarts (weasels) —	0	1
—— of cunnings (rabbits) perhundred	1	0
—— of otters and foxes per daker	0	6
—— of harts and hinds	1	0
—— of does and roes every ten	0	4

—The parliament empowered the king to reſtore the money to an equality with that of England ‡.—Able beggars were not to be permitted to infeſt the country; and thoſe eſteemed proper objects of charity were to be furniſhed with tickets by the ſhirrefs in the country, and by the aldermen and bailies in the towns ‖. [*Acts Jac. I, cc.* 8, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 23, 24, 25, 27.]

Theſe regulations were intended to be permanent. But as it was neceſſary to make proviſion for the payment for which the kingdom was bound to the king of England, a temporary law of this ſeſſion [*cc*, 10, 11] impoſed a tax of twelve pennies on every pound of rent and other branches of income, and alſo of the annual increaſe of corn and cattle, to be paid agreeable to a ſtandard valuation fixed by parliament §: and this tax was to be paid by the clergy as well as the laity. We learn from Walter Bowar, one of the commiſſioners for this taxation, that it

* From an act of the next ſeſſion the prohibited ſeaſon appears then to have begun on the 15th of Auguſt and ended on the 30th of November.

† This law is ſomewhat obſcure. It ſays, 'Gif 'ony myne of gold or ſilver be fundin in ony lordis 'landis of the realme, and it may be previt that 'thre half pennyis of ſilver may be fynit out of the 'pund of leid: the lordis of parliament conſentis, 'that ſic myne be the kingis, as is uſual of uther 'realmes.'—Was the lead, with the ſilver, or only the ſilver, to belong to the king? Though gold is mentioned, no proviſion is made reſpecting it. There was probably no expectation of ever finding any: but ſome gold was afterwards found in ſome of the rivulets of Scotland.

‡ The impoveriſhed ſtate of the country, not yet recovered from the calamity of King David's ranſom, and now further drained by the contribution for the board-money, ranſom, or finance, of King James, together with the erroneous ideas of the age concerning money, operated more powerfully than any act of parliament, and produced a diminution, inſtead of an improvement, of the money of Scotland. See the appendix.

‖ The repetition of this act in leſs than a year ſhows that it was inefficient.

§ For the rates ſee the appendix of prices. But it muſt be obſerved, that the articles are all much undervalued, e. g. a boll of wheat only 2/, which is much below the price in England, and, allowing for the diminution of the money, below the uſual price in the happy days of Alexander III.

amounted in the firſt year almoſt to fourteen thouſand marks, which, without making any allowance for ſhort returns uſual in ſuch caſes, makes the annual income of the people of Scotland, independent of the lands and cattle employed by land-holders in their own huſbandry, which were exempted, amount to near 280,000 marks, equal in effective value to about three millions of modern ſterling money. Next year, the zeal of the people being cooled, the tax was leſs productive; the people grumbled (for taxes, except in cuſtoms, which became part of the apparent price of the goods on which they were charged, were unknown) and no more was levied. [*Scotichron. V.* ii, *p.* 482.]

1425, March—The parliament of Scotland prohibited the exportation of tallow.—No perſon was allowed to go abroad as a merchant, who had not three ſerplaiths * of wool, or other goods of equal value, either of his own property, or conſigned to him.—A duty of 2*ſ* in the pound on the value was impoſed on woollen cloth exported; and a duty of 2*ſ*6 in the pound was laid upon ſalmon exported by ſtrangers. Engliſh goods imported were charged with a duty of 2*ſ*6 in the pound, alſo of the value. [*Acts Jac. I, cc.* 35, 41, 44.] Theſe laws ſhow, that there was ſome manufacture, and even exportation, of woollen cloth in Scotland. And they alſo ſhow, how much the principles of commerce were miſtaken by one of the moſt enlightened and patriotic kings of the age: but thoſe principles were not then known on this ſide of the Alps and the Pyrenees, unleſs perhaps by the Flemiſh and Hanſeatic merchants.

May—It was now a common practice to carry ſheep from England to Flanders, whereby the price of wool was lowered, to the great damage of the king and the kingdom. The parliament therefor ſtrictly prohibited all perſons from carrying ſheep beyond the ſea, except for victualing the town and marches of Calais. [*Acts 3 Hen. VI, c.* 2.] If the exportation of live ſheep was really ſo conſiderable as to depreſs the price of wool in England, it proves, that there was ſtill more wool exported than was worked up in the home manufactures. The uncontroulable opportunity of ſmuggling ſheep from Calais (which might as well have received carcaſes from the butchers at Dover) was one of the evils attending the poſſeſſion of that poſt.

We find an inſtance of attention to inland navigation in an act enforcing the ordinances formerly made for removing all impediments to the paſſage of boats on the River Lea, whether by abſtraction of the water in ditches, by kidels, wears, or mills. [*c.* 5.]

October 11th—The Lombards traded to Scotland in very large car-

* The quantity of the ſerplaith probably varied in the courſe of ages. In the year 1527 the lords of council in Scotland determined its contents to be eighty ſtones of wool. [*Skene de verb. ſign. in vo.*] Murray in the alphabetical abridgement at the end of his edition of the *Laws of Scotland, vo. Merchant*, explains three ſerplaiths to be 224 ſtones of wool. Qu. if not an error for 240?—In England a ſarpler (apparently the ſame word) was equal to two ſacks and a half in the year 1449, as appears by the act 27 Hen. VI, c. 2, to be noticed in due time.

racks, one of which (' navis immaniſſima') was wrecked near Leith by a ſudden ſtorm with a ſpring tide on the change of the moon *. [*Scotichron. V.* ii, *p.* 487.]

The Flemings, as allies of England, having committed ſeveral hoſtilities againſt the Scots, the allies of France, King James had ordered the ſtaple of the Scottiſh commerce in the Netherlands to be removed to Middleburg in Zeland. About the end of this year the Flemings ſent ambaſſadors to Scotland to ſolicit the return of the trade, which was granted in conſideration of more ample privileges ſtipulated for the Scottiſh merchants in Flanders †. [*Scotichron. ib.*]

The Florentines having acquired the port of Leghorn by purchaſe, were deſirous of participating in the lucrative commerce of Alexandria, then almoſt entirely in the hands of the Venetians. Their firſt ſhip carried ambaſſadors with preſents for the ſultan of Egypt, who granted them permiſſion to eſtabliſh ſettlements in his dominions, with a church, warehouſe, bath, &c. and a conſul, at each, with all the privileges granted to the Venetians ‡. [*Leibnitz, Mantiſſa. Cod. jur. gent. dipl. pars* 2, *p.* 163.—*Roſcoe's Life of Lor. de Medici, V.* 1, *p.* 136.]

1426, February 18th—Formerly one of the aldermen of London uſed to act as a judge in mercantile cauſes, wherein the German merchants of the Hanſe reſiding in England were parties: but for above ſeven years the magiſtrates of London had refuſed to appoint any one of their number to act in that capacity. After repeated applications of the Hanſe merchants to parliament, the king now nominated Alderman Crowmer to the office of alderman and judge of the Hanſe merchants §. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *p.* 351.]

March—The Scottiſh parliament directed the merchants returning from foreign countries to import harneſs (defenſive armour), ſpears, ſhafts, bows, and ſtaves.—They renewed the unavailing law for confining money within the kingdom, and ſubjected foreign merchants, not only to the inſpection of their hoſts, but alſo to the controul of two ſuperviſors in every port.—They ordained, that uniform meaſures of the boll, firlot, half firlot, peck, and gallon, conform to ſtandards kept at Edinburgh, ſhould be uſed throughout the kingdom; that all goods ſold by weight ſhould be weighed by the ſtone, containing fifteen lawful Troye pounds, equal to ſixteen lawful Scottiſh pounds, and that the

* The ſailors of this great ſhip, accuſtomed apparently only to the almoſt-tideleſs Mediterranean ſea, were not aware of the great riſe of the ſpring tides on our Britiſh ſhores, and their ſhip ſeems to have been loſt by dragging her anchors or parting her cables. She was wrecked at Granton about three miles above Leith.

† Bowar mentions, without any date, a pacification between King James and the Hollanders, with ſome circumſtances ſimilar to thoſe of this treaty with the Flemings. [*Scotichron. V.* ii, *p.* 509.] Perhaps he is confuſedly repeating the ſame tranſaction a ſecond time.

‡ A ſpecimen of the ſales of the Florentine woollen manufactures has already been given in the view of the commerce of Venice under the year 1420.

§ In the year 1442 we find the king making a ſimilar nomination of Alderman Frowyk. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 16.]

alderman and bailies of each town ſhould appoint a ſufficient perſon to meaſure coals and other goods ſold by the water mete, with whom the ſellers ſhould not interfere.—Laſtly, they ordered that the acts of this and the two preceding parliaments ſhould be regiſtered, and that the ſhirrefs ſhould uſe the proper means to render them ſufficiently known in every part of the kingdom. [*Acts Jac. I, cc.* 52, 55, 63, 64, 65, 77.]

July 29th—In a treaty between James, king of Scotland, and Eric, king of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, the antient treaties were renewed or confirmed; mutual freedom of trade in the ports formerly frequented, and agreeable to the rights and approved cuſtoms of both kingdoms, was agreed upon; and all damages, tranſgreſſions, and defaults, on both ſides were forgiven and cancelled, the annual rent for the vaſſal kingdom of Mann and the Iſles being ſtill payable to Norway. [*Tract. ap. Fordun, p.* 1353, *ed. Hearne.*]

July 30th—The commanders of ſome Engliſh ſhips, alleging that the Flemings paſſed the goods of Spaniards, Bretons, and other enemies, as their own, had ſeized ſeveral Flemiſh veſſels; and the duke of Burgundy had interpoſed in behalf of his Flemiſh ſubjects. The council of England thereupon promiſed, that juſtice ſhould be done to the Flemings, and ordered the king's ſubjects to abſtain from doing any injury to them. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *pp.* 360, 361, 367.]

1427, March—The parliament of Scotland decreed, that the elne ſhould contain thirty-ſeven inches, agreeable to the law of King David I; and they made ſome alterations on the corn meaſures *, which have repeatedly been altered ſince. [*Acts Jac. I, cc.* 78, 79, 80 †.]

July—They alſo ordained, that cauſes concerning the property of Scottiſh merchants or pilgrims dying in Zeland, Flanders, or other foreign countries ſhould be tried in Scotland before their ordinaries, by whom their wills ſhould be confirmed, though ſome part of the property might be in England or beyond the ſea. [*Acts Jac. I, c.* 99 †.]

October—The parliament of England paſſed an act, whereby all merchants, whether denizens or aliens, were permitted to ſhip wool, hides, wool-fells, and other merchandize, at the port of Melcomb for Calais on paying the due cuſtoms, &c. [*Acts 6 Hen. VI, c.* 6.]

1428 March—The parliament of Scotland permitted merchants for a year enſuing to ſhips their goods in foreign veſſels, where Scottiſh ones were not to be found, notwithſtanding the ſtatute made to the contrary. [*Acts Jac. I, c.* 117.] This law, copied from the Engliſh act of the 6th of Richard II, (as, indeed, almoſt all the Scottiſh laws were copied from

* The meaſures are contradictorily deſcribed in the act by the blunder of the original clerk, the tranſcriber, or printer.

†† There is an error in the numeration of theſe two ſeſſions of parliament, between which another one, belonging to the preceding year, is placed in the editions.

thoſe of England) neceſſarily infers the pre-exiſtence of a Scottiſh *navigation act*, whereof we find no traces in any edition of the acts *.

March, May—Some idea of the progreſſive ſtate of the manufactures of England may be obtained from a compariſon of the articles now ſhipped, without paying cuſtom, for the uſe of the king of Portugal and the counteſs of Holland, with a ſimilar liſt of articles in the year 1393. For the king, 6 ſilver cups, weighing 6 marks each, gilded; 1 piece of ſcarlet cloth; 1 piece ſanguine dyed in grain; 1 piece blood colour; 2 pieces muſtrevilers; 2 pieces of marble colour; 2 pieces of ruſſet muſtrevilers; 2 pieces black cloth of lyre; 1 piece white woollen cloth; 300 pieces Eſſex ſtraits for liveries; 2,000 platters, diſhes, ſawcers, pots, and other veſſels, of electrum †; a number of beds of various kinds and ſizes with curtains, &c.; 60 rolls of worſted; 12 dozen of lances; and 26 ambling horſes. For the counteſs, ſeveral cut quantities of various woollen cloths; 12 yards of red figured ſatin; 2 pieces of white kerſey; 3 mantles of rabbit's fur; 1½ timber of martin's fur; a quantity of rye, whole and ground, in caſks. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *pp.* 391, 398.]

July 1st—The merchants of Holland, Zeland, and Flanders, had for ſome time in a great meaſure given up trading to England in apprehenſion of being arreſted on the complaints of ſome Engliſh ſubjects. The council of England, therefor, ſenſible that commerce was uſeful and neceſſary to all the world, and in compliance with the requeſt of the merchants of England, declared, that all people of Holland, Zeland, and Flanders, coming in a mercantile manner, with proviſions, merchandize, gold, ſilver, coins, ſilver veſſels, jewels, and all other goods whatever, ſhould be freely admitted in the king's dominions to ſell their goods, and purchaſe any other lawful goods in return. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *pp.* 403, 404.]

1429, February 18th—The king's ſubjects of Bayonne in France were prohibited from exacting toll, laſtage, pavage, pontage, or murage, from the citizens of London, the charters of former kings having exempted them from thoſe impoſts. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *p.* 411.]

May 13th—The eſtabliſhment of Bergen in Norway ('Norbarn'), as the ſtaple for the trade in fiſh and other merchandize, by the king of Denmark, was announced by the council, who ſtrictly prohibited the Engliſh ſeamen from going to Finmark, or any other place in the Daniſh dominions than Bergen. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *p.* 416.]

September—The weight called *auncel* being found a means of fraud, it was prohibited ‡; and all cities and burghs were required to provide

* The omiſſion need not ſurpriſe, when we find a ſimilar want of ſome acts of the parliament of England, where the records have been preſerved, probably with more care than in any other country in Europe. See below in the year 1463.

† What kind of ſubſtance or metal is here meant by the name of electrum, I ſuppoſe, it is now impoſſible to tell.

‡ Though the auncel weight, which ſeems to have been ſomething of the nature of a ſteelyard, was

balances and weights made conform to the ſtandard of the exchequer and ſealed, for weighing wool and other merchandize. None but makers of cloth were permitted to buy woollen yarn. [*Acts* 8 *Hen. VI. c.* 5.]

The parliament, obſerving, that many merchants for their own profit carried to Flanders, Holland, Brabant, and other places, the wool and other ſtaple goods of England, which ought all to have been carried to Calais, whereby the payment of the duties was evaded, and the king's mint at Calais was almoſt at a ſtand, ſtrictly prohibited all perſons from carrying any ſuch goods from England, Wales, or Ireland, to any other place than Calais, on penalty of forfeiture of double value and impriſonment for two years. The merchants of Genoa, Venice, Tuſcany, Lombardy, Florence, and Catalonia, were, nevertheleſs ſtill allowed to ſhip wool, &c. for their own countries; and the burgeſſes of Berwick were alſo ſtill allowed to retain their former privileges. [*c.* 17.]

For the profit and wealth of the kingdom it was ordained, that the prices of wool, wool-fells, and tin, ſhould be raiſed;—that they ſhould be ſold only for gold and ſilver;—that three quarters of the price ſhould be carried to the mint at Calais to be coined;—that the merchants ſhould account faithfully to thoſe concerned with them;—and that the ſellers ſhould give ſealed diſcharges to the buyers, and make no colluſive agreements for giving them credit. [*c.* 18.]

The parliament, obſerving that the people of Flanders, Holland, Zeland, and Brabant, in order to avoid carrying wool and other Engliſh merchandize of the ſtaple to Calais, frequently packed them in tuns, pipes, &c. and ſtowed them in their veſſels under wood, wheat rye, &c. (whence the exportation of corn appears to have been pretty common) all ſuch ſmuggling was now prohibited under the penalty of confiſcation of veſſel and cargo, permiſſion being ſtill granted, as formerly, to carry ſuch goods into the Mediterranean*. [*c.* 19.]

The merchants of Calais having lately made a practice of preventing ſtrangers from buying the ſtaple goods from the importers, that they might get them into their own hands, whereby they made great profits, to the prejudice of both parties, the parliament, in their zeal for the welfare of trade, prohibited them from buying any ſtaple goods beyond the ſea, on pain of forfeiture. [*c.* 20.]

The exemption, enjoyed by the men of Newcaſtle and Berwick, from the obligation of carrying their ſtaple goods to Calais, being found pre-

was now prohibited by parliament, it appears to have been ſtill uſed; for we find the clergy in the following year adding their authority to that of the parliament by a canon enjoining the ſuppreſſion of it under the terrible penalty of excommunication. [*Wilkins' Concilia, p.* 516.]

* 'Outre les eſtroites de Marrock.' Though *outre* is written in this act inſtead of *par*, the word uſed in others which have a ſimilar clauſe, there ſeems no reaſon to believe that any place really *beyond* (or to the *ſouthward* of) the Straits could be intended.

judicial to the kingdom, and it being alleged that they imported no money (their proceeds being apparently inveſted in goods wanted at home, and yielding a profit upon importation) they were now ordered to carry their goods to Calais, as other ſubjects of England were obliged to do. Perſons conveying ſtaple goods into Scotland, in order to evade this law, were to be puniſhed by confiſcation of their goods with double value, and a year's impriſonment. [*c.* 21.]

Some regulations againſt fraudulent practices in exporting and packing wool, and againſt ſelling the ends of woollen yarn, called thrums, were now enacted. [*cc.* 22, 23.]

It was uſual with foreign merchants to ſtipulate with the buyers, that the payments ſhould be made in gold, apparently for the convenience of carriage, as the laws ſubjected them to the expenſe and riſk of ſmuggling their money out of the country. The parliament, in order to counteract their purpoſe, ordained that no perſon ſhould be compelled to pay in gold: and they alſo enacted, that no perſon in England ſhould ſell any goods to a foreigner, unleſs for ready money, or goods in exchange immediately delivered. [*c.* 24.]

All theſe fetters upon commerce, impoſed, as the legiſlators ſincerely believed, for advancing the proſperity of it, were like attempts to prevent the rivers from running in their natural courſes.

1430, March—In Scotland the parliament enacted, that no perſons under the rank of knights, or having leſs than 200 marks of yearly income, ſhould wear clothes made of ſilk or adorned with the finer furs. The ſons and heirs of the noble and opulent were allowed to dreſs as fine as their fathers.—In caſe of veſſels being wrecked on the coaſt of Scotland, the preſervation of the property for the owners, or the confiſcation of it to the king, was regulated by the law reſpecting wrecks in the country to which they belonged.—All proprietors of land within ſix miles of the weſt and north coaſts, except thoſe who held their land by the ſervice of finding veſſels, were now ordered to contribute to the building and equipment of gallies for the public ſervic, in the proportion of one oar of the gallies to every four marks worth of land. [*Acts Jac. I, cc.* 133, 138, 140.]

July 12th—The ſuperiority of the Engliſh commerce and manufactures over thoſe of Scotland appears by King James employing two citizens of London to ſhip for his own uſe 20 tuns of wine, 12 bows, 4 dozen yards of cloth of different colours and 12 yards of ſcarlet, 20 yards of red worſted, 8 dozen pewter veſſels, 1,200 wooden bowls (or caps) packed in 4 barrels, 3 dozen coverels, a baſin and font, 2 ſummer ſaddles, 1 hackney ſaddle, and 1 woman's ſaddle with furniture, 2 portmanteaus, 4 yards of motley, 5 yards of morrey, 5 yards of black cloth of lyre, 12 yards of kerſey, 12 ſkins of red leather, and ſome trifling articles. Theſe goods, ſhipped onboard a veſſel belonging to Lon-

don, were ſecured by a royal order from being moleſted by Engliſh cruiſers; but they were to pay the cuſtomary duties *. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *p.* 470.] About this time a great cannon, made for King James in Flanders, and called the Lion †, was carried to Scotland. [*Scotichron, V.* ii, *p.* 490.]

May 19th—The king, or rather the council, borrowed £50,000 for the expenſes of a coronation in France. We find only fifteen cities and towns in the records as lenders, whereof London gave £6,666 : 13 : 4½, Briſtol £333 : 6 : 8, York £162, Coventry £100, Sarum £72, and the others ſmaller ſums, down to £4. Of the clergy, the biſhop of Wincheſter, cardinal of England, ſubſcribed the enormous ſum of £9,950 1ſ, the prior of St. John of Jeruſalem £333 : 6 : 8; and ſeveral others contributed ſmaller ſums. Sir John Cornwall was the only lay individual, whoſe ſubſcription was ſo high as £500. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *p.* 461.]

July 19th—The ſubjects of the crown of England were prohibited from attending any market in Brabant, eſpecially Antwerp, till proper ſteps ſhould be taken for the ſecurity of their perſons and property. They were alſo ordered to purchaſe no linens of Flanders or Hainalt, nor any napery or bokeram made in thoſe countries, except according to the regulations made by the four members of Flanders, and lately proclaimed in Ghent, Bruges, and other places in that country. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *p.* 471.]

November 8th—A truce, to laſt one year from the firſt of May, was concluded with the king of Caſtile, wherein mutual freedom of trade was ſtipulated; and it was agreed, that any depredations committed on either ſide ſhould be puniſhed, and juſtice done to the party injured, by the ſovereign of the offenders, without a breach of the treaty. It was alſo mutually agreed, in order to prevent piracies, that no armed veſſel ſhould be allowed to ſail out of the ports of either kingdom, till ſufficient ſecurity were given, that ſhe ſhould commit no hoſtilities on the ſubjects of the allied king, nor carry any prizes whatever into any port, but that from which ſhe was fitted out. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *p.* 473.]

December 15th—A further truce of five years, reckoning from the 1ſt of May 1431, was concluded between England and Scotland, which is moſtly occupied with expedients for reſtraining the border marauders. The merchants, pilgrims, and fiſhers, of either kingdom were, as in the former truce, not to be ſeized in the ports of the other, if driven in by ſtreſs of weather; and ſhipwrecked men were to be allowed to paſs to their own home. In caſes of piracy not only the princip-

* Though James had been ſo profitable a boarder to King Henry's grandfather, his father, and himſelf, the compliment, uſually paid to foreign princes and prelates, of exempting their goods from cuſtom, was withheld from his moſt dear couſin the king of the Scots ('cariſſimo conſanguineo noſtro Jacobo rege Scotorum').

† Grafton ſays, this Lion was the gun, which burſt and killed King James II at the ſiege of Rokſburgh.

als, but alſo their receivers and encouragers, were made liable for compenſation to the perſons injured, or to puniſhment. It was agreed, that aggreſſions by the ſubjects of either king ſhould not occaſion a breach of the truce. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *p.* 482.] Theſe were all the mutual accommodations afforded to each-other's commerce by the governments of the ſiſter kingdoms.

1431, January 5th—* King James ſoon gave a proof of his ſincerity by acting apparently beyond the ſpirit of the treaty. On the complaint of three Engliſh merchants he iſſued letters empowering all perſons in authority in the ports of England, Holland, Zeland, and Flanders, to arreſt ſeveral of his own ſubjects, therein named, accuſed by thoſe merchants of having, about the end of November 1428, taken two veſſels belonging to them with their cargoes, valued at £1,500, which they conveyed to ſome foreign country in contempt of the former treaty. The king, in his eagerneſs to do juſtice to the injured perſons, deſired, that not only the four principal malefactors particularized by name, but alſo (if there is no error in tranſcribing or printing) any other merchants or mariners of Scotland, ſhould be arreſted at the requeſt of the Engliſh claimants. Surely juſtice did not require that the innocent ſhould ſuffer for the guilty.

At this time Bruges was the ſtaple of the Scottiſh trade in Flanders, which was found ſo beneficial on both ſides, that the merchants of Scotland, authorized by their ſovereign, entered into a treaty with the magiſtrates of Bruges (undoubtedly alſo ſanctioned by their ſovereign the duke of Burgundy) for the continuance of their commercial intercourſe, and for certain privileges to be enjoyed by the Scots at Bruges, during a period of one hundred years†.

January—The law of the 8th year of Henry VI, which prohibited all ſales to foreigners except on the terms of receive and deliver, having produced a ſtagnation in the woollen manufacture of England and a deficiency in the cuſtoms, the Engliſh merchants were now permitted to give credit to foreigners, but not to let it exceed ſix months. [*Act 9 Hen. VI, c.* 2.]

1432, May—Many of the Engliſh merchants complained, that their merchandize was ſeized by the king of Denmark, apparently for violating his laws of the ſtaple. Within a year paſt the merchants of York and Hull had loſt £5,000, and thoſe of other ports of England £20,000, by ſuch ſeizures. As no Daniſh ſubjects traded to England, no repriſals

* King James's letter is dated 5th January 1430 (that is 1431 reckoning the 1st of January the begining of the year), and the twenty-ſixth of his reign. The twenty-fifth year did not expire till 5th April 1431. But the correſponding date in King Henry's order to his own ſubjects ſhows that 1431 is right, and *ſexto* printed inſtead of *quinto*.

† This treaty is known from the mention of the expiration of it in a treaty for renewing it for another term of one hundred years, dated at Bruſſels 24th July 1531. [*MS. Bib. Harl.* 4637 *V.* iii.] It is alſo mentioned in ſeveral letters of the year 1531 (as appears by their contents, for the year is omitted in the date of every one of them) preſerved in the Cotton library.

could be made within the kingdom; and the king and parliament ordered, that letters ſhould be ſent to the king of Denmark, requiring reſtitution of the property. [*Acts* 10 *Hen. VI, c.* 3.]

The commons in parliament propoſed (or petitioned) that the Hanſe merchants ſettled in London ſhould be made liable for compenſation to thoſe whoſe property ſhould be ſeized by the Hanſe merchants in their own countries. But the king would not conſent. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 604.]

1433, July 10th—The ſilverſmiths and gilders of England ſtill retained their ſuperiority of workmanſhip, as appears by a pretty conſiderable number of articles, partly of plain ſilver, and partly gilded, exported to France and Navarre. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *p.* 553.]

July—The parliament prohibited the uſual practice of accounting nine, inſtead of eight, buſhels of corn to a quarter.—They alſo ordained, that no woollen cloth ſhould be offered to ſale without being meaſured and ſealed by the king's meaſurer. They moreover ordained, that only broad cloths ſhould be ſubject to the regulations of the ſeventh of Henry IV, and that the cloths called *ſtraits* might be made only 12 elns in length and one in breadth. [*Acts* 11 *Hen. VI, cc.* 8, 9.]

November 21ſt—The citizens of Barcelona claim the honour of having made ordinances for regulating the important buſineſs of maritime inſurance before any other community in Europe. The counſelors and chief men of the city now ordained, that no veſſel ſhould be inſured for more than three quarters of her real aſcertained value; that no merchandize belonging to foreigners ſhould be inſured in Barcelona, unleſs it were freighted onboard a veſſel belonging to a ſubject of the king of Aragon. Merchandize belonging to ſubjects of Aragon, freighted in foreign veſſels, ſhould be inſured only to the extent of half the real value: and no merchandize whatever, except corn and wine, ſhould be inſured for more than three quarters. The words *value more or leſs*, and the like, ſometimes inſerted in policies ('ſeguretats'), were declared unlawful, and prohibited. If a veſſel were not heard of for ſix months, ſhe ſhould be conſidered as certainly loſt. The inſurance-broker's commiſſion ſhould not exceed two ſhillings on the hundred pounds, to be paid by the party inſured; and no broker, nearly related to, or connected by marriage with, either of the contracting parties, ſhould be employed to negotiate an inſurance. [*Orden. ap. Capmany, Mem. hiſt. de Barcelona, V.* ii, *p.* 383.]

1434—It may appear ridiculous to introduce religious pilgrimages as ſubjects of commercial hiſtory. But as great ſums of money were exported and imported by means of thoſe ſuppoſed acts of devotion, they ſeem to merit ſome notice. A pilgrimage to the Holy land, being an arduous and expenſive undertaking, was now only performed upon very extraordinary occaſions: but a ſummer trip to Compoſtella in Spain

was merely a pleaſure ſail, eſpecially from the ſouthern ports of England. At this time the rage for viſiting the ſhrine of S^t. James of Compoſtella, which became very prevalent about the year 1428, had got to ſuch a height, that permits were granted by the king for carrying ſixty-three cargoes of pilgrims, conſiſting of above three thouſand perſons, with the money neceſſary for their charges and their devotional offerings; for the ſaint was very fond of money. It may be here noted, in order to make an end of this tranſport trade, that, on a new rage for S^t. James breaking out again in 1445, the ſhip-owners, who apparently found the trade profitable, fitted out larger veſſels than formerly, ſome of them being capable of carrying 200 pilgrims*. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *pp.* 386, 396, 401, 407, 567-582; *V.* xi, *pp.* 77, 78.] The balance of this commerce of ſuperſtition is, however, ſuppoſed to have been in favour of England, owing to the great veneration in which S^t. Thomas of Canterbury was held by foreigners, whoſe offerings at his ſhrine, it is believed, amounted to more than all that was carried abroad by the Engliſh pilgrims. Thus it may have ſometimes happened, that he, who was a peſt to his country while alive, might be of ſome ſervice to it when dead. But the pecuniary advantage, derived from an exchange of idlers for idlers, was a miſerable compenſation for the perverſion of the purſuits of ſo great a number of people from uſeful induſtry.

1435, June 26^th.—The law, enacted in Scotland in the year 1424, whereby thoſe mines of lead, which were rich in ſilver, became the property of the crown, apparently put ſuch a check upon the operations of mining, that King James, having occaſion for thirty fodders of lead, was obliged to purchaſe it in the biſhoprick of Durham. The council of England permitted it to be carried either by land or water, on paying the uſual cuſtoms. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *p.* 615.]

1436, April 18^th.—Though the duke of Burgundy had withdrawn his ſupport from King Henry, the people born in his dominions, ſettled in England, were not moleſted by government † on that account, provided they acted as good ſubjects; whereupon 1738 aliens, among whom were many born in Holland, Germany, &c. as well as thoſe born in Flanders, took the oath of allegiance, and obtained letters of protection. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *pp.* 636, 637.]

September 8^th.—In conſequence of the defection of the duke of Burgundy an order had been iſſued, that no Engliſhman ſhould ſail to any foreign country, and particularly Flanders, without a ſpecial licence: and the merchants of neutral nations had availed themſelves of the prohibition, and imported linen cloth (' pannum lineum'), madder, &c.

* In the year 1434 moſt of the veſſels carried about 60 pilgrims. The ſmalleſt cargo was 24; and the Mary of Southampton was the only veſſel which carried 100. Only two veſſels ſailed from London in this tranſport trade with cargoes of 80 and 60. Moſt of the veſſels carried two cargoes in the ſeaſon.

† In the firſt tranſport of the fury, excited by the defection of the duke, ſome of his ſubjects reſiding in London were plundered and murdered by the populace. [*Monſtrelet, f.* 120.]

But the king's council, determined to cut off all communication or intercourſe, forbad all foreigners to import any goods whatever from Flanders. The orders were addreſſed to the warden of the Cinque ports, to the ſhirrefs of London, and to the mayors and bailifs of Kingſton upon Hull, Southampton, Chicheſter, Briſtol, Lynne, Orwell, Boſton, Yarmouth, Colcheſter, and Pool.

October—The parliament of Scotland enacted, that the exporters of wool ſhould give ſecurity to bring home, and deliver to the maſter of the mint, three ounces of bullion for every ſack of wool, nine ounces for a laſt of hides, and three ounces for ſuch quantity of any other goods as paid freight equal to a ſerplaith *.—No perſon was allowed to purchaſe Engliſh cloth or other goods from Engliſhmen; and Engliſhmen, having permiſſion to enter Scotland, were not permitted to carry any goods with them, unleſs ſpecified in their ſafe-conducts.—The Scots were prohibited from ſelling ſalmon to Engliſhmen by previous contract, and were directed either to ſell them in Scotland for preſent payment in gold, or to export them to Flanders, or any other foreign country except England.—They were alſo prohibited from buying wine in Scotland imported by the Flemings of the Dam. [*Acts Jac. I, cc.* 160, 162, 163, 164.]

William Elphinſton, who is reputed the founder of the commerce of Glaſgow, flouriſhed in the reign of James I †. His trade is ſuppoſed to have conſiſted in exporting pickled ſalmon. [*Gibſon's Hiſt. of Glaſgow, p.* 203.]

1437, January—As the law ſtood in England, no corn could be exported without a ſpecial licence from the king, whereby the prices of corn were ſometimes kept rather under their fair value. For relief to the farmers, it was now enacted, that all perſons, without applying for licence, might ſhip corn for any country in friendſhip with the king, whenever wheat ſhould not exceed 6/8, and barley 3/, per quarter. [*Acts* 15 *Hen. VI, c.* 2.]

The Engliſh merchants were ſo much offended at being prohibited from ſailing to Iceland, that they got a petition preſented in parliament, praying the abolition of the privileges of the Eaſterlings (or Hanſe

* This law, beſides the impolicy of preventing the merchants from bringing home ſuch goods as their own judgement and intereſt might direct, regulated the delivery of the ſilver by the ſcale of the freight, that is, by weight or meaſure, and not by value.

† Gibſon dates the commencement of Elphinſton's trade in the year 1420. But that ſeems too early, as he lived till the year 1486, being then indeed an aged man, as his ſon, the founder of the univerſity of Aberdeen, who was born in 1437, was a biſhop ſome years before his death. [*Crawfurd's Officers, p.* 47.] Macure, the earlier hiſtorian of Glaſgow, [*p.* 115] ſays, the next conſiderable merchant in Glaſgow was Archibald Lyon, who traded to Poland, France, and Holland, with great ſucceſs. The notions of dignity in Scotland, we may well preſume, were then at leaſt as ſtrongly infected with feudal pride, as they have been in later times, and are in ſome degree in the preſent day. It was therefor a proof of great heroiſm in Elphinſton and Lyon, both born of honourable families afterwards ennobled, that they ſurmounted the ſilly prejudices of education, and dared to be uſeful to the community and themſelves.

merchants) in England. But the king would not agree to it. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 616.]

March 22[d]—The commiſſioners of King Henry ſettled a treaty with thoſe of the grand maſter of Pruſſia, the cities of Lubeck and Hamburgh, and the Hanſe towns, whereby the antient privileges were confirmed on both ſides. The merchants of Pruſſia and the Hanſe towns were exempted from the juriſdiction of the admiral of England, and were indulged with an option of having any cauſes, wherein they ſhould be concerned, tried with diſpatch, and without the buſtle and formality of a law-ſuit, by two or more judges to be appointed by the king: and a ſimilar mode of trial was ſtipulated for the cauſes of Engliſh merchants in their countries. There being ſtill 19,274½ Engliſh nobles unpaid of the ſum ſettled in the reign of Henry IV as due to the Pruſſians, (ſee above, p. 623) it was agreed that King Henry ſhould pay it off by annual inſtallments and aſſignments of the cuſtoms upon their goods. It was ſtipulated on both ſides, that in caſe of any depredation at ſea, the inhabitants of the port, from which the piratical veſſel ſailed, ſhould be obliged to make compenſation, agreeable to an ordinance of King Edward, and that ſufficient ſecurity to that effect ſhould be given before any armed veſſel ſhould go out of port. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *p.* 666.]

A politico-commercial poem, called *the Libell of Engliſh policie*, written about this time*, gives the following view of the commerce of Europe.

The exports of *Spain* conſiſted of figs, raiſins, baſtard wine, dates, liquorice, Seville oil, grain, Caſtile ſoap, wax, iron, wool, wadmole, ſkins of goats and kids, ſaffron, and quickſilver, which were all ſhipped for Bruges, the great Flemiſh emporium. Of theſe wool was the chief article. In return the Spaniards received fine cloth of Ypres, which is noted as ſuperior to that of England, cloth of Curtrike (or Courtray), much fuſtian, and linen †.—The Flemings could not make good cloth of the Spaniſh wool by itſelf, and were obliged to mix it with the Engliſh, which was the chief ſupport of their manufacture, and without which, indeed, they could not poſſibly carry it on, or ſupport their numerous population, their country not producing food ſufficient for one month in the year.

With *Portugal* the Engliſh had conſiderable intercourſe, and uſed to make voyages to it. The commodities were wine, oſay, wax, grain, figs, raiſins, honey, cordovan, dates, ſalt, hides, &c.

* The poem mentions the precipitate retreat of the Flemings from Calais, which was in July 1436, and the loſs of Harflew, which Hakluyt has dated in his margin in 1449. But if he has rightly given the author's text, where he ſays, the emperor Sigiſmund '*yet reigneth*' (for in the Harleian manuſcript it is written '*reigned*') that loſs of Harflew muſt be the capture of it by the French in 1432; and the poem muſt have been written in the later end of 1436 or in 1437, in which year Sigiſmund died.

† It is neceſſary to remember that Spain at this time contained ſeveral kingdoms, often at war among themſelves. The trade here deſcribed is apparently that of Caſtile. Catalonia poſſeſſed flouriſhing manufactures in wool, cotton, linen, ſilk, &c.

Bretagne exported ſalt, wine, creſt cloth, and canvaſs. The Bretons, eſpecially thoſe of S^t^. Malo, were much addicted to piracy, and cared very little for the authority of their duke. They often plundered the eaſt coaſts of England, and levied contributions, or ranſoms, from the towns.

The exports of *Scotland* conſiſted of wool, wool-fells and hides. The Scottiſh wool, mixed with Engliſh, was made into cloth at Popering and Bell, manufacturing towns in Flanders. The Scottiſh veſſels carried home from Flanders mercery, haberdaſhery ware, and even cart-wheels and barrows.

The exports of *Pruſſia* were beer, bacon, oſmunds, copper, ſteel, bow-ſtaves, wax, peltry, pitch, tar, boards, flax, thread of Cologne, fuſtian, canvaſs, cards, buckram, and alſo ſilver purchaſed from Bohemia and Hungary. The returns from Flanders were woollen cloths of all colours. And many of the Pruſſians uſed to ſail to the Bay of Biſcay for ſalt.

The *Genoeſe*, in great carracks, imported into England cloth of gold, ſilk, black pepper, woad in great plenty, wool, oil, wood-aſhes, cotton, roche-alum, and gold for paying their balances. They took in return wool, and woollen cloth of all colours, which they ſometimes carried to Flanders, where the chief ſtaple of their trade was.

The *Venetians* and *Florentines* imported into England, in large gallies, all kinds of ſpiceries and groceries, ſweet wines, apes and other foreign animals, and many trifling articles of luxury. In return they received wool, cloth, and tin. The balance appears to have been in their favour; for the author is much diſpleaſed, that

> ‘ Thei bere the gold out of this lond,
> ‘ And sowketh the thrifte out of our hond,
> ‘ As the waspe sowketh hony of the bé.’

The Venetians were alſo dealers in exchange and lending money at intereſt, which they found ſo profitable, that, when they bought the Engliſh wool on credit, they did not mind ſelling it at Bruges five per cent under the coſt, in order to have the command of the money for lending, till it ſhould fall due. They alſo uſed to travel to Cotſwold and other parts of England to buy up the wool, cloth, tin, &c. Thereupon the author regrets, that they were not compelled to unload in forty days, and to load in other forty, nor obliged to act under the controul of an hoſt or landlord-broker, as formerly, and as the Engliſh at Venice were obliged to do *.

In the marts or fairs of *Brabant* the Engliſh (and probably other foreigners alſo) were obliged to ſell their cloths, &c. in fourteen days, and make their purchaſes, conſiſting chiefly of mercery, haberdaſhery, and groceries, in as many more, on pain of forfeiture. Thoſe fairs were frequented by the Engliſh, French, Dutch (or Germans), Lombards,

* Qu. Is there any earlier notice, equally authentic, of Engliſhmen *trading* to Venice.

Genoeſe, Catalonians, Spaniards, Scots, and Iriſh. The author affirms, that the Engliſh bought more in the marts of Brabant, Flanders, and Zeland, than *all* other nations.

Brabant and *Zeland* exported madder, woad, garlick, onions, and ſalt fiſh. The *Hollanders* bought the Engliſh wool and wool-fells at Calais. In the marts of Brabant were alſo ſold the merchandize of Hainault, France, Burgundy, Cologne, and Cambray, which were brought in carts over land.

The exports of *Ireland* were hides, wool, ſalmon, hake, herrings, linen, falding, and the ſkins of martins, harts, otters, ſquirrels, hares, rabbits, ſheep, lambs, foxes, and kids. Some gold ore had lately been brought from Ireland to London. The abundant fertility and excellent harbours of Ireland are noted by the author, who laments that the iſland was not made more profitable to England by a complete conqueſt.

The trade to *Iceland* for ſtock-fiſh, hitherto almoſt confined to Scarburgh, had for about twelve years paſt been taken up in Briſtol and other ports, and ſeems at this time to have been overdone, as the veſſels could not obtain full freights.

The main intent of the author was to exhort his countrymen to maintain the command of the ſea, 'which of England is the towne wall,' and eſpecially of the ſtrait between Dover and Calais, whereby they might eaſily intercept the ſhipping of any of the above-mentioned nations, who all made Flanders the ſtation of their trade, and thereby compell the Flemings (who at this time were hoſtile in conſequence of the reconciliation of their ſovereign, the duke of Burgundy, to the king of France) to ſee their own intereſt in amity with England *.

It will not be deemed foreign from our ſubject to give the character of the Engliſh noblemen about this time, as drawn by Poggio, an Italian, who reſided ſome time in England with the cardinal-biſhop of Wincheſter.—'The nobles of England think themſelves above reſiding in 'cities. They live retired in the country among woods and paſtures. 'He who has the greateſt revenue is moſt reſpected. They attend to 'country buſineſs, and ſell their wool and cattle, not thinking it any 'diſparagement to engage in rural induſtry †.' [*Poggii Opera, p.* 69.]

1438, March 10th—It appears that ſome Engliſh merchants imported goods from the Mediterranean on their own account; and at this time there was at leaſt one inſtance of ſhipping them in foreign veſſels by reaſon of the war with Flanders, as we learn from the circumſtance of a fraud being committed by the commander of a Venetian carrack, who, inſtead of proceeding to England according to contract, put into Liſbon, where he contrived to embezzle the goods. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *p.* 751.]

* The extract here given is taken from Hakluyt [*V.* i, *pp.* 187-208] corrected by a manuſcript n°. 4011 in the Harleian library.

† The attention of the upper ranks in England to agricultural purſuits, the moſt valuable part of the character here delineated, is happily reviving in the preſent day.

March 21st—An agent of the king of Portugal was licenced to ſhip ſixty ſacks of Cotſwold wool, *without paying any cuſtom*, for Florence, in order to procure ſtuffs of gold and ſilk for the uſe of that king. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *p.* 684.]

March 31st—Soon after the acceſſion of James II, king of Scotland, the truce between the Britiſh kingdoms was prolonged till the 1st of May 1447. In addition to the ſtipulations againſt ſeizing veſſels driven into port, or hindering ſhipwrecked men from returning home, it was now agreed, that, if any veſſel belonging to either kingdom were carried by an enemy into a port of the other kingdom, no ſale of the veſſel or cargo ſhould be permitted without the conſent of the original owners;—that no veſſel driven into any port ſhould be liable to arreſt for any debt of the king, or of any other perſon *, but all creditors ſhould have ſafe-conducts in order to ſue for and recover their debts with lawful damages and intereſt;—that in caſes of ſhipwreck the property ſhould be preſerved, and delivered to the owners;—that goods, landed for the purpoſe of repairing a ſhip, might be reloaded in the ſame or a different veſſel, without paying any cuſtoms, except for ſuch as might be ſold;—that no wool or wool-fells ſhould be carried from the one kingdom to the other, either by land or by water;—veſſels of either kingdom, putting into the ports of the other in want of proviſions, might ſell ſome goods for that purpoſe, without being liable to pay cuſtoms for the reſt of the cargo.—In caſes of depredation not only the principals, but alſo the receivers and encouragers, and even the communities of the towns in which the plundered goods were received, were made liable for compenſation to the ſufferers, who might ſue for redreſs before the conſervators of the truce or the wardens of the marches.—No acts of individuals ſhould be allowed to produce an infraction of this truce. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *p.* 688.]

November 21st—We have already ſeen ſeveral unqueſtionable proofs of the wool of England being ſuperior to that of Spain. A further, and a moſt authentic, evidence of its ſuperiority appears in a body of laws, drawn up at this time by the municipal magiſtrates of Barcelona, for the expreſs purpoſe of regulating *the manufacture of cloths made of fine Engliſh wool* (' *lanes fines de Anglaterra*') and other fine wools. The firſt ſection (exactly like the ordinance in the patent given to the weavers of London by King Henry II) prohibits the mixture of any other wool with the Engliſh. The other ſections, to the number of thirty in all, are entirely filled with precautions for preſerving the purity of the wool in ſpinning and through the other ſtages of the manufacture, and againſt debaſing the fabric, rules for the inſpection of the finiſhed goods and for aſcertaining the quality by known authorized marks. [*Capmany, Mem. hiſt. de Barcelona, V.* ii, *Col. dipl. p.* 427.]

* This article ſeems intended to provide a remedy againſt the ſuperabundant zeal for compenſation lately manifeſted by King James I.

As belonging to the ſame ſubject, I will here add, that in March 1441 the municipal magiſtrates of Barcelona wrote to their agent in Bruges to purchaſe four hundred quintals of the fineſt Engliſh wool to be ſhipped at Southampton or London, to endeavour to get it weighed by the London weight, which was above five per cent heavier than that he had formerly bought by, and to buy it ten per cent lower than the laſt parcel (but how could he do that and get the fineſt wool?) and moreover to ſtipulate, in order to guard againſt deception, that the wool ſhould be at the riſk of the ſeller till landed in Barcelona. [*Capmany, V.* ii, *Col. dipl. p.* 241.] The Engliſh wool was ſometimes ſent back to its native country in the form of manufactured cloth; as appears from a record, ſtill preſerved in the archives of Barcelona, which informs us that 250 ſacks of fine Engliſh wool, weighing eight arobas (about two hundredweight) each, imported by a Barcelona galley returned from England, were diſtributed about this time to different manufacturers, in order to be made into cloth to be ſent to England. [*Capmany, V.* i, *Com. p.* 144.]

We thus ſee that the Engliſh had not yet attained the art of making the *fineſt* woollen cloths, that Ypres was not the only place which excelled England in the manufacture, (ſee above, p. 651) and that the fineſt cloths of Catalonia were in demand in England, long after Engliſh cloths had become a conſiderable article of exportation. On the other hand, we find (from *Capmany, V.* i, *Com. p.* 242) that ſome of the Engliſh fabrics, and thoſe of Florence, were afterwards thought worthy of imitation by the manufacturers of Barcelona, as ſome of thoſe of Rheims, Flanders, and even Ireland, were before this time. We ſhall ſoon ſee the ſubjects of Aragon, whoſe principal errand to England was the purchaſe of wool, treated with peculiar favour in this country.

We have already ſeen that Caſtile, the principal kingdom in Spain, obtained a large flock of fine-wooled ſheep from England, in the reign, and apparently by the act, of that very king, Edward III, who has generally obtained the praiſe of being the great preſerver of the wool, and founder of the woollen manufactures, of England. In proceſs of time, the exportation of wool having never been prohibited by the government of Spain, that country, by unremitting attention to the royal flock, has acquired the reputation and the eſtabliſhed market for the fineſt wool in Europe: and the Spaniards now receive their own wool from England, made into cloth. What a wonderful change in the ſtate of the commercial intercourſe between the two countries in the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries!

1439, February—The crops of corn, eſpecially wheat and rye, having been very deficient in England, while they were more abundant in the Daniſh dominions and the Eaſt country, Robert Chapman a merchant of York, being furniſhed with a letter from King Henry to the king of Denmark, ſailed to that country for a cargo of grain. Sir Stephen Browne, mayor of London, alſo imported ſeveral cargoes of rye from

Pruſſia, which gave great relief. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *p.* 717.—*Stow's Survey of London, p.* 937.]

November—The parliament, conſidering that butter and cheeſe could neither bear long keeping nor heavy expenſes, permitted them to be exported, without any ſpecial licence, to other places as well as to Calais. [*Acts* 18 *Hen. VI, c.* 3.] The parliament muſt undoubtedly have thought that ſome good effects aroſe from the ſyſtem of impoſing the hardſhips of long keeping and heavy expenſes on wool, hides, tin, &c.

The parliament now prohibited merchant ſtrangers from buying and ſelling with each other in England. They alſo enforced the law obliging them to live under the ſurvey of hoſts, who were to be ſufficient Engliſhmen, experienced in buſineſs, but not concerned in the branch which their gueſts were engaged in, and to be appointed by the magiſtrates of the towns wherein the ſtrangers tranſacted their buſineſs. The merchant ſtrangers were obliged to do all their buſineſs of buying or ſelling, landing or ſhipping, under the inſpection of their hoſts, and to make ſale, within eight months after their arrival, of all goods imported by them, except cloth of gold and of ſilver, or of ſilk. They were bound to lay out all the proceeds of their ſales in Engliſh goods. The hoſts were required to lodge in the exchequer twice a-year atteſted accounts of all the tranſactions of their gueſts in buying and ſelling; and they were entitled to two pennies out of every twenty ſhillings of goods bought and ſold. [*c.* 4.]

An abuſe had crept in of meaſuring cloths, not by the yard and full inch, but by the yard and full hand, which the buyers alleged to be the meaſure of London, and thereby got 2 yards in every cloth of 24 yards. It was now enacted, that one inch only ſhould be allowed in addition to the yard. [*c.* 16.]

The parliament, conſidering that oil and honey were not by law liable to be gauged *, ordered that they ſhould be gauged as well as wine, and that the buyer ſhould have allowance for any deficiency of the ſtandard meaſure of 252 gallons in the tun, and in proportion in the pipe and tertian or tierce. [*c.* 17.]

The commons propoſed in parliament, that the Italians and others living within the Straits of Morocco ſhould not be permitted to import into England any other merchandize than the produce of their own countries †. They alſo deſired, that all ſpiceries, ſold in the out-ports by merchant ſtrangers, ſhould be as clear garbled as in London. But both propoſitions were rejected by the king. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 626.]

1440, February 2[d]—King Henry addreſſed an expoſtulatory letter to

* If the parliament had looked back to the act 4 Rich. II, c. 1, they would have ſeen, that oil and honey were already on the ſame footing with wine in reſpect to gauging. That overſight was one of the innumerable evils, to which the art of printing has applied a remedy.

† The reader will perceive that a principal part of the famous navigation act was propoſed by the merchants in the year 1439.

the grand maſter of Pruſſia, ſtating, that in former times no duties were exacted for veſſels or cargoes in Pruſſia, but of late the merchants of England had been often compelled to pay a duty upon the value of their veſſels and cargoes in Dantzik, and been oppreſſed with other arbitrary exactions, detention of their veſſels, &c. Some Engliſh merchants having complained of being wrongouſly impriſoned and plundered in the towns of Stetin and Coſſelyn, the king wrote alſo to the burgomaſters, proconſuls, &c. of the Hanſe towns, demanding redreſs. [*Fœdera*, *V.* x, *pp.* 753-755.]

February 8th—A more productive method of making ſalt was now introduced in England: and, for the advancement of that manufacture, John of Schiedam, a native of Zeland, was encouraged to bring over from Holland and Zeland a number of people, not exceeding ſixty, who were taken under the king's protection. [*Fœdera*, *V.* x, *p.* 761.]

February 26th—After the reſtriction of the foreign trade of Norway, &c. to the one port of Bergen by the king of Denmark, we find ſeveral licences granted by King Henry to the two biſhops of Iceland for ſending Engliſh veſſels to that iſland on various pretences*, which ſeem to have been ſchemes of colluſion between the biſhops and the owners of the veſſels for carrying on illicit trade, though that was oſtenſibly guarded againſt in the licences. However, one now granted to the biſhop of Skalholt authorizes him to load *two* veſſels with 200 quarters of corn, and with other proviſions, and cloth, for Iceland, which the king was told, poſſeſſed neither cloth, wine, ale, corn, nor ſalt, and to reload them with the produce of the iſland. [*Fœdera*, *V.* x, *pp.* 645, 659, 682, 711, 762.]

June 17th—The manufactures and commerce of the Netherlands being almoſt ruined by the war with England, the ducheſs of Burgundy wrote to King Henry, to whom ſhe was nearly related †, earneſtly entreating that he would renew the friendly intercourſe, which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the two countries. Commiſſioners were accordingly appointed on both ſides, and a truce of three years was concluded with the people of Brabant, Flanders, and Mechlin, whereby they were again admitted to commercial intercourſe with all the king's ſubjects on both ſides of the ſea. The hoſtilities committed before the declaration of war were conſidered as piracies, and commiſſioners were appointed to aſcertain the compenſations due on both ſides, who found the Flemings indebted to the Engliſh on that account 32,000 riders, each of the value of four ſhillings of Flemiſh money ‡; and for that ſum the four members of Flanders gave their obligations. [*Fœdera*, *V.* x, *pp.* 730, 761, 791.]

* One was, that the new-appointed biſhop of Hola, an Engliſhman, was afraid to go ſo far, and therefor employed the maſter of an Engliſh veſſel to inſpect his biſhoprick as deputy biſhop. Both biſhops were connected with John Weſton a ſtock-fiſhmonger in London.

† This active pacific princeſs was grand-daughter of John duke of Lancaſter and ſiſter of Don Henry, the prince of diſcoverers.

‡ The Flemiſh rider was worth 3/4 of Engliſh money, as appears from an act of the parliament of Scotland in the year 1451.

October 13th—In a treaty between King Henry and the duke of Bretagne a mutual freedom of commercial intercourſe between the ſubjects of both was ſtipulated: and, in order to guard againſt piratical depredations at ſea, the commanders of all veſſels, fitted out in the ports of either country, were obliged to find ſecurity before their departure, that they ſhould not commit any depredations on the ſubjects of the other, and judges were to be appointed in each port, who, without the formalities of law, ſhould do ſummary juſtice upon the offenders and their ſecurities, or, failing them, upon the inhabitants of the place. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *p.* 803.] Such ſecurities for the peaceable conduct of veſſels upon the ſea were now become ſo common, that it will henceforth ſcarcely be neceſſary to mention them.

October 28th—The duke of Orleans, after a captivity of twenty-five years in England, agreed to pay 100,000 nobles for his ranſom, whereof he paid 40,000 in hand, advanced to him by four Florentine merchants in London. Having repreſented to King Henry, that he never ſhould be able to pay up the remaining 60,000, unleſs his vaſſals had the liberty of trading to the dominions of England, the king granted licences to a great number of them to import wine, iron, ſalt, linen cloths (' toilles'), and other merchandize, from any place in the obedience of his adverſary of France, in veſſels not exceeding 200 tuns burthen nor carrying above 20 men, or in carts, &c. to his dominions on either ſide of the water, they paying the uſual cuſtoms, &c. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *pp.* 777, 783, 812-826.]

Pliny obſerves that paper confers immortality upon the works of man. That beautiful and juſt eulogium may with ſtill more propriety be applied to the art of printing, which beſtows ſurer immortality, together with univerſal circulation, upon all works worthy of preſervation; which, by rendering books cheap, has brought knowlege within the reach of all mankind, and has done a thouſand times more than the lectures of all the philoſophers of antiquity in diſpelling the thick miſt of ignorance, diffuſing the lights of learning and ſcience, and enlarging the powers of the mind. This moſt valuable art appears to have been invented about this time: and the honour of the invention has been very keenly conteſted by the partizans of Gutenburg, Fuſt, and Laurence. Gutenburg is ſaid to have printed at Straſburg in the year 1440, and afterwards at Mentz, his native city, where he aſſumed John Fuſt as a partner. According to others, Fuſt was the original inventor. And John Laurence of Harlem is alſo ſaid to have invented the art ſome years before this time *. The firſt rude eſſays were made with wooden

* Gutenburg has the moſt numerous, and the moſt antient, evidences in favour of his priority of invention. In honour of him, the invention has been commemorated by a jubilee held in the fortieth year of every ſucceeding century: and the firſt types, rudely cut in wood, among which there are ſome containing whole words, (ſo that the modern logography is no new invention) are ſtill preſerved in that city along with ſome impreſſions of the firſt printing, which exhibit the imperfection

blocks containing the whole letters of a page in one piece: and this kind of printing is apparently of very high antiquity among the Chineſe, who ſtill uſe no other. Moveable types of lead, tin, &c. were very ſoon ſubſtituted: and the various improvements upon the manufacture and management of them in a very ſhort time brought printing to a conſiderable degree of perfection.

1441—A furious war broke out in the year 1438 between Holland and Zeland on the one ſide, and the cities of Lubeck, Hamburgh, Lunenburg, Wiſmar, Roſtock, and thoſe of the Sound, aſſiſted by the Venetians, Spaniards, and Pruſſians, on the other; and the Netherlanders ſuffered very much from the frequent captures made by their enemies. In vain the duke of Burgundy endeavoured to accommodate matters by a convention of deputies. The claim of his ſubjects for compenſation, amounting to 50,000 florins of gold, was haughtily received by the Eſterlings, and the meeting broke up with mutual defiance. The Hollanders and Zelanders, with the conſent of the duke, immediately built a number of ſtout ſhips (but not equal in ſize to thoſe of the Eſterlings) at Harlem, Amſterdam, Horne, Enkhuyſen, Dort, Gouda, Roterdam, Middelburg, Vere, Fluſhing, Armuyden, Ziriczee, and ſome other towns, and ſent them out, well armed and manned, againſt their enemies. Theſe cruiſers took twenty large hulks, three carracks from Pruſſia, and a great Venetian carrack loaded with all ſorts of goods, by which the damages of the Netherlanders were compenſated. At laſt a truce of ten years, concluded with Lubeck and five other principal cities, terminated, or ſuſpended, this war of commercial rivalry. [*Petit, Chron. de Hollande, p.* 399.]

1442, January 26th—It was apparently in order to avoid the hardſhips impoſed upon foreign merchants by the late law, that Jeronimo Dandulo of Venice and his ſon Marino paid forty marks for a licence, whereby the king made them denizens of England, and inveſted them with all the privileges of native ſubjects *, and leave to export wool, tin, and cloth, without being obliged to carry them to Calais, paying in that caſe the duties paid by aliens. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 2.]

January—The parliament enacted, that denizen merchants, having the king's licence to export wool, wool-fells, and tin, to any other place than the ſtaple at Calais, ſhould pay the ſame duties, which aliens paid upon ſuch goods. [*Acts* 20 *Hen. VI, c.* 4.]

It had become uſual for the officers of the cuſtoms to employ, as their clerks or deputies, perſons who were owners of ſhips, engaged in trade, occupiers of wharfs and quays, tavern-keepers, brokers, &c. where-

tion of an art in its infancy. [*Schepflin, in Mem. de l'acad. V.* xvii, *p.* 762.] The advocates for Fuſt and Laurence are equally ſatisfied in the juſtneſs of their claims to the honour of the invention. The conteſt will never be decided. Perhaps each of them invented ſome improvement. As for printing figures upon blocks, there can be no doubt, that it is at leaſt as old as the year 1423.

* The king ſays, they ſhall be *natives* ('indigenæ'); and that word continued for ſome time to be uſed inſtead of denizen.

by the regular merchants were hindered in their buſineſs, and many frauds were committed. It was therefor enacted, that no perſon concerned in ſuch branches of buſineſs ſhould have any employment whatever in the cuſtoms. [*c.* 5.]

It being repreſented, that the worſted goods of Norwich and Norfolk were unfairly made, and had loſt their reputation in foreign markets, the parliament directed that ſix wardens ſhould be annually choſen to inſpect the ſufficiency and uniformity of the fabric, and the due meaſure of the goods *, and to ſeize all found defective †. [*c.* 10.]

The legal reſtraints put upon the wool trade at Calais were found to have very much reduced the ſales, to the great injury of the king's revenue, of the merchants and mariners of England, and of the country in general. The laws reſpecting the bullion were alſo attended with the bad conſequence of producing retaliating laws in other countries, which it is wonderful that the parliament did not foreſee. It was now decreed, that merchants might ſell their wool at Calais under the rules of the ſtaple, whenever they ſhould think proper. But ſtill they were ordered to carry a third part of the price to the mint at Calais, to be coined, and to bring the coined money into England. [*c.* 12.]

1443, January 18th—King Henry, deſirous of conciliating the favour of the king of Aragon, granted all the Aragoneſe trading to England an exemption from the late act of parliament, obliging merchants to tranſact their buſineſs under the inſpection of hoſts. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xi, *p.* 18.]

June 25th—The water formerly brought to London from Tyburn (*ſee above*, *p.* 389) being found inſufficient in the year 1439 for the increaſed population of the city ‡, the magiſtrates obtained from the abbat of Weſtminſter a perpetual grant of a fountain in the manor of Paddington, together with right to break up the ground for laying their pipes, for an annual rent of two pounds of pepper. The king now confirmed the abbat's grant, and moreover authorized the magiſtrates to break up any public road, and any ground belonging to himſelf or to any other perſon, to purchaſe 200 fodders of lead for their pipes, &c.

* The following were the ſtandard meaſures of Norwich ſtuffs, agreeable to the act.

Beds of the greateſt ſize	14 yards largely,	by	4 yards.
Beds of middle ſize	12	-	3
Beds of the ſmalleſt ſize	10 largely,		2½
Monk's cloths -	12	-	1¼
Canon cloths -	5	-	1¾
Cloths called cloths	6	-	2
(In act 23 Hen. VI, c. 4, they are called canon cloths of the other ſize.)			
Double worſteds	10	-	1¼ largely.
Half doubles -	6	-	1¼
Roll worſteds -	30	-	½ largely.

† This law was renewed, and declared to be in force for three years by an act 23 *Hen. VI, c.* 4.

‡ The king's confirmation ſays, that the fountains were defective and dried up. But they continue running to this preſent time.

and to preſs plumbers, maſons, and other workmen, into their ſervice. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *pp.* 29-33.]

The Portugueſe, in the progreſs of their diſcoveries along the coaſt of Africa, having kidnapped ſome of the Moors, Prince Henry this year ordered the commanders of his veſſels to carry them home to their own country. His officers, however, inſtead of obeying his humane and judicious order, obliged the friends of the captives to redeem them, and received in exchange ten Negro ſlaves and a quantity of gold. Theſe two kind of new objects, thus unexpectedly offered to the avidity of the Portugueſe, ſilenced the murmurs againſt Prince Henry's ſchemes of diſcovery, and immediately filled all Europe with eagerneſs to embark under the flag of the Portugueſe, to whom the pope had very liberally granted all the countries between Cape Bojador and India. A company of merchants at Lagos obtained from the prince a charter for the excluſive right of trading with the Moors of the African coaſt for a limited time; and in the following year (1444) a few veſſels belonging to this firſt *Royal African company* arrived at a ſmall iſland called Nar. But inſtead of trading with the Moors, they made a hoſtile attack upon them, ſlew many, and brought off 155 captives. Prince Henry afterwards built a fort on the little iſland of Arguin for the accommodation of the company; and there they eſtabliſhed their factory, to which they ſent regular annual ſhips with woollen cloth, linen, corn, &c. and ſome ſilver. Theſe they exchanged with the Moors, or Arabs, for Negro ſlaves (to the number of ſeven or eight hundred annually about the year 1456) and gold duſt. Such was the commencement of the European trade on the coaſt of Africa for ſlaves, who were then all carried to Portugal. [*Faria y Souſa, V.* i, *p.* 10.—*Cada Moſto's Voyage, p.* 55.—*Purchas, B.* x, *p.* 1674.]

1444, May 28th—After an age of warfare the ambaſſadors of England and France concluded a truce to laſt till the 1st of April 1446, whereby the ſubjects of both kingdoms were allowed reciprocal freedom of trade, and it was agreed, that their property, being in any town belonging to the oppoſite power at the expiration of the truce, ſhould be preſerved inviolate. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 59.]

1445, October 21st—Notwithſtanding the repeated injunctions of councils againſt eccleſiaſtical perſons being concerned in trade, many of them were merchants and traders of every denomination; and, being exempted from moſt of the taxes paid by the laity, they underſold and ruined the regular traders, who contributed to ſupport them. In order to give ſome check to the prepoſterous converſion of monaſteries into warehouſes, work-ſhops, inns, and tap-houſes, Philip duke of Burgundy now iſſued a placard, wherein he ſets forth, that many more convents for monks and nuns had been founded within a few years in his territories of Holland and Zeland, than were proportioned to the extent of thoſe countries; that all trades and handicrafts are carried on in

them, whereby they accumulate eſtates, which remain with them for ever, and all the land in the country muſt in time come into their hands. He therefor prohibits them from receiving or purchaſing any more eſtates in his dominions, till commiſſioners, to be appointed by him, ſhall determine in what manner they may hold lands. [*Brandt's Hiſt. of the reformation, V.* i, *p.* 23 *Engl. tranſl.* *] This perverſion of the privileges and wealth, obtained from the miſtaken piety of princes and devout perſons or the remorſe of opulent criminals, this licenced ſmuggling, was by no means peculiar to the Netherlands: it was common in other countries, and perhaps in none more than in England †.

1446, Auguſt 4th—A truce between King Henry and the ducheſs of Burgundy, acting for her huſband, was followed by another treaty, whereby a free commercial intercourſe was continued till the 1st of November 1459 between the king's ſubjects and the merchants of Brabant, Flanders, and Mechlin, whether dealers in wool, hides, proviſions, or whatever other merchandize, (except armour, artillery, powder, and other warlike ſtores) on paying the cuſtoms uſual in the ports of each country.—The fiſhermen of either country were to have liberty to fiſh where they pleaſed, and, if obliged to take ſhelter in the ports of the other, they were to be admitted freely on paying the uſual duties.—No privateers were to be permitted to iſſue from the ports of either country to prey upon the ſubjects of the other: neither ſhould they be permitted to land their plunder in the ports of the contracting powers.—Neutral veſſels, bringing proviſions or other goods from the Eaſt country to the dominions of either party, ſhould not be moleſted in any manner.—Veſſels of either country, not fitted for war, being driven by ſtorm or enemies into the ports of the other, ſhould be allowed to enter and depart at their pleaſure, but not to land any goods without a licence

* Brandt next gives a book of rates, or table, of the regulated prices of pardons for a variety of ſins, wherein it is obſervable, that the murder of the neareſt relations is the cheapeſt ſin in the catalogue.

† In the reign of Henry I the abbat of St. Albans was a fiſhmonger. *See above, p.* 384. In the reign of Henry II the biſhop of Ely owned a veſſel of the kind called an eſneck; and in that of Richard I the biſhop of Durham was owner of a ſhip remarkably large. [*Madox's Hiſt. of the exch. c.* 17, § 3; *Note on Dial. de ſcacc. L.* i, *c.* 6.]

A. D. 1316—The biſhop of Nidaros (Drontheim) in Norway traded to England as a merchant. See above, p. 479, note †.

1340—In the famous battle near the Swyn there was a ſhip belonging to the prior of Canterbury. [*Stow's Ann. p.* 370.]

In the ſame year King Edward III licenced a cardinal to export ſixty ſacks of wool every year of his life, [*Fœdera, V.* v, *p.* 215] which was a very good annuity. It was moreover a violation of the king's own law againſt the exportation of wool: but that law was never kept.

The Ciſtercian monks were great wool-merchants, till their trade was prohibited in 1344. See above, p. 533.

The ſmuggling ſchemes of the two biſhops of Iceland have been noticed, p. 657.

It is not neceſſary to add to theſe examples a long liſt of the very uſual grants enabling the popes and other foreign prieſts to export wool and other cuſtomable goods without paying cuſtoms.

Neither was Scotland without ſome examples of trading biſhops.

1365—The biſhop of Aberdeen was owner of a veſſel. *See above, p.* 571.

1404—A rich veſſel, which the biſhop of St. Andrews owned, or was largely intereſted in, was taken by the Engliſh. [*MS. Bib. Cott. Veſp.* F vii.]

The ſucceeding biſhop of St. Andrews built the fineſt ſhip then in Scotland, which was called The biſhop's barge. [*Leſl. pp.* 303, 304.]

from the proper officers.—The Engliſh might make faſt their veſſels in the ports of Brabant, Flanders, &c. in the manner practiſed by the French, Hollanders, Zelanders, and Scots; and the Flemings, &c. might do the ſame in the Engliſh ports.—The veſſels of either party were prohibited from carrying the property of the enemies of the other.—In caſe of the veſſels of either country being wrecked on the coaſts of the other, the property ſhould be delivered to the owners on paying reaſonable expenſes.—The road along the coaſt from Calais ſhould be renewed; and the merchants were, as in former treaties, forbidden to take dogs with them, or to catch the rabbits on the Downs.—The Engliſh merchants ſhould have inns, or hotels, for themſelves in the cities of Brabant, Flanders, and Mechlin, and enjoy all the privileges they enjoyed in former times *.—Any infraction of the treaty by individuals ſhould be compenſated by the ſovereign, but ſhould not produce a rupture of the truce.—Laſtly, it was agreed, that the four members of Flanders ſhould bind themſelves to obſerve this treaty: and they accordingly did ſo in a few days after. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *pp.* 140-146.]

King Henry granted the mayor of Briſtol the privilege of being exempted from the juriſdiction of his admirals and other miniſters. [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 24 *Hen. VI, m.* 23.]

1447—It is impoſſible to reconcile the various æras aſſigned by the writers of the Netherlands to the improved method of curing herrings, invented by William Beukels, or Beukelens, of Biervliet in Flanders, who, by the moſt probable account, died this year. From a variety of notices, diſperſed through the preceding part of this work, it is evident that they are miſtaken, who repreſent him as the firſt who ever cured thoſe fiſh. The truth ſeems to be, that he introduced ſome improvement in the manner of treating the fiſh, or perhaps of preparing the ſalt, concerning which the information is very obſcure†, which, being adopted by his countrymen, procured a ſuperior reputation to their fiſh

* The *return* of the Engliſh at this time *to enjoy their former privileges* in Antwerp, the chief city of Brabant, is related by Wheeler [*Treatiſe of commerce, p.* 16] as their firſt arrival in that city, which he ignorantly ſays, conſiſted of thatched huts, contained only four poor and ignorant merchants, and had only ſix ſmall veſſels for the river, but none fit for going to ſea. What he and others ſay of the order of the golden fleece, being inſtituted by the duke of Burgundy in honour of the Engliſh wool and cloth, is unſupported, or rather is contradicted, by his diploma of the original creation of the knights, dated 27th November 1431, which is recited verbatim by Meyer in his *Annales Flandriæ, f.* 274. The duke appears to have had the fleece of Gideon, the judge of Iſrael, in his eye, when chuſing his device. [*Marchantii Flandria, p.* 285.]

† The moſt diſtinct account of the proceſs that I have been able to find, after beſtowing much reſearch upon it, is the following.—'Ceux de Byer-'vlyet, [no mention of Beukelens] iſle de Flan-'dres, qui premierement inventerent (pour le 'mieux garder etant ſallé) de l'egorger, et lui oſter 'les machoires, qui le faiſoient autrement bien toſt 'corrompre, ce qu'en langue du pays ſe diſoit *ka-'ken*, c'eſt a dire demacheler.' [*Chronique de Hollande, &c. par Petit, p.* 184.—See alſo *Marchantii Flandria, L.* i.—*Olai Magni Hiſt. ſept. L.* xx, *c.* 22. —*Schoock de harengis, §* 36.—*De Witt's Intereſt of Holland, pp.* 49, 50, *Engl. tranſl.*] Beukelens ſeems one of thoſe characters, who, by ſome accidental circumſtances, have obtained higher places in the temple of Fame, than their real merits entitled them to. Such a circumſtance was the viſit of the emperor Charles V and his ſiſter to the tomb of Beukelens, where they offered up their prayers for his ſoul. Goguet moreover ſays, that the emperor erected a ſtatue to him.

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at Rome and other foreign markets, where they were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Flemiſh herrings*. The herring trade, together with other branches of Flemiſh induſtry, paſſed afterwards into the hands of the Hollanders, who have been wonderfully enriched by it.

According to Galvano, the crew of a Portugueſe ſhip reported, that they had been driven by a ſtorm to the weſtward, and had arrived at an iſland, wherein there were ſeven cities inhabited by people ſpeaking Portugueſe, who ſaid, their anceſtors had fled from Spain on the death of King Roderigo (about the year 700), and aſked, if Spain was ſtill troubled by the Moors. Some ſand, brought from the iſland, produced a good quantity of gold. Galvano adds, that this iſland was ſuppoſed to be the Antiles, or New Spain *. [*Galvano, copied in Purchas, B.* x, *c.* 1.]

1448, July 24th—From King Henry's appointment of commiſſioners to ſettle all diſputes with the grand maſter of Pruſſia and the people of the Hanſe towns, and to confirm or renew the antient treaties with them,

* Theſe ſeven cities, which afterwards became golden cities, and filled the heads of the Spaniſh diſcoverers, and alſo that of Sir Walter Raleigh, with golden dreams, perhaps grew out of Zeno's report of a nation poſſeſſing gold and ſilver, cities and temples, in an unknown weſtern part of the world, (probably Mexico, *ſee above, p.* 563) incorporated with ſome obſcure tradition of an antient migration from Spain. That the ſtory was not invented *after* the diſcovery of the weſtern lands by Chriſtopher Colon, is evident from a letter written by Paolo (Toſcanelli) a phyſician of Florence, 25th June 1474, to Fernando Martinez, who, at the deſire of the king of Portugal, had conſulted him on the ſhorteſt courſe by ſea to India. He ſent him a chart of the weſtern coaſts of Europe and Africa from Ireland to Guinea, exhibiting all the known iſlands, and alſo containing the coaſt of India and the ſpice iſlands *in the weſtern part of the chart:* and, after a pompous deſcription of Catai and Mango (north and ſouth parts of China) he obſerved in his letter, that 'from the iſland of Antilia, which you call *the iſland of the ſeven cities*; 'and of which you have the knowlege, to the 'moſt noble iſland of Cipango, there are ten ſpaces, 'making 2,500 miles, which iſland abounds with 'gold, ſilver, and pretious ſtones.'—He afterwards ſent a copy of the ſame letter, and alſo of the chart, to Chriſtopher Colon, and added deſcriptions and arguments, tending to inflame his ambition of being the firſt European to accompliſh a weſtern paſſage to thoſe regions of riches. [*Hiſt. de Don Chriſt. Colon, por ſu hijo Fernando, c.* 8.] Toſcanelli was the artiſt, who about the year 1460 conſtructed the celebrated gnomon at Florence, which is eſteemed one of the nobleſt aſtronomical inſtruments in the world.

Somewhat ſimilar to Galvano's ſtory, but ſtill more improbable, is the following, which I have therefor thought proper to place in a note. —In the year 1450 Phranza went as ambaſſador from the laſt emperor of Conſtantinople to the king of Iberia, and was told by Ephrem, a native of that country of about 100 years of age, that he had been carried off when a boy by barbarians, and ſold in Perſia to one of a company of merchants traveling to India. In India he found an opportunity of leaving his maſter, and, after long traveling through deſerts, at laſt arrived at iſlands inhabited by people who generally lived 150 years, and enjoyed a perpetual ſpring and harveſt of aromatics and large nuts. Their country alſo produced the magnet; the animals in it were of a ſtupendous magnitude; and the ſprings of the Nile were in it. (How could the Nile riſe in an iſland?) After living among thoſe happy people long enough to be maſter of their language, he wiſhed to return home, and was conducted to a place, whence veſſels from the farther India ſailed with aromatics. He embarked in one of them, and afterwards found a great Iberian ſhip, which *carried him to Portugal, whence he ſailed to the Britiſh iſlands, and from them to Iberia.* [*Phranza, L.* iii, *c.* 1.] Phranza wrote in the year 1477, [*L.* iii, *c.* 30] and therefor this ſtory '*is ſpurious or wonderful.*' [*Gibbon, V.* xii, *p.* 178.] Of Phranza's work we poſſeſs only a Latin tranſlation, made by Pontanus, who has ſuppreſſed ſuch parts as he thought uſeleſs digreſſions. Quere, If he has taken the further liberty of introducing ſome *improvements?* If Ephrem ever was in Britain, he might ſail for Genoa, and thence to the Black ſea, and ſo travel by land to Iberia, which is an *inland* country between that ſea and the Caſpian. But that Iberia ſhould have any ſhips (if in the ſtrange confuſion *Iberian* does not mean *Spaniſh*) is as incomprehenſible, as that a voyage from the Indian ocean to Portugal ſhould be invented by any Iberian or Greek before the year 1498.

it appears, that ſome depredations or other enormities had been committed, probably on both ſides*. [*Fœdera, V.* x, *p.* 217.]

At this time flouriſhed Cardinal Cuſa, the firſt European after Pythagoras and his diſciples, who conceived the truth of the ſyſtem of coſmography, by which Copernicus, whoſe name is attached to it, is immortalized. [*Nouveau Dict. hiſt. art. Nicholas (de Cuſa) V.* vi.]

1449, February—Engliſh cloths were now prohibited in Brabant, Holland, and Zeland, which being judged contrary to the ſubſiſting treaty, and found very diſtreſſing to the men weavers, fullers, and dyers, and the women webſters, carders, and ſpinners, and all others concerned in the trade, it was reſolved in parliament, that, if the duke of Burgundy did not repeal the injurious ordinance, no merchandize of the growth or manufacture of his dominions ſhould be admitted in England. [*Act* 27 *Hen. VI, c.* 1.]

The parliament remarked, that the revenue ariſing from the ſtaple of Calais in the reign of Edward III was above £68,000 a-year, and the kingdom was enriched by the trade of the merchants of the ſtaple, who were numerous and opulent: but that, by frauds and abuſes crept into the trade, and by the great number of licences exempting individuals from the law of the ſtaple, the revenue was now ſunk to £12,000†. Therefor it was enacted, that the mayor, conſtables, and merchants, of the ſtaple at Calais ſhould enjoy all their antient privileges unimpaired, and that no licence to be henceforth granted by the king for carrying wool, wool-fells, or tin, from England, Ireland, or Wales, ſhould be of any avail, except for ſhipping them for the Mediterranean upon paying alien's duty. There were, however, reſerved in full force, a licence granted to the marquis of Suffolk (grandſon of the famous merchant William de la Pole) for ſhipping 2,000 ſacks of wool of the growth of Norfolk, a licence to the convent of S^t. John of Bridlington for ſhipping 12 ſarplers containing 30 ſacks, and licences to three other perſons, all theſe being ſtill permitted to carry their wool to the beſt market according to the direction of their own judgements. [*c.* 2.]

The law againſt carrying money out of the kingdom had been frequently broken by Engliſh and foreign merchants importing cargoes of grain. The parliament now directed, that all merchants importing grain ſhould give ſecurity, that they would faithfully beſtow the money ariſing from their ſales in the purchaſe of Engliſh goods. [*c.* 3.] A ſcarcity of corn muſt immediately have broken this law.

March 20^th.—William Canyngs, an eminent merchant of Briſtol, like the Italian merchants, ſent factors to tranſact his buſineſs in foreign

* Werdenhagen, in his careleſs compoſition called a *Hiſtory of the Hanſeatic republics*, has magnified thoſe piracies into a great and ſerious war.

† The ſums paid for the licences probably made up the deficiency.

countries, as we learn by two letters of King Henry, addreſſed to the grand maſter of Pruſſia and the magiſtrates of Dantzik, recommending to their good offices two perſons deſcribed by the king as factors of his beloved and honourable merchant, William Canyngs. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xi, *pp.* 226, 227.]

April 1st—The propoſed marriage of James II, king of Scotland, with Mary, the daughter of the duke of Gelder, and niece of the duke of Burgundy, with whom, as the more powerful prince, the treaty was negotiated, and alſo, the conſideration of the friendly commercial intercourſe maintained between the Scots and the people of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zeland, and other territories, all now ſubject to the duke of Burgundy, from the moſt remote ages, produced a treaty of *perpetual* alliance, wherein each prince promiſed to compell aggreſſors upon the ſubjects of the other, whether by land or ſea, to make compenſation to the party injured. [*MS. Bib. Harl.* 4637, *V.* iii, *ff.* 5 b, 11 a.]

July 17th—The Engliſh merchants and ſeamen, in defiance of the orders of the king of Denmark, frequently reſorted to the coaſts of Iceland, Halgaland, and Finmark, in conſequence of which ſome of them had been ſeized about the year 1447, and were ſtill detained as priſoners. The ambaſſadors of the kings of England and Denmark, having met at Copenhagen *, now agreed that all injuries on both ſides ſhould be redreſſed, that the ſubjects of both kings ſhould have mutual freedom of navigation, and particularly that the Engliſh merchants ſhould enjoy their antient liberties and privileges, and pay the antient cuſtoms. But they were expreſsly debarred from ſailing to Iceland, Halgaland, and Finmark, on any pretence whatever, without having a ſpecial licence from the king of Denmark; and it was declared, that the ſeizure and puniſhment of contumacious interlopers ſhould not be conſidered as a breach of the treaty. In a few days after, the king of Denmark moreover granted the Engliſh, trading to or from Pruſſia or any part of his own dominions, the privilege of traveling or ſailing through his territories, either in Engliſh or German veſſels. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xi, *pp.* 264, 273.]

December 2d—John Taverner, a mariner of Kingſton upon Hull, by the help of God and ſome of the king's ſubjects, had built a ſhip as large as a great carrack, or even larger, which he called the Grace Dieu (Grace of God). The king directed that ſhe ſhould be called the Carrack Grace Dieu; and he granted Taverner the more ſolid advantage of taking onboard his carrack wool, tin, lamb-ſkins, wool-fells, paſſelarges and other hides raw or tanned, and any other merchandize, the property

* Bertius [*Rer. Germ. L.* iii, *p.* 139] ſays, that this city was put on a footing with the other towns of Denmark in reſpect to municipal privileges ſo late as the year 1443. His information is ſometimes defective; and this date ſeems too late. Copenhagen appears by this treaty to have been the royal reſidence, and to have had ſeveral churches, in the chapter-houſe of one of which, called the *greater* church, the ambaſſadors met.

of Engliſh or foreign merchants, in the ports of London, Southampton, Kingſton upon Hull, and Sandwich, or in any of them, and carrying them direct to Italy, on paying alien's duty. The king expected, that he would import bow-ſtaves, wax, and other foreign produce neceſſary for the country, to the great benefit of the revenue and of the nation. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 258.] The exemption of an Engliſh ſubject from the law of the ſtaple, in conſideration of the extraordinary ſize of his ſhip, is a clear proof, that no ſuch veſſel had hitherto been built in England.

1450, November—In conſideration of alum to the value of £4,000, delivered to King Henry by ſome merchants of Genoa, the parliament licenced them to ſhip any ſtaple wares from the ſouth part of England, till they ſhould be repaid by the amount of the cuſtoms. The king ſold the alum for £8,000 in ready money to ſome merchants, to whom the parliament gave a monopoly by prohibiting all perſons from importing, buying, or ſelling, any other alum during two years. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 647.]

December 16th—William Canyngs, merchant in Briſtol, already mentioned, had obtained letters from the king of Denmark, authorizing him to load certain veſſels with lawful Engliſh merchandize for Iceland and Finmark, to take in return fiſh and other merchandize, and to make as many voyages as he ſhould think proper during a limited term, in order to recover debts due to him in thoſe countries. The trade was prohibited by an Engliſh act of parliament: but King Henry, conſidering the good ſervices rendered to him by Canyngs while mayor of Briſtol, gave him leave to employ two ſhips, of whatever burthen, during two years, in the trade to Iceland and Finmark, and to export any ſpecies of goods not reſtricted to the ſtaple of Calais. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 277.] It is known that Canyngs poſſeſſed ſhips of 400, 500, and even 900 tuns burthen: but it is not likely that he employed them in that northern trade, even though the limited number of veſſels would tempt him to have them as large as poſſible. Thoſe very large ſhips probably tranſported timber and other bulky articles from the Baltic, where, we may believe, they were purchaſed, as the extraordinary notice taken of Taverner's great ſhip in the year 1449 renders it improbable that they were built in England *.

According to a roll preſerved in the Tower, the king this year bor-

* Canyngs was five times mayor of Briſtol, and founded the church of St. Mary Radcliff on the outſide of the walls, the moſt magnificent pariſh church in England in the opinion of Camden. [*Brit. p.* 173.] From his monument in that church we learn, that King Edward IV, on ſome occaſion of diſpleaſure, took from him 2,470 tuns of ſhipping, among which were the three great ſhips mentioned in the text. That the king's diſpleaſure was not incurred by piracy, as has been ſuppoſed, or by any diſhonourable deed, is evident from the fact being recorded on his monument. His memory has lately been revived, as connected with Rowley, the alleged author of moſt of the poems publiſhed by Chatterton, and as author of ſome of them himſelf.

rowed infinite ſums from the merchants of the ſtaple and other merch ants *. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 28 *Hen. VI, m.* 2.]

About this time, the Azores, or Weſtern iſlands, ſaid to have been previouſly diſcovered by ſome Flemiſh navigators, were occupied by the Portugueſe under the auſpices of the enlightened prince, Don Henry†.

1451, Auguſt 14th—The truce between the two Britiſh kingdoms was renewed. The promiſe not to plunder wrecked veſſels, and to permit veſſels in diſtreſs to purchaſe proviſions, was again mutually repeated; and each ſovereign engaged, that the enemies of the other, bringing prizes into his ports, ſhould be prohibited from diſpoſing of their plunder without the conſent of the original owners. It was agreed that veſſels, ſhowing by cockets and other ſufficient documents that they belonged to either nation, ſhould not be compelled to lower, or take in, their ſails, or be any way impeded in their navigation, by any veſſels of the other nation. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 293.] Truces, nearly in the ſame terms, were repeatedly renewed during the reigns of Henry VI and James II, which both terminated in the year 1460.

1452, January 20th—In a diet, which had been held at Utrecht by commiſſioners from King Henry and repreſentatives of the grand maſter of Pruſſia and the Hanſe towns, the matters in diſpute were adjuſted in a manner ſatisfactory to the king and the grand maſter. But the citizens of Lubeck refuſed to abide by the determination of the diet, retained a number of Engliſh ſubjects in priſon, and even preſcribed to the king rules for the conduct of his ſubjects. The other Hanſe towns appear, in complaiſance to Lubeck, to have alſo neglected to accept, or ratify, the acts of the diet. The magiſtrates of Cologne, however, apprehending the diſpleaſure of King Henry, had written to him requeſting the continuance of his favour, and the merchants of the Teutonic gildhall in London importuned him to the ſame effect. The king now wrote, in anſwer to the magiſtrates, that nothing ſhould be wanting on his ſide to the faithful preſervation of the antient friendſhip between England and Cologne, and he deſired to know, whether the Hanſe towns were to take part with Lubeck in the hoſtile conduct of that city towards England, or to comply with the decrees of the diet. He alſo wrote in the ſame manner to the grand maſter, in anſwer to his letters ſignifying his approbation of the proceedings of the diet. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *pp.* 304, 305.]

* We afterwards find other loans from the merchants of the ſtaple; for example, 10,000 marks in the 31st year of King Henry VI, and £20,000 in his 33d year. [*Cotton's Abridgement, pp.* 653, 659.]

† The diſcovery of thoſe iſlands is variouſly dated in 1449, 1455, 1460, and 1481. Mr. Otto [*Amer. philoſ. tranſ. V.* ii, *p.* 263] ſays, that in 1460 Martin of Nurenberg, under the auſpices of the ducheſs of Burgundy (who thereby proved herſelf a worthy ſiſter of the illuſtrious Don Henry of Portugal) occupied Fayal, the principal iſland, for the truth of which he appeals to the records of Nurenberg. See alſo *Forſter's Diſcoveries in the North, p.* 257 *Engl. tranſl.*

November 2d—King Henry granted a ſafe-conduct for four years to three ſkilful miners, with thirty other perſons, from Bohemia, Hungary, Auſtria, and Micia (rather Miſnia or Meiſſen), who were to be employed in his mines in England. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 317.] The mines in thoſe countries had been worked many centuries, and the miners were probably the moſt expert in Europe.

1453, March—The parliament granted the king the duties of tunnage and poundage for life. They alſo granted him, during his ſubſidy of wool, 23/4 from denizens and £5 from aliens on every ſack, with proportional duties on other ſtaple wares. And they impoſed an annual tax of 40/ upon every alien merchant keeping houſe in England, and 20/ upon thoſe who remained only ſix weeks in the country, and moreover £6:13:4 to be paid annually by every alien merchant during the king's life. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 649.] Whether theſe taxes operated as real burthens upon the Engliſh conſumers and ſellers, or were, as intended, actually taxes upon the foreigners, depended upon the Engliſh merchants being capable, or not, of competing with them.

May 29th—The imperial city of Conſtantinople was taken by aſſault by Mohamed II, emperor of the Turks. Conſtantine Palæologus, the laſt of the many ſucceſſors of the firſt Conſtantine, who tranſplanted the ſeat of empire to the ſhore of the Boſphorus, was found buried under a mountain of his ſlaughtered ſubjects: and the Roman empire, after dragging out many centuries in the imbecillity of extreme old age, was finally extinguiſhed. Conſtantinople was no longer an emporium or connecting point for the commerce of the eaſtern and weſtern regions of the world. The Genoeſe were obliged to abandon their ſettlement at Pera, adjacent to that city; and they ſoon after loſt all their other factories or colonies in the Ægæan ſea. Their eaſtern trade, which had been chiefly ſupported by thoſe ſettlements, declined rapidly; and the Venetians, almoſt without a rival, ſupplied the increaſing demand of Europe for the productions of the Eaſt, which they were enabled to obtain on the moſt advantageous terms by their connections with the ſultan of the Mamelukes.

One good conſequence of the overthrow of the Greek empire was, that many men of literature and ſcience, and along with them many works of the learned of former ages, were diſperſed through the weſtern countries of Europe; and the knowledge diſſeminated by their inſtructions, and by their books, which were multiplied, and rendered attainable by people of moderate wealth, by the late happy invention of printing, wonderfully enlightened Europe, and had great influence in bringing on a ſtate of civilization, favourable to the advancement of commerce, the arts, and the happineſs of mankind.

October 17th—The city of Bourdeaux was a ſecond time taken by the French; and the Engliſh were finally expelled from every part of France, except Calais and its ſmall diſtrict. Without detracting from the won-

derful effects of the patriotic enthuſiaſm of the Maid of Orleans, or the military talents of the French generals, an hiſtorian of commerce may be permitted to obſerve, that this event, happy for France, and infinitely more happy for England, was in a conſiderable degree owing to the unexampled opulence and patriotiſm of Jacques Coeur, who, at a time when trade was ſcarcely known in France, is ſaid to have employed three hundred factors * to manage his vaſt commerce, which extended to the Turks and Perſians of the Eaſt, and the Saracens of Africa, the moſt remote nations then known to the merchants of Europe. His exports conſiſted chiefly of woollen cloths, linens, and paper, then the principal manufactures of France; and his returns were ſilks, ſpiceries, &c. But ſome ſay, that his dealings were chiefly in gold, ſilver, and arms †. This illuſtrious merchant was treaſurer ('argentier') to the king of France, and lent him 200,000 crowns, without which he could not have undertaken the reduction of Normandy. Being ſent on an embaſſy to Lauſanne, his enemies took the opportunity of his abſence to bring falſe charges againſt him; and the king, regardleſs of his multiplied ſervices and zealous attachment, abandoned him to their malice. Though nothing could be proved againſt him in a trial conducted by his enemies with acknowleged unfairneſs, he was condemned (19th May 1453) to the *amende honorable*, to confiſcation of all his property, and impriſonment. Having eſcaped from confinement by the grateful aſſiſtance of one of his clerks, he recovered ſome part of his property which was in foreign countries; and, being appointed by the pope to command a diviſion of his fleet, he died in that ſervice at Chio in the year 1456. [*Mezeray, V.* ii, *p.* 703.—*Villaret, V.* viii, *pp.* 237-243.—*Nouveau Dict. hiſt. V.* ii, *p.* 704.]

In the year 1448 the duke of Burgundy exacted a duty of 18 ſhillings, money of Paris, upon every ſack of ſalt. The citizens of Ghent, unaccuſtomed to arbitrary impoſitions, refuſed to pay any new taxes. Next year he laid a tax upon wheat, which they alſo refuſed; and in 1451 they refuſed payment of the duty on herrings at Sluys and the duty on wool. The conſequence was a very furious war, which proves the great power and reſources of the citizens, derived entirely from their flouriſhing manufactures. But the ſuperior power of the duke, whoſe territories equaled in extent, and exceeded in population and wealth, ſome of the kingdoms of Europe, obliged them to ſubmit to the conditions dictated by him (in which the taxes are not mentioned), to pay him a fine of 300,000 riders, and moreover to pay 50,000 riders for the reſtoration of ſome churches deſtroyed in the war. [*Meyeri Ann. Flandr. ff.* 301-314.]

* Probably all the clerks employed under the factors, and even the porters and menial ſervants ought to be comprehended in this number.

† Both accounts may be true, as, after he became treaſurer to the king, his attention would neceſſarily be turned to the importation of the pretious metals and the ſupply of arms.

1454, April—The parliament having granted a ſubſidy of twelve pennies in the pound of the value of all merchandize exported, whether by denizens, aliens, or merchants of the Hanſe, and raiſed the duty on wool and wool-fells from 33/4 to 43/4, it was repreſented, that the impoſition of twelve pennies per pound would diminiſh the ſale of woollen cloth *, and the augmentation of the other duties would lower the value of wool. It was therefor enacted, that the exporters of wool and wool-fells to the ſtaple at Calais, or by licence to the Mediterranean, ſhould be exempted from paying the additional ten ſhillings. [*Acts* 31 *Hen. VI, c.* 8.]

1455, March 15th—It has already been obſerved, that the northern nations built large veſſels in the tenth century, when even the Italian ſtates had probably none equal to them; and they ſtill excelled in the conſtruction of ſhips. The king of Sweden at this time owned a trading ſhip of near 1,000 tuns burthen, called the *King's barge*, which he ſent to England with a requeſt, that ſhe might be permitted to trade, and to reload with lawful merchandize, which was granted, provided the due cuſtoms were paid. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 364.]

July—The ſilk-women of London complained to parliament, that the Lombards and other foreigners, ſeeking to deprive women of their honeſt employments, imported the articles made by them, inſtead of bringing unwrought ſilk as formerly. To prevent the ruin of thoſe induſtrious women, it was enacted, that during the five enſuing years no perſon whatever ſhould import any wrought ſilk, twined ribands or chains, girdles, or any other article interfering with the manufactures of the ſilk-women, except girdles of Genoa. [*Acts* 33 *Hen. VI, c.* 5.]

The lords, to whom the guard of the ſea had been entruſted, reſigned their charge; and it appears to have been afterwards put into the hands of the mayor and merchants of the ſtaple, to whom we find the tunnage and poundage, duties expreſsly appropriated to that object, ordered to be paid †. [*Cotton's Abridgement, pp.* 652, 657.—*Rot. pat. prim.* 35 *Hen. VI, m.* 14.]

1456, March 5th—The miſunderſtanding with Lubeck ſeems to have proceeded to an open maritime war, which, at the interceſſion of the other Hanſe towns, was now terminated, or ſuſpended, by a truce of eight years, during which both parties ſhould have liberty of commerce, and the differences, it was hoped, might be amicably adjuſted ‡. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 374.]

* I am here obliged to notice an overſight of Mr. Anderſon, who ſuppoſes this the firſt ſubſidy on woollen cloth. I ſee no reaſon to believe, that it was exempted from paying duty on the very firſt exportation of it: and, not to multiply proofs, I may only refer to the act of parliament in 1348 for new (apparently additional) duties on the exportation of woollen cloth, and that of 1353 for other duties, which were to be paid by Engliſh conſumers as well as exporters.

† I am obliged to omit ſome matters concerning the merchants of the ſtaple and the merchant-adventurers, mentioned by Malynes and Wheeler, becauſe their aſſertions are ſometimes found contradictory to record, and I dare not truſt to ſuch zealous *advocates*, when unſupported by better authority.

‡ Notwithſtanding this truce there was an engagement between the Lubeckers and the ſhips of the earl of Warwick in the year 1458. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 415.]

May 31st—Though King Henry had in former years commiſſioned at leaſt three pretended philoſophers to make the pretious metals, without receiving any return from them in gold and ſilver, his credulity was unſhaken by diſappointment; and he now iſſued a pompous grant in favour of three philoſophers, who boaſted, that they could tranſubſtantiate the meaner metals into gold and ſilver, and could alſo cure all diſeaſes, preſerve the life of man to the utmoſt term with unimpaired powers of body and mind, &c. &c. all by means of a moſt pretious medicine, called *the mother and queen of medicines, the ineſtimable glory, the quinteſſence, the philoſopher's ſtone, or the elixir of life.* In favour of thoſe three '*lovers of truth and haters of deception*' he diſpenſed with the law (5 *Hen. IV, c.* 4) againſt multiplying gold and ſilver, and empowered them to tranſmute other metals into thoſe more pretious ones. This extraordinary commiſſion had the ſanction of parliament, now a common corroboration of the king's grants. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *pp.* 68, 128, 240, 309, 379.] Theſe impoſtors, perhaps impoſing even upon themſelves, kept the king's expectations wound up to the higheſt pitch; and in the following year he actually informed the people, that the happy hour was approaching, when, by means of the *ſtone*, he ſhould be enabled to pay off all his debts in a few years*. [*Tovey's Anglia Judaica, p.* 257.]

1457, March 2d—The king of Portugal obtained a licence to ſhip from the port of London 3,000 pounds of tin and 2,000 pounds of lead, paying the due cuſtoms†. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 387.]

1458, March—The parliament of Scotland enacted, that gold and ſilver ware ſhould be examined and ſtamped by the deacons of the goldſmiths, or in towns, where there were no deacons, by the principal officers.—They prohibited dyers from buying cloth to ſell again, or being drapers.—They alſo decreed, that none but perſons of good credit, and having at leaſt the value of three ſerplaiths of their own property or conſigned to them, ſhould go abroad as merchants.—They alſo enacted a ſumptuary law, prohibiting merchants, unleſs they were aldermen, bailies, or members of the council of a town, to wear ſilk, ſcarlet, or fur of martins. Landed men, having within £40 a-year of old extent, were to dreſs as merchants. Labourers and huſbandmen were to wear grey or white, and on holidays light-blue, green, or red. Women were directed to dreſs in proportion to the condition of their huſbands and fathers. The clergy were alſo prohibited to wear ſcarlet or martin's furs, unleſs they were dignitaries of the church.—The parliament alſo ordained, that, as there was but one king and one law, there ſhould be but one meaſure, agreeable to the ſtandard kept in Stirling, and that

* After all the proofs King Henry had of the ignorance or knavery of thoſe projectors, he continued to encourage others of the ſame claſs to the end of his reign. Nor was his ſucceſſor exempt from the ſame credulity. See *Fœdera, V.* xi, *pp.* 462, 637, &c.

† Were the mines now exhauſted or forgotten, which produced thoſe metals in his own country, probably before the Britiſh mines were known?

meaſures of the ſtandard ſhould alſo be kept in Aberdeen, Perth, and Edinburgh.—Several acts were paſſed for improving the agriculture of the country, for prohibiting the capture of fiſh in improper ſeaſons and by illegal engines, for deſtroying wolves and birds of prey, and for preſerving the breed of hares and rabbits.—Laſtly, the parliament wiſely ordered, that copies of their acts ſhould be taken by the ſhirrefs and the repreſentatives of burghs, and be duely publiſhed throughout the kingdom, that the people might not be ignorant of the laws, by which they were to be governed *. [*Acts Jac. II, cc.* 73, 74, 75, 78, 82, 91-99, 101, 102.]

At this time the Scots entered into a friendly treaty with the citizens of Embden, which, like that with Flanders, was to be in force for one hundred years †. [*Leſl. Hiſt. Scot. p.* 488.] A treaty with a commercial city could only regard matters of commerce.

The attention of the Scottiſh government to the intereſts of commerce is further manifeſted by a grant of duties upon veſſels for repairing the harbour of Dundee, a port advantageouſly ſituated at the mouth of the Tay ‡. [*Skene de verb. ſign. vo. Fercoſta.*]

About this time George Faulau and John Dalrymple, merchants of Scotland, and undoubtedly eminent in their profeſſion, were frequently employed, in conjunction with the clergy, the only men of learning, and the nobles, in embaſſies and other public negotiations by King James II. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *pp.* 213, 277, 389, 400, 403, 421.—*Acts Jac. II, cc.* 34, 72.]

Theſe various notices, when added to the zeal for the commerce and improvement of the country appearing in the acts of the parliament of Scotland, infer that the country muſt at this time have enjoyed ſome degree of commercial proſperity.

This year all the Genoeſe merchants in London were impriſoned, and condemned to pay 6,000 marks. The reaſon aſſigned was ſaid to be the injury done to England by plundering a ſhip belonging to a merchant of Briſtol, called Sturmyn, who was trading to various ports of the Levant and other parts of the Eaſt, on the pretence that he had growing plants of pepper and other ſpices onboard, which he propoſed to propagate in England. [*Fabyan's Chronycle, V.* ii, *f.* ccii b.] Eng-

* Some of the acts of this parliament are repetitions of acts of James I, which thence appear not to have been duely enforced: but that need not ſurpriſe us, when we ſee ſimilar repetitions common in the acts of the parliament of England, a country more advanced in civilization.

† This, like the Flanders treaty, is only known from its renewal in the year 1557.

‡ Hardyng, a contemporary Engliſh traveler in Scotland, [*f.* 236 b] calls Dundee the principal burgh benorth the Scottiſh ſea (Firth of Forth).

The port duties were, 10*ſ* on every ſhip, 5*ſ* on every crayer, buſs, barge, and balinger, 1*ſ* on every fercoſt, and 6 pennies on every large boat, as copied by Skene from the original record. *Farecoft* occurs as a kind of veſſel in England, [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 44] and is apparently the ſame with *fercoſt*, one or other being erroneouſly tranſcribed from the record.

liſh voyages to the Levant were as yet very rare; nor is this one unqueſtionably authenticated *.

1459—The merchants of the ſtaple, probably finding the act of parliament of the year 1449 not ſufficient to guard their monopoly at Calais againſt the licences, which had been ſo prejudicial to their trade, obtained from King Henry a promiſe, that he would grant no more of them. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 37 *Hen. VI, m.* 17.]

1460, February 13th—In a treaty with the Genoeſe it was agreed, that they ſhould have free admiſſion in every part of the king's dominions, and leave to export all lawful goods, they having none of the king's enemies in their ſervice.—They ſhould give no aſſiſtance to the king's enemies.—They ſhould not carry in their veſſels any property of the king's enemies; and, if they had any ſuch onboard, they ſhould ſurrender it to the commanders of his ſhips, who would pay them the ſtipulated freight.—For the ſake of form it was agreed, that all theſe advantages ſhould be reciprocal; and it was added, that the miſconduct of an individual ſhould not break the treaty. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 441.]

February—Jerom Lynch, goldſmith of London, was appointed maſter of the mints of Dublin and Trim in Ireland †, and ordered to coin copper money, which was apparently the firſt of the kind in the Britiſh iſlands ſince the days of the Roman dominion ‡. [*Rot. pat.* 39 *Hen. VI, m.* 7.—*Waræi Hibernia, p.* 137, *ed.* 1654.]

May 9th—It ſeems that Caen in Normandy was the moſt convenient place known, from which ſtones proper for the reparation of Weſtminſter abbay could be got: and they were imported in a veſſel belonging to that foreign port. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 451.]

1461—The earlieſt notice, I believe, of the manufacture of beer in England, is found in a patent appointing John Deveniſh and others to be ſuperviſors of all the beer-brewers in England, with a fee of half a ſilver penny for every barrel of beer. [*Rot. pat. tert.* 1 *Edw. IV, m.* 16.]

King Edward granted to the mayor and citizens of London the package of all woollen cloths and ſkins within the liberties of the city. [*Rot. pat. tert.* 1 *Edw. IV, m.* 16.]

That the woollen manufacture of York-ſhire was now ſomewhat conſiderable, may be inferred from a grant of the ulnage of woollen cloths in York, Hull, and throughout the ſhire, to Lord Montague. [*Rot. pat. quart.* 1 *Edw. IV, m.* 1.]

* Fabyan, who relates this ſtory of Sturmyn with ſome heſitation, obſerves, that, of all the nations who traded to England, the Genoeſe were the leaſt concerned in the ſpice trade in his time (he was ſhirref of London in 1493), and that it was therefor improbable that they ſhould have attacked Sturmyn from apprehenſion of ſpices being naturalized by him in England. He might have added, that the importation of live plants from India, conſidering how many hands they muſt have gone through, was exceedingly improbable, or rather impoſſible.

† Drogheda ('Drodath'), Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and ſome other places in Ireland alſo had mints in the year 1474, and probably now alſo. [*Rot. pat. ſec.* 14 *Edw. IV, m.* 22.]

‡ The Saxon ſtycas were made of braſs. [*Hickes, Diſſert. epiſt. p.* 182.]

1463, March 9th—King Edward gave the merchants of the Teutonic gildhall in London a confirmation of all the privileges granted by his predeceſſors; and he alſo exempted them from all new taxes impoſed, or to be impoſed, on imports or exports. Theſe privileges they were to enjoy during two years and a half, to be computed from Chriſtmaſs 1462, provided they ſhould not attempt to paſs the goods of others as their own, nor commit hoſtilities or depredations againſt himſelf or his ſubjects. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 498.]

April 29th—The parliament, for the defence of the realm, and eſpecially for the guard of the ſea, granted the king for life a ſubſidy, called tunnage, of 3*s* upon every tun of wine imported, and 3*s* more upon every tun of ſweet wine imported by any foreign merchants, thoſe of the Hanſe not excepted. They alſo granted a poundage duty of twelve pennies on the prime-coſt value of all goods exported or imported, to be paid by natives, as well as merchants of the Hanſe and other ſtrangers, who ſhould, however, pay double poundage on tin. From this duty were excepted woollen cloths, made by Engliſh-born ſubjects, wool, wool-fells, hides, and proviſions for Calais, exported; and alſo the flour of all kinds of corn, freſh fiſh, animals, and wine, imported. [*Act 3 Edw. IV**.]

June—The parliament, conſidering that the wool of England was the principal commodity of the kingdom, and deſirous of promoting the induſtry of the people and the proſperity of the towns, prohibited foreigners from buying or ſhipping any wool, wool-fells, morlings, or ſhorlings†, from England or Wales. But thoſe produced in Northumberland, Cumberland, Weſtmerland, Durham, and the diſtricts of York-ſhire called Alverton and Richmond, might be ſhipped, at the port of Newcaſtle only, for any foreign port: and the wool, &c. of the reſt of the kingdom might be exported, by denizens only, and only to the ſtaple at Calais. The merchants of the ſtaple at Calais were directed not to ſell any wool or other ſtaple goods without receiving immediate payment, whereof one half ſhould be in Engliſh money, or bullion, which ſhould immediately be coined at the mint in Calais, and in three months be imported into England.—They alſo enacted fines to be levied upon thoſe found guilty of fraudulent package of wool.—And they ordained, that no Engliſh merchant ſhould ſhip any goods, outward or homeward, in foreign veſſels, unleſs ſufficient freight could not be found in Engliſh ſhipping. [*Acts 3 Edw. IV, c.* 1.]

The importation of corn, except the produce of Wales, Ireland, or

* This act does not appear in its proper place in the collections of the ſtatutes; nor is it even mentioned in *Cotton's Abridgement of the records of parliament*. But it is quoted in an act 12 *Edw. IV, c.* 3, in the grant of King Henry to the Genoeſe in 1471, and in that of King Edward to all the Italians in 1476, which will be found in their proper places.

† *Morling*, wool taken from the ſkin of a dead ſheep. *Shorling*, a fell after the the fleece is ſhorn off. [*Coles's Dict.*]

the iſlands belonging to England, was prohibited, whenever wheat did not exceed 6/8, rye 4/, and barley 3/, per quarter. [*c.* 2.]

The male and female artificers of London, and other cities, towns, and villages, of England and Wales, having repreſented that they were grievouſly injured by the importation of foreign articles of quality inferior to thoſe made by them *, the parliament prohibited for a time to be limited by the king's pleaſure, the importation or ſale of woollen caps, woollen cloths, laces, corſes, ribands, fringes of ſilk or thread, laces of thread, ſilk twined, ſilk embroidered, laces of gold, tires of ſilk or gold, ſaddles, ſtirrups, harneſs belonging to ſaddles, ſpurs, boſſes of bridles, andirons, gridirons, locks, hammers, pinſons, fire-tongs, dripping-pans, dice, tennis-balls, points, purſes, gloves, girdles, harneſs for girdles of iron, latten, ſteel, tin, or alkmine, articles made of tawed leather, tawed furs, buſcans (probably buſkins), ſhoes, galoches or corks, knives, daggers, wood-knives, bodkins, ſheers for tailors, ſciſſors, raſors, ſheaths, playing cards †, pins, pattens, pack-needles, any painted ware, forcers, caſkets, rings of copper or of latten gilt, chafing-diſhes, hanging candleſticks, chafing bells, ſacring bells, rings for curtains, ladles, ſcummers, counterfeit baſins, ewers, hats, bruſhes, cards for wool, and blanch iron wire, commonly called white wire. The manufactures of Ireland and Wales might be ſold in England as freely as before; and alſo goods taken from enemies, or found in wrecked veſſels. The tenants of the precinct of the chapel of S^t. Martin le Grand in London were exempted from the operation of this act ‡. [*Acts 3 Edw. IV, c.* 4] By it we are informed, what articles were then in requeſt, and what manufactures were then eſtabliſhed, in England.

By the king's patent, granted to the mayor and citizens of London, the tronage (weighing) of wool was transferred from Weſtminſter, where Henry VI had eſtabliſhed ſix wool-houſes, to Leadenhall in London §. [*Rot. pat. ſec. 3 Edw. IV, m.* 17.—*Stow's Survey, pp.* 304, 843.]

Hitherto all people bringing corn, fiſh, ſalt, fuel, onions, &c. to London by water, had been ordered to land them at Queenhithe: but the trouble and hinderance occaſioned by delays in taking up the drawbridge had induced many of them to riſk the penalty by unloading at Billingſgate. It was now thought expedient to authorize what had

* The application to parliament gives reaſon to ſuſpect that the foreign goods were of *ſuperior* quality; and thence the home-made goods required the protection of a monopoly againſt the foreign manufacturer and the Engliſh conſumer. The quantity of foreign goods poured into the country as ſoon as the prohibition expired (ſee below in the year 1483) proves, that they were more acceptable to the conſumers.

† Playing cards were invented in Germany before the end of the fourteenth century. At firſt uſed only for amuſement, they were afterwards made ſubſervient to ſuperſtition by ſtamping on them, by means of wooden blocks, the figures of of ſaints with inſcriptions. Some ſuch, executed ſo early as the year 1423, may be regarded as the firſt ſpecimens of printing. [*Idée generale d'une collection d'eſtampes, pp.* 239-250.]

‡ The ſame exemption is repeated in all the acts containing reſtraints upon trade about this time, ſo that S^t. Martins tenants were the only free traders. Stow, in his *Survey*, gives ſome account of the privileges claimed by this college or chapel.

§ A pretty ample hiſtory of Leadenhall is given by Stow in the account of Lime-ſtreet ward in his *Survey of London.*

hitherto been done againſt authority; and a part of the veſſels, bringing ſalt, wheat, rye, or other corn, from beyond the ſea; or other grains, garlick, onions, herrings, ſprats, eels, whiting, plaice, cod, mackerel, &c. were permitted to unload at Billingſgate. But ſtill the greater number were to proceed up to Queenhithe. [*Stow's Survey, p.* 682.] This is apparently the origin of a legal market for fiſh at Billingſgate.

1464, January—King Edward owed £32,861 to the company of merchants of the ſtaple at Calais, for payment of which he aſſigned them a yearly rate (or inſtallment) out of the ſubſidies of wool. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 678.]

The commencement of the Oriental trade of Florence about the year 1425 has been noticed. The Medici, a race of ſucceſſive eminent merchants (and the anceſtors of many families of ſovereign princes) were, it is believed, deeply concerned in that trade. Coſmo de Medici was the greateſt merchant of the age, or equaled only by Jacques Coeur in France. In every part of Europe he had houſes eſtabliſhed for conducting his vaſt commerce, and his extenſive money concerns, whereby he ſerved all Europe with the accommodation of borrowing and remitting. Nor were his agents leſs aſſiduous in collecting for him the treaſures of antient learning, and the choiceſt productions of art, than in procuring the rich merchandize of India; for this illuſtrious merchant, who dedicated his riches to the ſervice of mankind, was the moſt munificient, unaſſuming, patron of arts, ſciences, and literature. He employed his wealth and his literary treaſures for the ſervice of his country and his friends with ſuch effect, that, when Naples and Venice combined againſt Florence, he deprived them of reſources for carrying on the war, merely by calling in the vaſt ſums due to him in thoſe ſtates; and by a manuſcript of Livy, ſent as a preſent to the king of Naples, he conciliated his friendſhip. Nor were the politics of Italy only governed by the commercial operations of Coſmo: even the diſtant kingdom of England was affected by the power of his pecuniary influence, and the ſums, lent by his agents to Edward IV, amounting to 120,000 crowns, contributed in a great meaſure to ſupport him in his conteſt with the houſe of Lancaſter. This truely-great man died, with the juſtly-merited title of FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, on the 1st of Auguſt 1464 *.

* For a more complete account of this great merchant, and for the authorities, ſee *Roſcoe's Life of Lorenzo de Medici*, his grandſon. See alſo *Gibbon, V.* xii, *p.* 135.—and *Comines, L.* vii, *c.* 6. The later, after noticing the wonderful extent of the credit of his commercial houſes, as he himſelf, had had occaſion to ſee them in France and England, ſays, that, to his knowlege, Guerard Quanveſe, one of Coſmo's agents, was the chief inſtrument in ſupporting Edward IV by furniſhing him at a time above 120,000 crowns, not much to the advantage of his principal, who, however, recovered his money at laſt. He alſo knew another of Coſmo's agents, called Portunary, who became ſecurity for King Edward to the duke of Burgundy for 50,000 crowns, and at another time for 24,000.—Comines's hint of the damage ſuſtained by delay of payment is ſupported by a grant of King Edward, dated 30th November 1466, whereby it appears, that £5,254: 19: 10 of the money lent him by Gerard Camzian (whom Comines calls Quanveſe) ſtill remained due; for payment of which Edward permitted him to berd, clack, and clean, any wool whatſoever, and export it, or any other

1465, January—The parliament, obſerving that many frauds had crept into the manufacture of cloths, by reaſon of which their reputation in foreign countries was much impaired, and foreign cloths were even imported into England, enacted, that every whole cloth, when properly finiſhed for ſale, ſhould meaſure 24 yards in length, and 2 yards, or at leaſt 7 quarters, in breadth within the liſts: if longer, the buyer ſhould pay for the extra meaſure. Straits, properly finiſhed, ſhould meaſure 12 yards in length and 1 yard in breadth; kerſeys, 18 yards in length and $1\frac{1}{8}$, or at leaſt 1 yard, in breadth. Half pieces of each in proportion, and all meaſured with an allowance of an inch to every yard in the length. The makers were prohibited from putting lamb's wool, flocks, or cork *, in any cloth. Cloth might be made, however, all of lamb's wool: and cork might be uſed in dying cloth or wool woaded, or cloth perfectly boiled and maddered. They required, that cloths ſhould be perfectly uniform in their fabric from end to end, and they ordained, that cloths of unequal fabric, and thoſe of irregular lengths, ſhould be diſtinguiſhed by leaden ſeals, different from thoſe put upon goods of ſtandard dimenſion and quality.—Another abuſe, complained of, was, that the manufacturers compelled their carders, ſpinners, and other work-people to take 'a great part of their wages in 'pins, girdles, and other unprofitable wares,' and alſo delivered wool to them by exceſſive weight; wherefor it was now ordained, that they ſhould pay their labourers in money only, and uſe juſt weights.—The parliament alſo now declared, that all foreign-made cloth, found in England after the 1st of Auguſt 1465, ſhould be forfeited to the king, except cloths made in Ireland or Wales, or taken from enemies upon the ſea without fraud or colluſion. [*Acts* 4 *Edw. IV*, *c.* 1.]

In order to aboliſh the trade of ſmuggling wool, which was openly ſhipped off in defiance of the law by day-light, as well as ſecretly by night, it was enacted, that it ſhould be exported at no other ports or creeks, than Pool, Southampton, Chicheſter, Sandwich, London, Ipſwich, Boſton, Hull, and Lynne, at all which ports collectors of the cuſtoms were ſtationed, and beams and weights provided; and alſo that it ſhould be ſhipped only in gallies and carracks, except what was to go to the Mediterranean. The cuſtom-houſe officer at Calais was directed to give every merchant a certificate of the wool landed by him there,

other wool, to the Mediterranean, and alſo to export woollen cloth, in grain or without grain, to any country whatever, and to retain in his own hands all the cuſtoms (which for the wool ſhould never exceed four marks per ſack) till they ſhould amount to the ſum owing to him: and he alſo exempted him from the obligation of bringing bullion to the mint in proportion to his exports. [*Rymer's unpubliſhed records, Edw. IV, Vol.* i, *p.* 467.] In the following year Camzian had a ſimilar aſſignment for the payment of £8,468. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 7 *Edw. IV*, *m.* 19.] This was apparently a new debt. Edward was forever borrowing; and we ſhall again find him receiving further ſupplies from the houſe of Medici.

* Martin in his *Deſcription of the Weſtern iſlands* [*p.* 135] mentions a plant called *corkir*, which is uſed by the iſlanders to dye their yarn of a crimſon colour, which is probably the ſame with the *cork* of the act.

which the merchant was required to lodge in the exchequer, as a proof that he had not carried it to any other port. [*c.* 2.]

In conſequence of the licence of ſhipping the north-country wools at Newcaſtle, thoſe of the counties of York, Lincoln, and Nottingham, were frequently carried to that port, and ſhipped as the produce of the northern counties; which practice was now prohibited under a heavy penalty. [*c.* 3.]

In favour of the woollen manufacturers it was enacted, that they alone ſhould have a right to make contracts for wool before it was ſhorn. All other perſons were prohibited from making any ſuch contracts in the counties of Berks, Oxford, Glouceſter, Salop, Hereford, Worceſter, Wilts, Somerſet, Dorſet, Hants, Eſſex, Cambridge, Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, Surrey, and Suſſex. [*c.* 4.]

The duke of Burgundy had publiſhed another ordinance, *never to be repealed*, ordering all woollen cloth and woollen yarn made in England to be baniſhed out of his dominions, in conſequence of which it was apprehended, that the weavers, fullers, dyers, ſpinners, carders, and winders of yarn, in England would be thrown idle. The parliament, in retaliation, prohibited the importation of any produce or manufacture of the duke's territories, except proviſions, in England, Wales, or Ireland, till he ſhould repeal his ordinance. In the meantime, the merchants, poſſeſſing ſuch goods, were ordered to take no advantage of the ſcarcity by raiſing the price. The merchants of the Teutonic gild-hall were not bound by the prohibitions of this act. [*c.* 5.] Therefor the non-importation act was in fact a charter of monopoly to them; and the duke's ſubjects would feel no inconvenience from it.

The foreign merchants were ſo much embarraſſed in finding ſecurity for their faithfully inveſting the proceeds of their cargoes in Engliſh goods, or perhaps ſo unwilling to comply with the law, that many of them gave up trading to England. In order to mitigate the hardſhip, the officers of the cuſtoms were directed to require no other ſecurity of the merchants than their own. [*c.* 6.]

For the encouragement of the horners, eſpecially thoſe of London, it was enacted, that no horns ſhould be exported, except what might be to ſpare after ſupplying their demand, provided the horners ſhould take no advantage of this act to lower the price of horns *. [*c.* 8.]

October 13th—In a treaty of alliance between England and Denmark, the merchants on both ſides were allowed free acceſs to the ports of each country: but ſtill the Engliſh were excluded from ſailing to the coaſts of Iceland, Halgaland, and Finmark; nor was their being driven upon

* In thoſe days ſpoons and other utenſils made of horn were more in uſe than now. It is alſo certain that horn plates then anſwered many of the purpoſes, for which window glaſs is now employed. That glazed windows were by no means common at this time, appears pretty certain: for Richard Benyngton was thought worthy of honourable commemoration by the hiſtorian of Croyland for liberally beſtowing £40 for glazing a window in that abbay. [*Hiſt. Croyl. ap. Gale, p.* 536.] Though the window may have been large, ſo great a ſum ſhows that glaſs was very dear.

them by ſtreſs of weather to be admitted as a pretence for trading. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 551.] So anxiouſly did the king of Denmark ſeek to preſerve the fiſhery, apparently the only object of attraction to thoſe hyperborean regions, to his own ſubjects. Walter Cony and Henry Bermycham, merchants of Lynne, were two of the ambaſſadors appointed to negotiate this treaty, they being, it may be preſumed, well acquainted with ſuch commercial matters as might fall under diſcuſſion.

1466, April 30th—A treaty between King Edward and the duke of Bretagne ſtipulated for the ſubjects of both princes a mutual liberty of trade in merchandize not prohibited. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 567.]

Auguſt 6th—King Edward, deſirous of fortifying himſelf againſt the rival houſe of Lancaſter by the friendſhip of the ſovereigns on the continent, entered into treaties of offenſive and defenſive alliance with as many of them as poſſible. Some negotiations (whereof, I apprehend, no record remains) had taken place between him and the king of Caſtile before October 1464; and now he concluded a perpetual alliance with that prince, wherein it was agreed, that the merchants of either kingdom might freely buy and ſell any merchandize whatſoever in the other, and ſhould be treated in all reſpects as well as the natives of the country. [*Fœdera V.* xi, *pp.* 534, 569, 572, 583.] This treaty, though not of itſelf very important in commercial hiſtory, merits notice, becauſe the eagerneſs for cultivating the friendſhip of Spain, which produced it, probably alſo occaſioned an exportation of the ſheep of Coteſwold in Glouceſter-ſhire to Spain about this time, which, though aſſerted by annaliſts who lived not very long after, has been ridiculed by ſome late writers, only becauſe they thought it unlikely. It is enough to ſay, that the ſeveral unqueſtionable exportations of Engliſh ſheep, already related and to be related in this work, ſufficiently warrant the belief of the exportation ſaid to have taken place at this time *.

October—The parliament of Scotland authorized a committee of

* Harriſon in his *Deſcription of Britain*, prefixed to *Holinſhed*, [*f.* 109 a *ed.* 1577] complains of the practice of exporting ſheep in his own days. Theſe are his words.—'So much are our woolles to be 'preferred before thoſe of other places, that, if Ja- 'ſon had knowne the value of them that are bredde 'and to be had in Englande, he woulde never 'have gone to Colchos to looke for any there. 'What fooles then are our countrymen, in that 'they ſeeke to bereve themſelves of this commo- 'ditie by practizing dayly howe to transferre the 'ſame to other nations, in carying over their 'rammes and ewes to breede an increaſe among 'them.' In the edition of 1586 [*p.* 221] he adds, '—The firſt example hereof was given un- 'der Edward the fourth, who not underſtanding 'the botome of the ſute of ſundrie traitorous 'merchants, that fought a preſent gaine with the 'perpetuall hinderance of their countrie, licenced 'them to carie over certeine numbers of them 'into Spaine, who having licence but for a few, 'ſhipped verie manie.'—Holinſhed in his *Chronicle* '[*p.* 1317, *ed.* 1577] relates the exportation thus. '—Kyng Edwarde concluded an ametie and 'league with Henrye king of Caſtile and John 'king of Aragon, at the concluding whereof hee 'granted licence for certayne Cotteſolde ſheepe to 'be tranſported into the countrey of Spayne (as 'people report) whych have there ſo multiplyed 'and increaſed, that it hath turned the commoditie 'of England much to the Spaniſhe profite'.—Stow [*Ann. p.* 696 *ed.* 1600] nearly repeats Holinſhed's words; as does alſo Speed, [*p.* 854, *ed.* 1632] who adds, that cloths made from the wool of the deſcendents of the ſheep now carried to Spain, were (in his own time) a great hinderance to the Engliſh merchants adventuring to the Levant ſeas.—The other authors, whom I have examined for this fact, are ſilent upon it.

their own body to ratify, or annull, as they might think expedient, the ſtatutes adviſed in the ſeſſion of burghs (or court of the four burghs) for the good of merchants and the advantage of the kingdom.—They repeated the unavailing law againſt carrying money out of the country; and, thinking nothing elſe ſo valuable, they ordered all merchants to bring two ounces of pure ſilver to the mint for every ſack of wool exported by them, and in proportion for ſkins (apparently wool-fells) and hides.—They ordered copper coins to be made, whereof four ſhould be equal to a penny, and alſo another kind of ſmall money, to the amount of only £300, with a mixture of ſilver in it. No perſon was obliged to receive more than twelve pennies in the pound of thoſe inferior kinds of money.—The coinage of the mixed, or black, pennies was aboliſhed in the following year *. [*Acts Jac. III, cc.* 2, 10, 11, 12, 22.]

1467, January—The Scottiſh parliament paſſed ſeveral acts, all intended for the advancement, but moſt of them probably operating for the obſtruction, of commerce.—They ordained, that none but burgeſſes, or their factors living in their families, ſhould go abroad as merchants. But prelates and other clergymen, lords, and barons, might export their own goods, and import what they had occaſion for, by the agency of their ſervants †.—Handicraft tradeſmen were particularly debarred from ſailing as merchants, or uſing merchandize, without obtaining ſpecial leave, and renouncing their former employment without diſſimulation. —The ſmalleſt quantity of goods, in property or truſt, qualifying a perſon to ſail as a merchant, was now fixed at half a laſt.—They ordained, that no ſhip ſhould be freighted without a charter party, wherein ſhould be expreſſed, among other conditions, that diſputes between the maſter and merchants ſhould be ſubmitted to the juriſdiction of the town to which they were bound, that goods ſhould not be cruſhed or damaged by unreaſonable ſtowing; if the maſter carried any goods upon deck, he ſhould have no freight for them, and in caſe of their being thrown overboard or loſt, the goods in the hold ſhould not be liable to pay average for them; and the maſter ſhould receive no drink-money. Veſſels carrying leſs than five laſts ſhould pay the freight of half a ſack,

* Ruddiman, on the authority of Buchanan, inclines to believe, that copper money was coined by ſome of the earlier kings of Scotland. [*Præf. ad Dipl. Scotiæ, pp.* 66, 67, 71.] But Buchanan's aſſertion, if unſupported by other vouchers, is no ſufficient authority (as has repeatedly been proved by Ruddiman himſelf in his valuable notes on that author, and as I have alſo had occaſion to remark in another work) eſpecially, as he confounds the copper money with the mixed or black money. There were ſcarcely any innovations, in which the Scots preceded the Engliſh.

† Some of the Scottiſh barons were concerned in trade and were even owners of veſſels, as appears by a receipt (dated 8 May 1475) for 100 marks Engliſh money paid by King Edward's agent, Lye, for a ſhip loaded with merchandize, belonging to Sir John Colquhoun the chamberlain of Scotland, which had been taken by Lord Gray. [*Rymer's unpubliſhed records, Edw. IV, Vol.* ii, *p.* 589.] Unleſs the compenſation was very inadequate indeed, the veſſel and cargo muſt have been very trifling, merely for the ſervice of his own houſehold. In this age the kings alſo interfered in trade, as will appear afterwards.

and thoſe of a greater burthen the freight of a ſack, to the chaplain of the nation in the country ſailed to, and on their return home ſhould pay the freight of a tun to the church of the port of delivery.—Veſſels were prohibited from ſailing to any foreign country between the 28th of October and the 2d of February.—The merchants of Scotland were now prohibited from ſailing to the Swyn, the Sluys, the Dam, or Bruges, and were required to remove their property from thoſe places before the 1st of Auguſt enſuing, and thenceforth to have no intercourſe with them. [*Acts Jac. III, cc.* 14-19.] The interruption of trade with theſe towns was an infraction of the hundred-years treaty, owing to ſome cauſe of diſpleaſure, which the hiſtorians of the age have not informed us of.

July—In England alſo the attention of the parliament this year was chiefly turned to trade.—Notwithſtanding the act for enforcing uniformity of fabric and quantity in the worſted-ſtuff manufactures of Norwich and the adjacent country, paſſed in the 20th, and repeated in the 23d, year of Henry VI, there were now freſh complaints of the delinquency of the manufacturers of thoſe goods; whereupon a new act was made, which was little more than a repetition of the former ones. [*Acts 7 Edw. IV, c.* 1.]

The clothiers in the hundreds of Lifton, Taviſtock, and Rowburgh, in Devon-ſhire were permitted to mix flocks with their wool, they having repreſented, that, on account of the groſſneſs and ſtubbornneſs of the wool in that diſtrict, no cloth could be made without ſuch a mixture. [*c.* 2.]

The exportation of woollen yarn and unfulled cloth, whereby the king loſt the cuſtoms payable upon finiſhed cloths, and the people a part of their employment, was prohibited. [*c.* 3.]

Auguſt 29th—King James allowed the merchants of Scotland to ſail to Middleburg, but not to eſtabliſh their trade in that city as a ſtaple, as he intended to ſend commiſſioners to negotiate privileges for them in whatever place ſhould be found moſt advantageous for a ſtaple.—They were alſo at liberty to ſail to Rochelle, Bourdeaux, and the other ports of France. [*Acts Jac. III, cc.* 20, 21.]

October—The parliament of Scotland, after having lowered their money of account by making a nominal riſe upon their own and all foreign coins current in the kingdom, or, in their own language, making their money equivalent to the currency in Flanders, next obliged all debtors to make payment in the full value originally contracted for. In a few months the parliament obſerved, that that change anſwered no good purpoſe, that the pennyworth roſe with the penny, and that landlords were defrauded of the fourth or fifth part of their rents*; and

* However obvious theſe conſequences might be to the eye of reaſon, none of the nations of Europe ſeem to have had any idea of them in thoſe days. But ſuch ignorance of *the nature and cauſes of the wealth of nations* in thoſe ages need not ſurpriſe us, when, even in the preſent enlightened age, we

therefor they reduced moſt of the foreign coins current in Scotland to a ſmaller numerical value than they had lately ſet upon them (January 1468). [*Acts Jac. III, cc.* 22, 23, 29, and ſee alſo 58.]

November 24th—The Engliſh and the people of the Netherlands feeling the bad effects of turning the trade of the two countries into a circuitous channel, the commercial intercourſe between them was now revived, and regulated by a new treaty between King Edward and the duke of Burgundy, which was to be in force thirty years. The ſubjects of both princes, whether dealers in wool, hides, or proviſions, or other articles, were to have free acceſs by land or water with liberty to buy and ſell all kinds of merchandize, except warlike ſtores, on paying the duties, eſtabliſhed when commerce formerly had free courſe between the two countries.—Each prince, in caſe of ſcarcity, might prohibit the exportation of proviſions.—The fiſhermen on both ſides might freely fiſh in any part of the ſea, without needing formal licences or ſafe-conducts, and, if driven by neceſſity into any port on the oppoſite coaſt, they ſhould be kindly treated, provided they paid the cuſtomary dues, committed no fraud, and did no damage.—No corſairs ſhould be allowed to ſail from the ports of either prince to prey upon the ſubjects of the other: neither ſhould they be allowed to ſell, or even to land, their plunder in any harbour, and the officers of any place, permitting ſuch ſale or landing, ſhould be bound to make compenſation to the party injured.—Neutral veſſels, carrying proviſions or other merchandize from the Eaſt-country to the territories of either prince, ſhould not be moleſted by the ſubjects of the other.—Merchant veſſels, driven into port by ſtorms or enemies, ſhould be kindly treated, but ſhould not land any merchandize without permiſſion.—Mariners ſhould be allowed in the ports to faſten their veſſels to the ſhore.—The ſubjects of either prince ſhould not carry the property of the enemies of the other.—Veſſels ſtranded or wrecked on either ſhore, wherein a human creature, or even a dog, cat, or cock, remained alive, ſhould be preſerved with their cargoes as ſafely as poſſible, and reſtored to the owners for a reaſonable ſalvage.—The road from Calais to Gravelings ſhould be kept up; the Engliſh ſhould have inns or hotels, with all their former privileges, in the towns of Brabant, Flanders, and Mechlin; and the merchants of thoſe countries ſhould have the like in England.—The treaty ſhould not be infringed for the action of any individual.—Laſtly, the four members of Flanders ſhould bind themſelves to preſerve the treaty inviolate on their part. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 591.]

1468, June—The clothiers in Norfolk and Suffolk having got into a practice of making their cloths, called ſet cloths, very deficient in length,

we ſee (and *feel*) the race of depretiation, though by different means, proceeding with a moſt deſtructive career, and men, who aſſume the character of philoſophical politicians, holding up that very depretiation as a triumphant evidence of national proſperity. But the very ſame men do not bluſh to aſk, and receive, an augmentation of emoluments, drawn from the neceſſities of thoſe who are ſinking under the depretiation, to ſhield themſelves from the baneful effects of their boaſted proſperity.

breadth, and ſubſtance, the parliament enacted, that every broad ſet cloth, properly finiſhed for ſale, ſhould meaſure 28 yards and 28 inches by the fold in length, and 7 quarters in breadth within the liſts in all parts, and ſhould weigh at leaſt 38 pounds; and ſtrait ſet cloths, duely finiſhed, ſhould meaſure half as much in length and breadth, and weigh at leaſt 9½ pounds. All ſet cloths were to be inſpected and ſealed by the king's aulneger with the ſeals of the ſubſidy and aulnage. [*Acts 8 Edw. IV, c.* 1.]

In conſideration of £33,000 due by the king to the company of the ſtaplers at Calais, he aſſigned to them for eight years the ſubſidies of the port, and all his other revenues in Calais, for payment, they allowing out of them the pay of the ſoldiers and maintenance of the works*. [*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 681.]

An account was preſented to parliament of the money exchanged in the Tower by the keeper of the king's exchange in three years, whereof the following is an abſtract.

Years ending 29th September.	GOLD. Old nobles,	GOLD. Emption for the king's farm at 1*d* each,	SILVER. Troye pounds weight,	SILVER. Emption at 1½*d* p. pound weight,	TOTAL. Emption,	whereof paid to the king,	and remained to the keeper,
1466	137,875	574 9 7	3,845	72 1 10½	646 11 5½	400 0 0	246 11 5½
1467	60,153	200 13 7		183 19 9	384 13 4	200 0 0	184 13 4
1468	33,400						

[*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 685.]

July 2d—A treaty for commercial intercourſe with Bretagne for thirty years was now ſettled, almoſt upon the ſame terms as that with the duke of Burgundy, except that the trade was allowed to be more general and free; wool, cloths, linens, wines, fruits, hides, proviſions, and alſo harneſs, armour, artillery, horſes and other animals, and all other merchandize whatever, were lawful. Plymouth, Dartmouth, Winchelſea within the chain and its little harbour, and Calais, were excepted from the general liberty granted to the merchants of Bretagne of making faſt their veſſels in the harbours, and having hotels or inns in the towns, of England; the duke of Bretagne having an equal right to except any of his towns from the ſimilar liberty to be granted to the Engliſh merchants. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 618.]

September 8th—The purchaſe of the vaſſal kingdom of Mann and the Weſtern iſlands by Alexander III king of Scotland in the year 1266 has been related. The ſtipulated annual payment of 100 marks, perhaps as too trifling to merit attention on either ſide, had been allowed to run in arrear for twenty-ſix years. In conſequence of the advice of Charles, the late king of France, a very amicable ſettlement was now effected be-

* This loan, and that of 1464, ſhow that the merchants of the ſtaple were very rich (£33,000 being ſtill a great ſum) and that the king knew they were. In the following year he borrowed £10,000 for payment of a part of his ſiſter's portion to the duke of Burgundy: and on many other occaſions King Edward reſorted to them for pecuniary aſſiſtance. [*Cotton, pp.* 683, 692, &c.]

tween the parties concerned. Chriſtiern king of Denmark, who, as ſucceſſor to the kings of Norway, had the right to the *annual*, gave his daughter in marriage to King James, with a portion of 60,000 florins, together with a full diſcharge of the arrears of the *annual*, and alſo of all demands on that account in time coming. Of the ſum ſtipulated, he engaged to pay down 10,000 florins before his daughter's departure for Scotland, and to give a mortgage of the ſovereignty of the Orkney iſlands, which ſhould remain ſubject to the crown of Scotland, till he ſhould pay the remaining 50,000. When the time appointed for the embarkation of the princeſs arrived, Chriſtiern, being much haraſſed with war, could only pay 2,000 florins; and therefor (20th May 1496) he offered a further mortgage of the iſlands of Hialtland, or Shetland, till he ſhould find it convenient to redeem them by paying 8,000 florins. None of the money was ever paid; and all the iſlands, ſcattered in the Northern ocean in the vicinity of Scotland, remain to this day attached to that kingdom. [*Torfæi Orcades, pp.* 185 *et ſeqq.*]

December—The arrival of one hundred and fifty veſſels at once was beheld by the inhabitants of Sluys with wonder and delight: for very ſeldom ſo many arrived at once *. [*Meyeri Ann. Flandr. f.* 347 a.]

1470, March 23d—A proclamation of King Edward, offering a landed eſtate of £100 a year, or, in the option of the receiver, £1,000 in ready money, as a reward for apprehending the duke of Clarence or the earl of Warwick, [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 654] has been adduced as a proof, that land was uſually worth only ten years' purchaſe. But it is only a proof, that Edward was rich in lands from the very numerous forfeitures, and poor in money, as appears from his conſtant borrowing. Neither was forfeited land, in thoſe days of ſudden revolutions, a very ſecure or eligible property †.

December 24th—Several merchants and mariners of the north coaſt of Spain ſought redreſs for veſſels and cargoes, which, they declared upon oath, were piratically taken from them by the people of Sandwich, Dartmouth, Plymouth, and Fowey. The veſſels and their cargoes were valued by them as follows ‡.

a ship of	100	tuns, value	£107	10	0;	total of	veſſel and	cargo	£565:
a ship	70	-	100	0	0	-	ditto,	ditto	350:
a carvel	40	-	70	0	0	-	ditto,	ditto	250:
a ship	120	-	110	0	0	ditto,	ditto,	and freight	300:
a carvel	110	-	140	0	0	ditto,	ditto,	ditto	380:
a carvel	110	-	150	0	0	ditto,	ditto	-	2,500:
a carvel	120	-	180	0	0	ditto,	ditto,	ditto	450:

* This arrival has been related by ſucceeding writers *as a common occurrence*, and as a proof of the vaſt commerce of Bruges, of which Sluys was the ſea-port. We thus ſee, what miſtaken inferences may be drawn from an erroneous ſtatement of a ſimple fact.

† We have already ſeen (p. 448) a life-rent, not a property, in lands valued at ten years' purchaſe in Scotland in the thirteenth century.

‡ The ſums here ſtated are taken from the complaint of the merchants addreſſed to the king: but the particulars, ſworn to in the court, give totals ſomewhat different, and in general amounting to greater ſums. The wool was valued at £4 per ſack of 1½ quintal, the iron at £4 per tun, the wines at £4 to £5 per tun.

The cargoes conſiſted of iron, wine, wool (440 ſacks), raiſins, liquorice, ſpicery, incenſe, oranges, marfac, and 4 ſacks of cheeſe intended for preſents. The moſt valuable veſſel with wool, iron, &c. was bound for Flanders, and all the reſt for England. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xi, *pp.* 671, 672.] We do not ſee, what was decided by the court. But the merchants of the northern ports of Spain declined trading to England, as appears by an invitation held out by Edward IV in the year 1471, aſſuring them, that they had nothing to fear in his kingdom.

December 29th—King Henry VI, being reſtored for a few months, gave the merchants of Cologne, who, with other merchants of Germany, poſſeſſed the Teutonic gildhall in London, a grant ſimilar to that, given in the year 1463 to the merchants of the Hanſe in general, by his antagoniſt Edward IV: but this was to the merchants of Cologne only *, and was to laſt for five years, inſtead of two and a half, the term granted by Edward. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xi, *p.* 678.]

During the ſhort ſecond reign of King Henry, the earl of Warwick, who then governed the king and the kingdom, ſent an army over to Calais to act againſt the duke of Burgundy and the exiled king Edward IV. But the Engliſh merchants of the ſtaple, whoſe greateſt ſale for wool was to the clothiers of the duke's provinces of Flanders and Holland, knowing the ruinous conſequences to their trade to be expected from a war in the Netherlands, found means to divert the earl from his purpoſe. [*Comines*, *L.* iii, *c.* 6.]

1471, February 16th—King Henry entered into a treaty, or truce, with the king of France, which, being merely calculated for his own perſonal ſafety, an object which left him no leiſure to attend to any other conſideration, contains very little relating to commerce. As an article of courſe, the merchants and all other ſubjects of both kings were to have freedom of going into either kingdom on the buſineſs of merchandize, fiſhing, or any other occaſion. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xi, *p.* 683.]

February 22d—He alſo granted the Genoeſe an exemption from the additional duties laid upon foreign merchants by an act paſſed by himſelf as well as by another of the third year of King Edward. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xi, *p.* 696.] But a few weeks terminated his life and reign, and their privileges.

Auguſt—The parliament of Scotland thought it expedient, for the benefit of the kingdom, and in conſideration of the great riches which might be acquired from other countries, that certain lords ſpiritual and temporal, and burghs, ſhould build large ſhips, buſſes, and pink-boats, and furniſh them with nets and other apparatus proper for fiſhing †. [*Acts Jac. III*, *c.* 60.]

* Cologne courted the friendſhip of England in the year 1452, when Lubeck was hoſtile, and the other Hanſe towns were not friendly.

† The very brief acts of the Scottiſh parliament ſometimes ſuppreſs a part of what they ought to contain, as ſuppoſing it already generally known. It is from a ſubſequent act (*c.* 133) that we learn, that the fiſhery was intended to be on the weſt coaſt, and for catching and curing herrings and other fiſh.

November 9th—King Edward, mindful of the friendſhip ſhown to him in his exile by Peter Bladelyn, lord of the town of Middleburg in Flanders, granted for ever to all the traders (' mercatores') of that town, though not aſſociated in the Teutonic Hanſe, as well thoſe working at the mechanic trade called battery, as thoſe engaged in other trades, an exemption from all duties and impoſts on their wares throughout all England, with all the liberties and privileges which had been enjoyed by the people of Dynant, before it was deſtroyed *. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 729.]

December 22d—He alſo granted for ever to Henry of Borſel, lord of Vere in Zeland, and to the inhabitants of that town, liberty to import their merchandize and export thoſe of England, ſtaple goods excepted, paying only three pennies per pound on the exports, except cloths on which they ſhould pay twelve pennies for the piece of 28 yards, and for ingrained cloths the ſame duty paid by the Eſterlings; and he aſſured them, that no other or higher cuſtoms ſhould ever be demanded of them. This grant was made on the condition, that his own ſubjects ſhould be exempted in the port of Vere from all duties already impoſed, or afterwards to be impoſed. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 730.]

This year the merchants of Lubeck, Roſtock, Wiſmar, Stralſund, Dantzik, Koningſberg, Riga (' Rigla'), Revel, and all the other Hanſe towns of Germany, Pruſſia, and Livonia, bound themſelves, under the penalty of forfeiting all their rights and privileges, to make Bruges the ſole ſtaple for all their goods, and to ſhip them all onboard certain veſſels, ſufficiently armed for beating off pirates, which ſhould be regularly ſtationed at Hamburgh and Sluys for the accommodation of the trade. On the other hand the citizens of Bruges engaged, that the cuſtoms (' portoria') ſhould be lowered, that brokers or others employed by the merchants ſhould aſk no exorbitant recompenſe, and that the due depth and other accommodations of their port of Sluys ſhould be preſerved. [*Meyeri Ann. Flandriæ, f.* 354 a.]

1472, February 12th—King Edward licenced his ſiſter, the ducheſs of Burgundy, to berd, clack †, and clean, fifty ſacks of wool, and export them in any veſſels whatever to the Mediterranean ſea, without paying any cuſtoms, or being obliged to import bullion on account of them. This active trading princeſs obtained frequent repetitions of ſuch grants; and as ſhe never paid any cuſtoms and was not obliged to bring bullion to the mint, her traffic, which by herſelf or her proxies was very extenſive, muſt have been very injurious to the fair traders. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 735.—*Rymer's MS. records, paſſim.*]

* Of the privileges of Dynant in England, I ſuppoſe, we have no further memorial extant. In 1359 ſome merchants of that town had a ſafe-conduct from Edward III. [*Rot. pat. prim.* 33 *Edw. III, m.* 10.] It was famous for pots, pans, and other articles made of copper, which were called *Dynandrie*. It was a new town, founded by the ſame Peter Bladelyn, and it was deſtroyed by the duke of Burgundy in 1466. [*Comines, L.* ii, *p.* 74.—*Meyeri Ann. Flandr. f.* 337 b.]

† To *clack wool* is to cut off the ſheep's mark to make it lighter. [*Coles's Dict.*] Berding, I preſume, is alſo an operation of ſorting and rejecting the inferior parts; ſo the ducheſs's wool was all of prime quality.

October—The parliament obliged the foreign merchants to import four ſufficient bow-ſtaves along with every tun weight of goods imported by them. [*Acts* 12 *Edw. IV, c.* 2.]

In order to put a ſtop to the practice of ſmuggling cloth of gold, cloth of ſilver, bawdekyns, velvet, damaſk, ſatin, ſarcenet, tarteron *, chamelets, and other ſtuffs of ſilk and gold, and of ſilk, whereby the ſubſidies, voted in the year 1463 for the guard of the ſea, were rendered inadequate, and the law obliging foreigners to inveſt the proceeds of their ſales in Engliſh merchandize was evaded, the parliament ordained, that all ſuch goods, now being in England, or hereafter to be imported, ſhould be ſealed and counterſealed by the collector and comptroller of the ſubſidies of tunnage and poundage in the port of delivery, before they could be expoſed to ſale, on penalty of forfeiture †.—Precautions were alſo taken againſt another practice of ſhipping fine cloths as coarſe ones, owing to the negligence of the officers of the cuſtoms, who were now ordered to examine the contents of every package. [*c.* 3.]

The parliament, finding that wool of other parts of the country was ſtill ſmuggled to the Netherlands under colour of the permiſſion to ſhip the wool of the northern ſhires from Newcaſtle to any foreign country, now ordained, that thoſe northern wools ſhipped at Newcaſtle ſhould go to Calais or New Middleburg in Flanders, and to no other place, and that all other wool, wool-fells, morlings, and ſhorlings, exported, except thoſe ſhipped in gallies and carracks for the Mediterranean, ſhould be carried to Calais only, on pain of felony. [*c.* 5.]

1473, June 20th—Though the biſhops of Durham had for many ages enjoyed the privilege of coining ſterlings, or pennies, the preſent biſhop did not think himſelf fully authorized to coin halfpennies without obtaining the king's ſpecial permiſſion, which was granted. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 783.]

1474, March 31ſt—William Caxton, a mercer of London, being a man of great ingenuity and unwearied application, and having reſided about thirty years on the continent as agent for the company of mercers of London, and in the year 1464 as one of the ambaſſadors ſent by King Edward to the duke of Burgundy, found means to make himſelf maſter of the new art of printing. He actually undertook to print a *Hiſtory of Troy*, tranſlated by himſelf from the French, which he finiſhed at Cologne in the year 1471. In the following year he returned to England with ſome copies of his book, and ſet up a preſs in the almonry of Weſtminſter abbay, where he now produced the *Game at Cheſs*, the firſt book printed in England. 'From this time to his death, A. D. '1491, he applied with ſo much ardour to tranſlating and printing, that, 'though he was an old man, he publiſhed about fifty books, ſome of

* Was this the checquered ſtuff, now called *tartan*, and thought peculiar to the Highlands of Scotland?

† Formerly the penalty had been only double payment of the ſubſidy.

'them large volumes, and many of them tranſlated by himſelf. How 'productive is inceſſant labour, and how worthy are ſuch men as Cax-'ton of a place in the hiſtory of their country*.'

Several foreigners, probably brought over as workmen by Caxton, and alſo Thomas Hunt and ſome other Engliſhmen, ſucceeded him in the buſineſs of printing in England, which proſpered ſo well in their hands that we ſhall ſoon ſee printed books an article of exportation. [*Middleton's Origin of printing in England.*]

There is no certainty of any eſtabliſhment of a printing preſs in Scotland before the year 1507, when Walter Chepman, a merchant of Edinburgh, obtained the king's patent for himſelf and Andrew Myllar to carry on the buſineſs of printing †.

May—The Scottiſh parliament, ſtill anxious to fill the country with money, and thinking they could command it to flow in, directed the officers of the cuſtoms to make the merchants give ſecurity, that they ſhould bring to the mint two ounces of ſilver for every ſerplaith, four ounces for a laſt of hides, two ounces for a laſt of ſalmon, and proportional quantities for cloth or other goods, before they ſhould give them cockets for their exportation. [*Acts Jac. III, c.* 63.]

October—In the parliament of England the act 12 Edw. IV, c. 5, againſt ſmuggling wool was renewed: and, inſtead of Middleburg, the town of Byrwick in Brabant was declared the only place, beſides Calais, to which the northern wools might be ſhipped from Newcaſtle, a power being however veſted in the king to name any other port inſtead of Byrwick, upon giving three months notice. [*Acts* 14 *Edw. IV, c.* 3.]

December 19th—King Edward acknowleged himſelf indebted to the merchants of Guipuſcoa in Spain in the ſum of 11,000 crowns, as a compenſation for damages done to them by the Engliſh: and he aſſigned to them half the cuſtoms payable on goods imported and exported by the merchants of Spain, till the debt ſhould be diſcharged at the rate of 3/4 ſterling for every crown. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 841.]

1475, February 3d—A large ſhip built by James Kennedy biſhop of St. Andrews, called the *Salvator*, and alſo, by way of eminence, the *Biſhop's barge*, as being the fineſt veſſel hitherto built in Scotland ‡, was wrecked in March 1473 at Bamburgh, where the cargo was plundered,

* The two laſt ſentences are taken verbatim from Doctor Henry, *Hiſt. V.* x. *p.* 203.—See alſo *Ames's Hiſt. of printing, p.* 2.—*Middleton's Origin of printing in England.*—*Aſtle's Origin of writing, p.* 222.—There was a book printed at Oxford by Corſelis, a foreigner, dated mccccIxviii: but Doctor Middleton, Mr. Lewis, and Mr. Aſtle, who have beſtowed much attention upon the ſubject of printing, are of opinion that an x muſt have dropt out, and that mccccIxxviii is the real date of the book printed by Corſelis.

† The original patent was diſcovered a few years ago by Mr. William Robertſon of the Regiſter office, who made the ſearch in order to gratify Mr. Chalmers: and the later, by mentioning it in his *Life of Ruddiman, p.* 80, has given the knowlege of it to the public.

‡ So the great ſhip belonging to the king of Sweden (*ſee p.* 671) was called the *King's barge.*

and the men made priſoners, by the people of the country *. In the year 1474 the parliament of Scotland had ordered that redreſs ſhould be demanded from the king of England; and it was now finally ſettled by a payment of 500 marks ſterling made at Edinburgh by Lye, King Edward's agent, to the biſhop of Aberdeen, as a compoſition to be divided among the merchants concerned. [*Acts Jac. III, c.* 62.—*Fœdera, V.* xi, *pp.* 789, 820, 850.—*Leſl. Hiſt. Scot. pp.* 303, 304.] It is not improbable that the intereſt of the Scottiſh merchants was in ſome degree ſacrificed to a marriage treaty now going on between the two kings.

February 28th—However deſirable the management of the trade of the country by foreign merchants may have been in the early ages, when, if there had not been a trade of that kind, there would have been none, the Engliſh merchants of this age, who owned many good veſſels, could not contentedly behold the merchants of the Hanſe inveſted with privileges equal, in ſome caſes ſuperior, to thoſe enjoyed by themſelves, which, together with their extenſive connections upon the continent, their mutual ſupport, and other leſs juſtifiable means, enabled them generally to command the market. The reciprocal ill will, ariſing from ſuch a ſtate of affairs, had during many years paſt produced frequent diſputes and many captures of veſſels and other acts of open hoſtility on both ſides. Neither was the policy of King Edward, who, in his ſeveral renewals of the privileges of the Hanſe merchants, gave them very ſhort terms, ſometimes only one year †, calculated to give ſatisfaction, either to them, or to his own ſubjects.

The citizens of Lubeck, who had formerly diſtinguiſhed themſelves beyond their confederates by a ſpirit of hoſtility to England, had in April 1473 ſent deputies to a general aſſembly of the repreſentatives of the Hanſe towns held at Bruges, with inſtructions to ratify the articles agreed upon with King Edward's commiſſioners. After ſeveral adjournments, three commiſſioners from the king, with the repreſentatives of Lubeck, and two or three from each of the cities of Bremen, Hamburgh, Dortmund, Munſter, Dantzik, Daventer, Campen, and Bruges, the ſecretary of the merchants of the Hanſe in London, and the ſecretary of thoſe in Bergen in Norway, met at Utrecht in order to ſettle the terms of a permanent amicable intercourſe, and now concluded a treaty, in ſubſtance as follows.—All hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe, and a free intercourſe by land and water ſhould be reſtored.—All ſuits for compenſation on either ſide ſhould be dropt, and all injuries be buried in oblivion: no claims ſhould be made upon veſſels or other property by

* The people of Northumberland and Durham muſt have been much addicted to plundering veſſels: we find a complaint of the ſame kind brought againſt Lord Lumley and his vaſſals of Hartlepool by the citizens of Lubeck. [*Fœdera, V.* xii, *p.* 38.]

† Some of the grants are in the *Patent rolls of Edward IV, tert.* 1, *m.* 18; *prim.* 9, *m.* 12; *prim.* 12, *m.* 6; *ſec.* 14, *m.* 16.

thoſe from whom they had been taken, nor the captains of ſhips * or others be liable to arreſt for any by-paſt quarrels.—This general amneſty ſhould be confirmed by the king and parliament † of England; and all obligations entered into by the Hanſe merchants in England for compenſation of damages ſhould be cancelled.—The merchants of England might trade to Pruſſia and other places of the Hanſe as freely as in former times, and ſhould be charged with no cuſtoms or exactions but what had been a hundred years eſtabliſhed; and the merchants of the Hanſe ſhould enjoy all the privileges in England granted by any of the kings to their predeceſſors.—The king and parliament of England, and the Hanſe confederacy, by letters under the ſeal of the city of Lubeck, ſhould certify, that no pretence of forfeiture of privileges on account of the late hoſtilities ſhould be advanced on either ſide.—In civil or criminal cauſes, wherein the Hanſe merchants might be concerned in England, the king ſhould appoint two or more judges, who, without the formalities of law, ſhould do ſpeedy juſtice between the parties, the merchants and mariners of the Hanſe being entirely exempted from the juriſdiction of the admiralty and other courts; and ſimilar proviſion ſhould be made for the eaſy and ſpeedy diſpenſation of juſtice in the Hanſe countries.—As part of the recompenſe, found due by the Engliſh to the Hanſards, the king ſhould convey to them the abſolute property of the court-yard called the *Staelhoef* or *Steelyard* ‡ with the buildings adhering to it, extending to the *Teutonic gildhall* in London, and alſo a court-yard called the *Staelhoef* or *Steelyard* in Boſton, and a proper houſe for their accommodation, near the water, in Lynne §, they becoming bound to bear all the burthens for pious purpoſes, to which the Staelhoef was made liable by antient foundation, or the bequeſts of the faithful ‖, and having full power to pull down and rebuild, as they might

* 'Capitanei navium.'—This is the firſt time I find the commanders of veſſels called *captains* in any Engliſh record. For an example of it in a Barcelona record of the year 1331 ſee above p. 507.

† The precaution of demanding the ſanction of parliament, which occurs ſeveral times in this treaty, ſhows that foreigners did not now think the king's patent of itſelf a ſufficient ſecurity.

‡ Kilian, in his *Etymologicum Teutonicæ linguæ*, explains *Stael-hof* to be the place where dyed cloths are ſealed with the *ſtael loot* (ſeal of lead). Quere, if the Engliſh word ſteelyard be not rather a corrupt tranſlation of the ſame name than any way connected with ſteel?—Kilian finiſhed his work in 1598.

§ In the tranſactions of the year 1412 we find the merchants of the Hanſe ſettled at Boſton, and apparently at Lynne. Quere, if the rich merchants plundered at Boſton in 1288, whoſe opulence was undoubtedly much exaggerated, were of the Hanſe?—The grants to the Hanſe merchants for their tenements in Windgooſe lane in London, and for their place in Lynne, appear in *Rot. pat.* 15 *Edw IV*, *prim. m.* 6, and *ſec. m.* 12.

‖ The Steelyard (Staelhoef) and the Teutonic gildhall have been ſuppoſed by Hakluyt and others to be different names of the ſame building; and thence the appellation of *merchants of the Steelyard* has been uſed as ſynonymous with *merchants of the Teutonic gildhall* and *merchants of the Hanſe*, but improperly till after this time, as appears from this treaty.—Stow [*Survey*, *p.* 433, *ed.* 1618] ſays, that a great houſe called the *Steel-houſe*, near the Teutonic gildhall, (though he ſeems to confound them a few paragraphs higher) was given to the city as a fund for deeds of piety, and that it was confirmed to the merchants of the Teutonic gildhall by the king and parliament in the 15th year of Edward IV for a rent of £70 : 3 : 4, payable to the city. But no parliament of that year appears in the ſtatute books, nor in Cotton's Abridgement of the records of parliament, nor in Stow's own Annals. There was, indeed, in that year an exemplification

find convenient.—After diſcuſſing the claims for pillages of ſhips and cargoes and other outrages committed on both ſides, the ſum of £15,000 ſterling was found due, as a balance of compenſation, from the Engliſh to the Hanſards, beſides the above-mentioned houſes: but in conſideration of the protection againſt ſuits for by-paſt grievances aſſured to them by the king, they agreed to reduce the ſum to £10,000, and to receive the payment in the cuſtoms falling due on their ſubſequent imports and exports *.—If any city ſhould be diſmembered from the aſſociation of the Hanſe, the king, upon receiving due intimation, ſhould put the merchants of that city upon a footing with other foreigners, till he ſhould be duely certified that they were re-admitted into the aſſociation.—The city of London ſhould be bound by the preſent treaty in tranſactions with the Hanſe merchants, whoſe antient privileges ſhould not be impaired by any later grants made to the city; and the Hanſe merchants ſhould ſtill have the keeping of Biſhopſgate, as formerly.—The king ſhould oblige the public weighers and meaſurers to do juſtice between the buyers and ſellers; and he ſhould prevent vexatious delays at the cuſtom-houſe, and the repeated opening of the packages containing federatures and other pretious furs and merchandize, (after being ſealed, as having paid the cuſtoms) at Canterbury, Rocheſter, Graveſend, and elſewhere, and ſhould aboliſh the exaction of prince-money and ſome other unlawful charges.—Wrecked veſſels ſhould be preſerved for their owners on the uſual conditions.—The king ſhould make diligent proviſion againſt defects in the length or breadth of cloths, or in the quality of the wool.—The merchants of the Hanſe, after giving ſecurity to abide the law in ſuch caſes as their property uſed to be arreſted for, ſhould have perfect liberty of ſelling their goods as they pleaſed, and of retailing Rheniſh wine, according to antient uſuage: neither ſhould the mayor of London claim a portion of their ſalt, as he uſed to do. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *pp.* 544, 645, 739, 765, 779, 780, 793.—*Cotton's Abridgement, p.* 692.]

June 6th—The commercial and political dignity of the family of Medici was now ſupported by Lorenzo the Magnificent, the grandſon of Coſmo. King Edward, who was perpetually in want of money, had now borrowed £5,000 from him and his brother Giuliano, together with Thomas Portunary, and others, ſtiled merchants of Florence, probably agents of the Medici, for which, as uſual, he gave an aſſignment

emplification of an act of the 12th parliament of Edward IV, concerning the merchants of the Hanſe in London, [*Rot. pat. prim.* 15 *Edw. IV, mm.* 16, 17] which is perhaps what Stow alludes to: and the ſum, mentioned by him as *rent*, was apparently a compoſition for the pious payments to be made out of the tenements, for which the magiſtrates of London were truſtees.

* This mode of payment was even introduced in the king's private tranſactions. In 1482 he bought jewels from ſome merchants of Genoa, who were to receive their payment in the ſame way. [*Rymer's Unpubliſhed records, Edw. IV, Vol.* iii, *no.* 102.] He died ſoon after, and it depended on the pleaſure of his ſucceſſors, whether the Genoeſe were paid or not.

upon the cuſtoms to fall due*. [*Fœdera, V.* xii, *pp.* 7, 9.] Though we poſſeſs ample notices of Lorenzo's munificence in patronizing the arts and literature, and of his political negotiations, in all which his fame has even tranſcended that of his grandfather, yet very little knowlege of his commercial tranſactions has been tranſmitted by the writers of the age: and we are indebted to our own public records for ſome of the moſt important of them that are known to us†.

This year Caffa, the chief ſettlement of the Genoeſe in the Black ſea, was taken by the Turks‡. The trade of the Genoeſe, already declining, was reduced very low by the loſs of all their eaſtern poſſeſſions; and their ſtate being alſo convulſed by internal diſcord, they were obliged to court the protection, or ſubmit to the dominion, of their more powerful neighbours. [*Uberti Folietæ Hiſt. Gen. f.* 243 b.—*De Guignes, Hiſt. des Hunnes, V.* iii, *p.* 378.]

1476, July 10th—King Edward favoured all the merchants of Italy with an exemption from moſt of the additional duties, impoſed upon the perſons and the trade of foreigners by the acts of 31 Henry VI and 3 Edward IV, reducing the duty payable by them on wool from 66/8 to 53/4, and that on tin from 2/ to 1/3§. [*Rymer's MS. records, Edw. IV, Vol.* iii, *p.* 55.]

November 6th—We have ſeen the citizens of Cologne in friendſhip with England, when all the other members of the Hanſe aſſociation were hoſtile, or at leaſt unfriendly: and they alone enjoyed the privileges of the Hanſe in England, though for very ſhort terms, ſubject to the trouble and expenſe of frequent renewals‖. In conſequence of that diſtinction they had either withdrawn themſelves, or been expelled, from the confederacy. But now that all the Hanſe towns were in friendſhip with England, Cologne was again received into the aſſociation; and, agreeable to the treaty, due notice of the re-admiſſion was ſent to King Edward by the magiſtrates of Lubeck in the name of the whole Teutonic Hanſe¶. [*Fœdera, V.* xii, *p.* 36.]

At this time, and perhaps long before, the Hanſe towns were divided into four regions or claſſes, according to the following arrangement.

Lubeck, by general conſent, was placed at the head of the whole confederacy, and inveſted with authority to convoke aſſemblies of the

* The grant is nearly a copy of thoſe formerly given to Camzian, an agent of Coſmo de Medici, abridged in the note in p. 677.

† We ſhall afterwards ſee a proof of the great and extenſive credit of the bank known by the family name of Medici, at the head of which Lorenzo undoubtedly was.

‡ The inhabitants of Kubeſchah, a village among the mountains of Derbend, who call themſelves Franks, are ſuppoſed to be deſcended from the Genoeſe of Caffa.

§ This indulgence was repeatedly renewed, particularly by Edward IV in December 1482, and by Richard III in January 1485. [*Fœdera, V.* xii, *p.* 255.]

‖ Their privileges were generally for only one year, agreeable to the rule followed by King Edward. [*Rot. pat. Edw. IV, prim.* 11, *m.* 13; *ſec.* 12, *m.* 17; *prim.* 14, *mm.* 10, 14, 16.]

¶ Bertius [*Rer. Germ. L.* iii, *p.* 25] dates this re-admiſſion of Cologne (which he inadvertently ſuppoſes the original acceſſion of that city to the confederacy) in the year MCCCCLXXXI, wherein LXXXI is evidently a miſtake for LXXVI.

neighbouring cities, and there the archives of the Hanſe are preſerved. To this city, as the more immediate head of the firſt diviſion, there were annexed

Hamburgh,	Lunenburg,	Gripswald,
Rostock,	Stettin,	Colberg,
Wismar,	Anclam,	Stargard, and
Stralsund,	Golnaw,	Stolpe.

Cologne was the chief city of the second region, in which were comprehended

Wesel,	Hervorden,	Venlo,
Duesburg,	Paderborn,	Elburg,
Emmerich,	Lemgow,	Harderwick,
Warburg,	Bilefeld,	Daventer,
Unna,	Lipstadt,	Campen,
Ham,	Coesfeld,	Swolle,
Munster,	Nimeguen	Groningen,
Osnaburg,	Zutphen,	Bolswert,
Dortmund,	Ruremond,	and
Soest,	Arnheim,	Stavern.

Brunswick, the capital of the third region, had under its jurisdiction

Magdeburg,	Hildesheim,	Stade,
Goslar,	Hanover,	Bremen,
Einbeck,	Ulsa,	Hamelen, and
Gottingen,	Buxtehude,	Minden.

Dantzik, the chief city of Prussia, was at the head of the fourth region, consisting of

Koningsberg,	Brunsberg,	and also sundry towns in
Colmar,	Riga,	Slavonia.
Thorn,	Dorpt,	
Elbing,	Reval,	

There were alſo ſome cities, whoſe right to the privileges of the Hanſeatic aſſociation was controverted, viz.

Stendale,	Breslaw,	Halberstadt,
Soltwedale,	Cracow,	Helmstadt,
Berlin,	Hall,	Ryla,
Brandenburg,	Aschersleben,	Nordheim, and
Frankfort on the Oder,	Quedlinburg,	Dinant *.

The four chief factories of the Hanſe merchants were eſtabliſhed at Novogrod in Ruſſia, London in England, probably the moſt antient as well as the moſt important of the whole, Bruges in Flanders, and Bergen in Norway. All the merchants of every one of the Hanſe towns had a right to trade to thoſe factories, and to enjoy all the privileges obtained from the ſovereigns of the countries, conforming to the regulations enacted for the general good of the whole confederacy †.

* Dinant was at this time in ruins, but afterwards revived. Werdenhagen extends the number of cities of this deſcription to forty-four, among which are Liſbon and Stockholm.

† Theſe liſts and other notices are taken from Bertius, who wrote a book upon the cities of Germany, which is ſometimes followed by Werdenhagen, the profeſſed hiſtorian of the Hanſe republics. But, though accuracy and unqueſtionable authenticity might be expected from the records preſerved at Lubeck, ſuch is, notwithſtanding, the uncertainty of Hanſeatic hiſtory, that of the liſts

This year, or perhaps a little earlier, Louis XI king of France eſtabliſhed poſts for the ſpeedy conveyance of letters; an inſtitution apparently unknown in that country ever ſince it became independent of the Roman dominion. But thoſe poſts were not intended for the accommodation of merchants, or the public, but only for the king's own ſervice. [*Comines, L.* v, *c.* 10.]

1477, Auguſt—The duke of Burgundy, unwilling that his ſubjects ſhould ſuffer by the loſs of any of their commercial connections, had written to Scotland, expreſſing his wiſh for a renewal of the alliance entered into by that kingdom with his predeceſſors. The parliament of Scotland, in return, ordered an embaſſy to be ſent to the duke at the expenſe of the burghs, in order to renew the alliance, endeavour to obtain ſome additional privileges for the merchants, and aſk redreſs for damages ſuſtained. [*Acts, Jac. III, c.* 90.]

Proviſions being very ſcarce in Scotland, and the ſupply depending chiefly upon importation, the foreign merchants, importing corn and other lawful merchandize, were aſſured, that they ſhould find an honourable reception and favourable treatment, and that they ſhould not be haraſſed with new impoſitions and arreſtments, which, it was acknowleged, had lately prevented them from continuing the trade; that, as ſoon as their cargo was entered at the tolbooth (cuſtom-houſe), the king and the lords of the council ſhould be firſt ſerved, at the price fixed with the merchants, and the remainder ſhould be ſold to the public with perfect freedom. [*c.* 91.]

The Scottiſh curers of ſalmon having diminiſhed their barrels, whereby the reputation of the article in foreign countries was impaired, they were ſtrictly enjoined to uſe no barrels ſmaller than the old aſſiſe of Hamburgh *. [*c.* 95.]

1478, January—There had been many abuſes committed in the courts of piepoudres held at the fairs in England, chiefly by the avarice and injuſtice of the ſtewards, bailifs, and others, whoſe province it was to hold the courts and adminiſter impartial juſtice in all caſes ariſing during the continuance, and within the juriſdiction, of the fairs, but who took cognizance of contracts and treſpaſſes unconnected with the fairs, and frequently having no foundation in truth. Theſe enormities pre-

given by Bertius, Werdenhagen, John Cluverius (who copies from Huitfield's Chronicle, a book I have not been able to find) and the writer of an eſſay on the Hanſeatic confederacy in the ſecond volume of the *Reſpublica Germaniæ*, no two agree in the names or numbers of the towns. The laſt-mentioned author (who got his materials from Henry Suderman, ambaſſador from the Hanſe confederacy to Holland, England, and various parts of the empire between the years 1550 and 1590) ſays, that it clearly appears from the charter of Henry III king of England, dated in the year 1206, that ſeventy-two cities were then comprehended in the Hanſe confederacy. [*Reſp. Germ. V.* ii, *pp.* 366, 370.] But that charter, dated before Henry was born, is evidently ſpurious. We have already ſeen, that Henry's charter to the merchants of the Teutonic gildhall is dated in 1259.—Where is any charter of 1206 to be ſeen?

* The meaſure is explained in an act of a ſubſequent parliament [*c.* 131] to be fourteen gallons. By the regulation of meaſures enacted in the reign of James I, [*c.* 80] the gallon meaſure contained 328 ounces of clear river water.

vented merchants from attending the fairs, whereby the people of the country were deprived of the convenience of purchaſing goods, and the lords of the fairs loſt their cuſtomary profits. It was therefor enacted, that in ſuch caſes the plaintiffs ſhould ſwear, that their cauſes originated in the time of the fair and within the juriſdiction of it. [*Acts* 17 *Edw. IV, c.* 2.]

Tile-makers were required to have their tiles ſufficiently wrought, well whited and anealed, and of ſtandard dimenſions. [*c.* 4.]

March 5th—King Edward renewed the antient friendſhip and free commercial intercourſe with Friſeland, which had been interrupted. [*Fœdera, V.* xii, *p.* 51.]

May 3d—In this age it was cuſtomary for ſovereigns to be concerned in merchandize. We have ſeen a great ſhip, belonging to the king of Sweden, in England in the year 1455. The king of Naples had a galeaſſe now in Southampton, the commander of which obtained King Edward's protection for himſelf and his veſſel from arreſt for any debt or tranſgreſſion. The king of Scotland was owner of at leaſt one veſſel, a carvel, which was taken at Cadſant in Flanders by a veſſel belonging to the duke of Glouceſter, for which King Edward ordered his ambaſſador Lye to promiſe reparation. But King Edward went beyond all the contemporary ſovereigns in commercial tranſactions: he owned ſeveral veſſels *, 'and, like a man whoſe living depended upon his merchandize, 'exported the fineſt wool, cloth, tin, and the other commodities of the 'kingdom, to Italy and Greece, and imported their produce in return, 'by the agency of factors, or ſupercargoes.' [*See above, p.* 671.—*Fœdera, V.* xii, *p.* 59.—*MS. Cott. Veſp.* C. xvi, *ff.* 119, 120.—*Hiſt. Croyl. p.* 559.] But the trade of theſe royal merchants, when they carried it to a great extent, as King Edward actually did, muſt have been very oppreſſive and ruinous to the real merchants, who could not poſſibly compete with rivals, who paid no cuſtoms, and had the national force to aſſiſt and protect their trading ſpeculations.

June 1ſt—Agreeable to the treaty between England and the Hanſe towns, notice was given, under the ſeal of Lubeck, that the citizens of Colberg had deſired to withdraw from the confederacy. [*Fœdera, V.* xii, *pp.* 60, 91.]

July 12th—The treaty of thirty years, entered into with the duke of Burgundy in 1467, was now renewed, and declared perpetual. In addition to the articles of the former treaty, it was ſtipulated, that the merchants of England ſhould be at liberty to carry the gold or ſilver, acquired by them in countries not ſubject to Burgundy, through the

* He took from William Canyngs of Briſtol 2,470 tuns of ſhipping, as already obſerved in a note under the year 1450. A liſt of ſix veſſels, called *the king's ſhips*, appears in the year 1481. [*Fœdera, V.* xii, *p.* 139.] But as they were to be fitted out for an invaſion of Scotland, it is doubtful, whether they had been all employed in trade, or were built on purpoſe for war, as thoſe now called *king's ſhips* are.

Burgundian territories, and the ſubjects of Burgundy ſhould have ſimilar liberty in England:—that the court-maſter of the Engliſh merchants ſhould not preſume to fix the prices to be paid for goods at the fairs of Antwerp or any other place in the dominions of Burgundy, or to make ordinances againſt buying from the inhabitants of any town or any individual, or againſt buying till near the end of the fair, by which the ſellers, tired out with attendance, had formerly been obliged to let their goods go at an under-value; neither ſhould they uſe different weights in buying and ſelling, as they had formerly done:—in caſe of any Engliſh merchant being injured by a Netherlander, no other Netherland merchant ſhould be liable to be arreſted or injured on that account. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xii, *p.* 67.]

At the ſame time the commiſſioners made many regulations, reſpecting the recovery of debts, and againſt frauds in the package, ſhipping, and ſale of wool. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xii, *p.* 76.]

October 22[d]—King Edward followed the example of his predeceſſor in infringing the act of parliament reſpecting the ſtaple of Bergen, and the treaty with Denmark, which had recently been renewed, as appears by two licences to Robert and Thomas Alcock, authorizing each of them to employ a ſhip of 240 tuns in carrying goods, not belonging to the ſtaple, to Iceland, and trading for fiſh or any other commodities of that iſland, during a year. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xii, *pp.* 57, 94.]

1479, February 14[th]—In the year 1475 King Edward landed with an army in France, having previouſly promiſed to give ſome provinces of that kingdom to the duke of Burgundy for his aſſiſtance in the conqueſt of it. But 'Lewis the XI, being a very wiſe prince and philoſopher 'above the common ſort *,' diverted the threatened calamity from his kingdom, without the effuſion of any blood but that of the grape, by agreeing to give Edward a preſent payment of 75,000 ecus (ſcutes or crowns), 50,000 more as a ranſom for Margaret the widow of King Henry VI, and an annual penſion of 50,000 for life †. Neither was he ſparing of entertainments, preſents, and penſions, to Edward's counſelors, nor neglectful of his ſoldiers, whom he gratified by a preſent of 300 cart-loads of wine. The king of France paid the annuity very regularly for ſeveral years, and now even entered into a new treaty, whereby he bound his ſucceſſors to continue the ſame payment during one hundred years after the deceaſe of himſelf or Edward, whichever of them

* Theſe are the words of Rymer in his dedication of the eleventh volume of the Fœdera to Queen Anne.

† The following rates of currency for the coins of England, as ſettled by the commiſſioners of the two countries in January 1480 may be uſeful for underſtanding ſome of the tranſactions of the age.

Engliſh roſe noble	£3	5	0	French money.
angel	2	3	4	
ſilver groat	0	2	6	
Old ecu of France	0	4	2	Engliſh.
new ecu of the ſun	0	4	3¼	
great groat	0	0	4½	

[*Fœdera*, *V.* xii, *p.* 115.]

There were two commiſſions in 1474 and 1478 for ſettling the rates of the money of England and that of the Burgundian dominions. But the ſettlements do not appear. [*Rymer's MS. records*, *Edw. IV*, *Vol.* ii, *no.* 117; *Vol.* iii, *no.* 28.]

ſhould die firſt. What connects this ſingular tranſaction with commercial hiſtory, is the proof it furniſhes of the great reputation of the commercial houſe of Medici, it being expreſsly ſtipulated in the treaty, that the king of France ſhould engage the partners of the bank of Medici to become bound for the faithful and regular performance of the agreement on the part of himſelf and his heirs *. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *pp.* 804 *et ſeqq; V.* xii, *p.* 101.] In the year 1487 a houſe of the Medici in Naples, apparently a branch of this bank, paid a bill drawn by Marchioni, a Florentine in Portugal, to Covillan, the Portugueſe traveler and diſcoverer of India. [*Purchas, B.* vii, *c.* 5, § 15.]

1480, September 16th—Whatever doubt there may be reſpecting the ſheep ſent from England to Spain in the reign of Edward IV, there can be no doubt that that prince now gave permiſſion to his ſiſter, the ducheſs dowager of Burgundy, and her aſſigns, to tranſport one thouſand oxen † and *two thouſand rams* out of the kingdom *every year, as long as ſhe ſhould live*, without even paying any cuſtom. [*Fœdera, V.* xii, *p.* 137.] Thus it plainly appears, that Edward III and Edward IV had little or no apprehenſion of any bad conſequence from the breed of Engliſh ſheep being naturalized on the continent: and it may be believed, that neither the ducheſs, who well underſtood, and keenly purſued, her own intereſt, nor the ſagacious Netherlanders acting under her aſſignment, allowed the grant to lie dormant during the reigns of her two brothers. Her enemy Henry VII, we may be aſſured, would put an end to her exportation as ſoon as he got the power.

1481, February 15th—A war with Scotland brought into action the greateſt *royal navy*, hitherto known to have exiſted in England ſince the Norman conqueſt, as appears by orders addreſſed to eleven naval commanders to preſs mariners for manning their veſſels, *ſix* of which are diſtinguiſhed as king's ſhips. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 139.]

It was in this war that King Edward introduced an eſtabliſhment of riders with poſt horſes, to be changed at every twenty miles, who, by handing letters from one to another, in two days forwarded them two hundred miles, apparently the fartheſt extent of the eſtabliſhment ‡. [*Hiſt. Croyl. ap. Gale, p.* 571.] This improved mode of conveyance, like that in France from which it was copied, had no connection with commerce or public accommodation, unleſs it may be conſidered as the firſt rudiments of an eſtabliſhment, which, when properly extended, might

* The Medici were to give their bond to King Edward within eighteen months. But as he very ſoon after made an alliance with Burgundy againſt France, it is probable that the bond was never executed. The ſtipulation in this treaty, ſo illuſtrative of the commercial ſplendour of the houſe of Medici, has eſcaped the attention of Valori, Bruni, Tenhove, Roſcoe, Noble, and Clayton, the hiſtorians of the Medici, and, if I miſtake not, of all other hiſtorians.

† 'Mille boves.' This latin word comprehends bulls and cows as well as oxen.

‡ We find an order of the Scottiſh parliament in April 1481 for expediting couriers to every part of the kingdom; but it does not expreſs, whether they had the changes of horſes, without which rapid conveyance is impracticable.

become one of the greateſt and moſt eſſential accommodations, that ever was given to commercial and friendly intercourſe.

The Portugueſe ſtill proſecuting their diſcoveries along the weſt coaſt of Africa, which too often degenerated into voyages of piracy and ſlave-hunting, this year built the fort of S^t^. George de la Mina in 5° north latitude: and ſoon after the king of Portugal aſſumed the title of *lord of Guinea.* [*Barros, Dec.* i, *L.* iii, *c.* 1.—*Fœdera, V.* xii, *p.* 380.]

1482, January—The parliament ordained the following ſtandard meaſures and regulations for fiſh cured for ſale.—Salmon to be packed in butts of 84 gallons, barrels of 42, and half barrels of 21.—Herrings in barrels of 32 gallons, half barrels, and firkins (quarters) in proportion.—Eels in barrels of 42 gallons, half barrels and firkins in proportion.—Merchantable ſalmon were to meaſure 26 inches at leaſt from the bone of the fin to the third joint in the tail, and to be ſplit open and freed from the bone as low as the navel. Grils (ſmall ſalmon) were to be packed by themſelves; and thokes (broken-bellied ſalmon) were not to be packed with ſizeable or ſound fiſh.—The herrings in a barrel were required to be all caught at one time, ſalted at one time, and to be as good, and as well packed, in the middle of the caſk as at the ends.—No gall-beaten, ſtarved, or pulled, eels, or red eels, were to be packed with good eels.—The magiſtrates of towns were required to appoint ſufficient inſpectors to examine the quality and meaſure of fiſh. [*Acts 22 Edw. IV, c.* 2.]

The act prohibiting the importation of ſeveral kinds of ſilk goods being no longer in force, ſuch an inundation of corſes, ribands, laces, call ſilk, and Coleyn ſilk, poured into the country, that all the Engliſh makers of ſuch goods, men as well as women, were thrown idle; a clear proof that the Engliſh goods were ſtill of inferior quality. The parliament, in conſideration of their diſtreſs, prohibited the importation of all ſuch goods for four years. [*c.* 3.]

Machinery was ſo far improved in England, that hats, bonnets, and caps, were thickened and fulled by mills. This abridgement of labour gave ſuch an alarm to thoſe engaged in the old method of thickening them by the action of the hands and feet *, that they petitioned parliament to prohibit the uſe of the mills, which, they alleged, deprived them of employment, and broke the fabric of the hats, &c. The parliament indulged them ſo far as to forbid the uſe of the mills for two years. [*c.* 5.] This is, I believe, the firſt known inſtance of an oppoſition to the improvement of manufactures by machinery in England, which has regularly ever ſince riſen up againſt the introduction of every ſucceeding improvement tending to make goods cheaper by abridging labour. Upon the ſame principle corn ought not to be ground by water

* Apparently the ſame method, which is deſcribed by Martin about a century ago, and by Pennant in our own days, as ſtill practiſed by the female manufacturers of the Weſtern iſlands and Highlands of Scotland.

or wind mills, but only by hand mills, corn fields ought to be dug rather than ploughed, heavy loads ought to be carried by men rather than drawn by horſes in carts or waggons, and all canals ought to be deſtroyed.

March 9th—King Edward entered into a treaty with the inhabitants of Guipuſcoa in Spain * (they having the conſent of their ſovereigns Ferdinand and Iſabella) wherein, beſides mutual freedom of trade, and ſecurity to be given for the friendly conduct of veſſels on both ſides before their ſailing, it was ſtipulated, that, in caſe of letters of repriſal being iſſued by the kings of England or Spain, the Guipuſcoans ſhould not be injured by the Engliſh cruiſers, and they ſhould permit no Spaniſh letters of repriſal againſt the Engliſh to be put in force in their province. [*Fœdera, V.* xii, *p.* 148.]

Auguſt 4th—When King Edward was preparing for an invaſion of France in the year 1474, he concluded a treaty with James king of Scotland for a marriage of their infant children; and ſo deſirous was he of being on friendly terms with that prince, that he agreed to pay his daughter's portion by inſtallments to commence immediately, and actually made ſeveral payments. It was, however, ſtipulated, that, if the marriage ſhould not be accompliſhed, the money advanced ſhould be reſtored. A new ſyſtem of politics having induced Edward to break with Scotland, the provoſt, fellowſhip of merchants, and community, of Edinburgh †, in conſequence of his declaration, that he did not chuſe to complete the marriage, now bound themſelves and all their property, at home or abroad, for the return of the money. [*Fœdera, V.* xi, *p.* 824; *V.* xii, *pp.* 161, 165, 167.] It was probably this large and patriotic payment made by the citizens, that induced the contemporary hiſtorian of Croyland [*ap. Gale, p.* 562] to call Edinburgh a very opulent town. But, though the merchants were evidently engaged in foreign trade, and had property conſigned in foreign countries, its opulence was probably much inferior to that of ſome of the maritime villages (or burghs of barony) at no great diſtance from it in the preſent day. From this time, however, Edinburgh continued to improve with a ſlow, but gradual progreſs till the year 1603, when it loſt the advantages flowing from the preſence of the ſovereign.

September 12th—King Edward confirmed the exiſting treaty, or truce, with the king of Portugal. The Portugueſe ambaſſadors requeſted him to prohibit John Tintam and William Fabian, who were fitting out ſhips, at the deſire of the Spaniſh duke of Medina Sidonia, for the coaſt of Guinea, from proceeding on the voyage, as their ſovereign, the lord of

* We have already ſeen an inſtance in the year 1351 of the people of the north coaſt of Spain entering into a treaty for themſelves.

† In the obligation, &c. the chief magiſtrate of Edinburgh is called *provoſt* as at preſent, and not alderman as in the earlier ages. The *fellowſhip of merchants* is now called the *merchant company*.

that country, reſerved the trade of it for his own ſubjects: and he granted all they required of him *.

December—The parliament of Scotland ordered, that no corrupted or mixed wine ſhould be imported or ſold in the kingdom; and they prohibited all mixture of wine or beer, under pain of death. [*Acts Jac. III, c.* 89 †.] This act merits notice chiefly as containing, perhaps, the earlieſt extant notice of *beer* in Scotland.

1483, April 24th—The only matter worth notice, any way connected with commerce, which occurs in the very ſhort reign of Edward V, is a renewal for one year to Robert Alcock, merchant of Kingſton upon Hull, of the permiſſion to trade to Iceland with a ſhip, which he is now allowed to have as large as 250 tuns ‡. [*Fœdera, V.* xii, *p.* 180.]

1484, January—In the only parliament of King Richard III grievous complaints were made of the many frauds introduced in the clothing trade. What they were, will appear from the following regulations and prohibitions.—*Whole cloths* were now to meaſure only 24 yards in length by the fold, and to be two yards broad. *Half cloths* to be of the ſame breadth, and run from 12 to 16 yards. The buyer to allow for any meaſure above 24 yards in whole cloths, or 12 in half cloths §. Cloths called *ſtreits*, 12 yards long and 1 yard broad. Kerſeys, 18 yards long, $1\frac{1}{16}$ yard broad. One inch was to be given in addition to every yard: the cloths were to meaſure the required breadth within the liſts, and to have the ſame breadth and goodneſs throughout the whole piece. Cloths not made according to law were to be cut aſunder, and the owner of them was to be fined. Seals of lead, ſtamped on one ſide with the arms of England, and on the other with the arms of the town or name of the county wherein the cloth was made, ſhould be affixed to every cloth by aulnegers of ſufficient ſkill and reputation. No cloths ſhould be offered to ſale, or be exported, without being fully watered; and no cloth ſhould be drawn in length or breadth after being fully watered ‖. No flocks or other deceitful material ſhould be put in cloth; neither ſhould chalk be put upon white cloths or kerſeys. No cloth ſhould be ſheared or cancelled before being fully watered. Tenters for ſtretching cloths ſhould not be ſet up within houſes, but in open places. The practice of exporting picked wool to the Mediterranean and leaving the locks and

* This tranſaction, of which I ſee no traces in any acceſſible Engliſh record, is tranſcribed from the Portugueſe hiſtorian Garcias de Reſende by Hakluyt. [*Voiages, V.* ii, *part* ii, *p.* 2.] According to Doctor Campbell, [*Pol. Survey, V.* ii, *p.* 626] ſome ſay, that Tintam and Fabian actually accompliſhed the voyage, and were great gainers by it. But, though he is generally very copious in quotations, he has not given us the name of any one narrator of that voyage.

† As numbered by Murray. This act and two others, paſſed in December 1482, are publiſhed by Murray, but do not appear in the edition of 1566.

‡ It is probable that Alcock had got annual renewals ever ſince 1478.

§ Surely it would have been much better to ſay, that the cloth ſhould be ſold at ſo much a-yard.

‖ The complainers alleged, that it was common to draw a cloth of 24 yards out to 30, and from 7 quarters to 8 in the breadth.

other refuſe at home, being found prejudicial to the finer branches of the manufacture, was prohibited; and the exporters were obliged to take the whole fleece as it was clipped. No orchel or cork of the kind called jarecork ſhould be uſed in dying woollen cloths; but woaded wool and cloth made of wool only, if they were perfectly boiled and maddered, might be dyed with Engliſh cork. The practice of faſtening ruſhes upon the liſt, in order to make cloth dyed in the piece appear as if dyed in the wool, was prohibited. To all theſe prohibitions ſuitable penalties were attached.—From the operation of the act the parliament exempted cloths called *ray*, and cloths made in Wincheſter and Saliſbury uſually joined with ray; cloths called *verviſe*, *plonkets*, *turkins*, or *celeſtrines*, with broad liſts; *packing whites*; *veſſes*; *cogware*; *worſteds*; *florences* with cremil liſts, broad liſts, or ſmall liſts; *baſtards*; *kendals*; and *friſe ware* *. [*Acts* 1 *Ric. III*, *c.* 8.]

The merchants of Italy, including the Catalans †, were accuſed of keeping houſes, warehouſes, and cellars, in London and other places, in which they packed and mixed their goods, and kept them till they got great prices for them; they ſold by retail; they bought Engliſh commodities, and ſold them again in England; and they ſent part of the money ariſing from their ſales to their own country by exchange; they received other foreigners to lodge in their houſes, and made ſecret bargains with them; they bought up wool, and ſold part of it again to the king's ſubjects, and employed people to make part of it into cloth on their account; foreign artificers with their families reſorted to London and other parts of England in greater numbers than formerly, and they engaged in the manufacture of cloth and other eaſy handicraft occupations, and alſo in the buſineſs of importing foreign goods and ſelling them by retail in fairs and markets; but they declined the more laborious occupations of ploughing and carting ‡; they employed none but their own country people as workmen and ſervants, whereby the king's ſubjects were driven into idleneſs, beggary, and vice; and, after making fortunes in England, they retired to other countries to enjoy them.—In order to remedy thoſe evils, the parliament enacted, that all Italian merchants, including Catalans, not being denizens, ſhould ſell the goods they had now in England, and inveſt the whole proceeds, their reaſonable expenſes excepted, in Engliſh commodities, before the 1st of May 1485; all goods arriving after Eaſter 1484 ſhould be ſold within eight

* There was an ordinance for the length and breadth of cloths during the ſhort reign of Edward V, [*Rymer's MS. records*, *Edw. V*], which was probably the foundation of this act. The enumeration of names in it, now moſtly obſolete, will not be thought uſeleſs by thoſe who wiſh to trace the progreſs of the manufacture, and may afford ſome aſſiſtance to antiquarian reſearch.

† The Engliſh in thoſe days uſed to include all the people bordering on the Mediterranean under the name of Italians.

‡ To foreigners England is indebted for the degree of perfection, which the boaſted woollen manufacture has attained. Several protections for foreign woollen manufacturers had been given by Edward IV. Surely, if ploughmen or carters had come from the continent, there would have been as much reaſon for an outcry againſt them.

months after their arrival, and all goods unſold at the end of eight months ſhould be carried abroad within two months more, unleſs prevented by the weather, on pain of forfeiture *. They were allowed to remove the goods imported by them from one place to another within the eight months. They might take their own countrymen to lodge with them, but no others. They were prohibited from ſelling woollen cloth in England, and from employing people to convert wool into cloth for their account; and they were enjoined to carry all the cloth and wool bought by them to countries within the Mediterranean. Foreigners were alſo prohibited from exerciſing any handicraft occupation in England, except as ſervants to Engliſh maſters; and they were particularly debarred from having any concern in the clothing trade. Foreign artificers or handicraftſmen were obliged to ſell their wares by wholeſale only, and only in the place of their reſidence; and they were not to have any apprentices or ſervants but natives of England, except their own children †. —A dawning attention to the intereſt of literature ſuggeſted an exemption from the rigour of this act in favour of the importers of books written or printed, and the writers, illuminers, and printers of books. [*c.* 9.]

The prohibition of the importation of many foreign articles, firſt enacted in the year 1463, and continued for four years in 1482, was now extended to ten years. And, at the requeſt of the girdlers, point-makers, pinners, purſers, glovers, cutlers, blade-ſmiths, blackſmiths, ſpurriers, gold-beaters, painters, ſadlers, lorimers ‡, founders, card-makers, hurers ‡, wire-mongers, weavers, horners, bottle-makers, and copper-ſmiths, the parliament prohibited the importation of all kinds of girdles, points, laces, leather purſes, pouches, pins, gloves, knives, hangers, tailors' ſheers, ſciſſors, andirons, cobbards, tongs, fire-forks, gridirons, ſtock locks, keys, hinges and garnets, ſpurs, painted glaſſes, painted papers, painted forcers, painted images, painted cloths, beaten gold or beaten ſilver wrought in papers for painters, ſaddles, ſaddle-trees, horſe-harneſs, boots, bits, ſtirrups, buckles, chains, latten nails with iron ſhanks, turnets, ſtanding candleſticks, hanging candleſticks, holy-water ſtopps §, chafing-diſhes, hanging lavers, curtain rings, cards for wool (thoſe of Rouen excepted), claſps for gowns, buckles for ſhoes, broches, bells (thoſe for hawks excepted), tin and leaden ſpoons, wire of latten and iron, candle-

* Eight, or probably rather in reality ten, or even twelve, months, when compared with forty days, the time formerly limited, may be reckoned a liberal allowance. The time, now ſhortened, does not ſeem to have been enjoyed by any law, but only in virtue of that ſilent repeal, which permits laws of evident abſurdity to ſink quietly into oblivion.

† This ſentence is contradictory to a preceding one, which allows no foreign handicraftſmen at all. But it is obſcurely expreſſed; and the prohibition was perhaps reſtricted to thoſe who ſhould arrive after Eaſter 1484.

‡‡ *Lorimers*, makers of bits, ſpurs, &c. I know not, what kind of trade *hurers* followed, unleſs they were workers in hair. *Hure* is hair in North-country dialect. [*Coles's Dict.*]

§ Probably rather *ſtoups*, deep veſſels with handles for carrying liquids.

ſticks, grates, horns for lanterns, or any article pertaining to any of the crafts above mentioned. [*cc.* 10, 12.]

The bowyers alſo complained of a 'ſeditious confederacy of the Lombards,' who had raiſed bow-ſtaves from 40*ſ* to £8 a hundred, and obliged them to take the good and bad together without garbling. It was therefor enacted, that no Venetian or other merchant ſhould be permitted to import merchandize without bringing ten good bow-ſtaves for every butt of malmſey or tyre, and that bow-ſtaves ſhould be garbled, and ſold only to natives of the king's dominions. [*c.* 11.]

It was repreſented in parliament, that till about the year 1450 malmſey wine (apparently in conſequence of a glutted importation) uſed to be ſold from 50*ſ* to 53*ſ*4 per butt, running from 126 to 140 gallons, the payment being made, two thirds in cloth, and one third in money; but now, by the *ſubtilty* of the ſellers who were made denizens, the importation was ſo proportioned to the demand, that the butt, running only about 108 gallons, ſold for £5 : 6 : 8, paid all in money. The parliament (without interfering with the price) enacted, that no malmſey ſhould be imported in butts ſmaller than 126 gallons, nor any wine or oil in caſks ſmaller than the ſtandard meaſures *; and in caſe of defective meaſure they only obliged the feller to allow for it to the buyer. They alſo renewed the law for gauging all caſks of wine or oil imported, before they ſhould be ſold. [*c.* 13.]

Of fifteen acts, paſſed in the only parliament aſſembled in the reign of Richard III, there were ſeven † for the regulation of commerce and manufactures, of the condition of which they exhibit a pretty good view, and alſo of the ſituation of foreigners trading to, or reſiding in, England, which, though to us it appears hampered with ungenerous, impolitic, or unavailing, reſtrictions, was much ameliorated in compariſon of what it had formerly been.

All the laws of England prior to this ſeſſion of parliament were written in barbarous Latin or French, and laterly moſt of them in a jargon compounded of Engliſh and French, but all unintelligible to the great bulk of the people, whoſe lives and properties were to be diſpoſed of by them. This parliament firſt gave the people of England laws in their own language; and ever ſince mongrel Latin and French have been diſcarded from the acts of parliament. Richard's acts were alſo the firſt that were printed.

February 21ſt—King Richard gave the magiſtrates of Kingſton upon Hull permiſſion to export and import all kinds of goods, wool and woolfells excepted, and out of the cuſtoms of them to retain £60 annually for twenty years, to be applied for the ſupport of the harbour and other public expenditure of the town. [*Fœdera, V.* xii, *p.* 213.]

* They are particularized in the act, and are already inſerted from the *act* 2 *Hen. VI, c.* 11.

† One of them [*c.* 6] was a perpetuation of the law of Edward IV reſpecting courts of piepoudre.

February—The parliament of Scotland prohibited for two years the exportation of tallow, and hides, ſalted, dried, or barked. [*Acts Jac. III, c.* 115.]

Martin Behem of Nurenberg, after having reſided about twenty years in his iſland of Fayal, one of the Azores, is ſaid to have this year applied to John II king of Portugal for the means of undertaking extenſive diſcoveries. Having obtained ſome veſſels, he diſcovered Brazil, and ranged along the coaſt as far as the ſtrait ſince known by the name of Magalhanes, or Magellan. But this diſcovery is not ſo well authenticated as we could wiſh ſo important an event to be *.

The ſame Martin, in conjunction with Rodrigo and Joſeph, two Jewiſh phyſicians in the ſervice of king John, firſt applied the aſtrolabe, hitherto uſed only by aſtronomers †, to obſervations of the ſun's altitude at ſea, and compoſed *tables of declination* for aſcertaining the latitude. [*Purchas's Pilgrimes, B.* ii, § 3.] Before theſe improvements were introduced in navigation, ſeamen muſt have had very little confidence in their *conjectures* of their poſition.

1485, June 4th—As ſome Engliſh merchants *intended* to trade to foreign countries, and eſpecially Italy, with their own or chartered veſſels and their merchandize, King Richard, obſerving from the practice of other nations the advantage of having a magiſtrate appointed for ſettling diſputes among them, and alſo underſtanding that the city of Piſa was moſt convenient for the reſidence of the Engliſh merchants, he, at the requeſt of the merchants trading, or intending to trade, to Piſa and the adjacent countries, appointed Lorenzo Strozzi, a merchant of Florence, to be conſul of the Engliſh merchants in thoſe countries, and delegated to him the power of hearing, and ſummarily determining, all diſputes between Engliſh ſubjects in thoſe parts, and doing all other things pertaining to the office of a conſul, with a right to receive one and a quarter per cent on all the ſales and purchaſes of the Engliſh in the city and port of Piſa ‡. [*Fœdera, V.* xii, *p.* 270.] This was pretty certainly the

* Mr. Otto [*Amer. Phil. tranſact. V.* ii, *p.* 268] ſays, that this diſcovery is authenticated by Martin's own letters dated in 1486, which are preſerved in the archives of Nurenberg, and alſo by the delineation of a terreſtrial globe conſtructed by himſelf in 1492, and ſtill preſerved in the library of Nurenberg. Doctor Robertſon, the hiſtorian of America, denies the diſcovery. If genuine vouchers of the truth of it ſtill remain at Nurenberg, it is ſurely very unworthy of the literary induſtry of Germany to allow them to lie in obſcurity and concealment.—Quere, has not Mr. Otto miſtaken the delineation of the Nurenberg globe? In the engraved copy of it, the only lands delineated in the ocean, which has the Azores and the Canary iſlands on the eaſt ſide of it, and Cipangu (Japan) and the Indian iſlands on the weſt ſide, are a ſmall iſland, called Antilia, with the famous ſeven cities in it, and a larger one, of about 400 miles from north to ſouth, all on the north ſide of the equator, which is probably drawn from fancy for the fabulous Atlantis of antiquity, but could never have been drawn by a man who had ranged along the coaſt of South America as far as the Straits of Magalhanes.

† Chaucer, the father of Engliſh poetry, in the year 1391 addreſſed an eſſay on the aſtrolabie to little Louis his ſon.

‡ According to Roſcoe [*Life of Lorenzo de Medici, c.* 10] a Lorenzo Strozzi, probably the ſame perſon, was alive after the year 1538, and wrote the Life of his brother Filippo Strozzi, which is publiſhed along with *Benedetto Varchi's Hiſtory of Florence*.—Henry VII, deſirous of undoing whatever was done by his predeceſſor, appointed another Florentine merchant, called Chriſtopher Spene, to be conſul at Piſa. [*Fœdera, V.* xii, *p.* 314.]

firſt appointment of a conſul for the merchants of England in any of the countries within the Mediterranean: and the cuſtom of appointing foreign merchants to be conſuls for the Engliſh in thoſe countries continued for a conſiderable time, and continues in ſome inſtances to the preſent day.

Soon after the invention of the art of printing the induſtry of Venice made it an object of commercial advantage, ſo that, in every part of Europe, thoſe who could read had books imported from Venice. And in England alſo, the buſineſs of printing, though ſo lately introduced, appears to have been already ſo well eſtabliſhed, that books from the Engliſh preſſes now began to be articles of exportation *.

November—The firſt parliament of King Henry VII, obſerving, that in the reign of Edward IV a great number of foreign merchants had obtained letters and acts of denization, whereby they were put upon a footing with the native ſubjects in the payment of cuſtoms, and alſo that they frequently entered the merchandize of other foreigners in their own names, and thereby defrauded the revenue, enacted, that all foreigners made denizens ſhould pay the full duties payable by foreign merchants. [*Acts* 1 *Hen. VII, c.* 2.]

Conſidering the danger to be apprehended from a decay of the navy, and the ſeamen being unemployed, they enacted a law, the very reverſe of that of Edward III in the year 1368, which entirely excluded Engliſhmen from the carrying trade; for now no perſon was allowed to buy or ſell any wine of the growth of Guienne or Gaſcoigne, in England, Ireland, Wales, Calais, or Berwick, unleſs it were imported in a veſſel belonging to England, Ireland, or Wales, and navigated principally by natives of England, Wales, Ireland, or Calais.—This law, being apparently intended as an experiment, was to be in force only till the next parliament. [*c.* 8.]

The prohibition of the importation of a variety of foreign articles, enacted in the year 1482 was confirmed, and twenty years added to it, the addition of ten years by the act of Richard III being ſet aſide, as the act of an uſurper. [*c.* 9.]

The Italian merchants, availing themſelves of the king's diſpoſition to undo the acts of his predeceſſor, obtained a repeal of the 9th act of Richard. But the fines, incurred by tranſgreſſions of it, were ſtill to be paid to the king. [*c.* 10.]

1486, January 17th—King Henry very ſoon after his acceſſion iſſued orders to all his ſubjects to receive the merchants of France in a friendly manner, without requiring the production of ſafe-conducts or licences.

* This information concerning the progreſs of the art of printing in England is derived from the colophon at the end of a Latin tranſlation of the *Epiſtles of Phalaris*, printed at Oxford in the year 1485, wherein there are the following lines:

'Celatos, Veneti, nobis tranſmittere libros
'Cedite, *nos aliis vendimus*, O Veneti.'

[*Middleton's Origin of printing in England, p.* 10.]

And now a more formal truce of three years (not a peace) was concluded, whereby all grievous exactions, impoſed upon commerce in the laſt two-and-twenty years, were aboliſhed in both kingdoms, except the local duties of towns, &c. [*Fœdera, V.* xii, *p.* 281.]

July 3d—A truce of three years was alſo concluded between England and Scotland, in which the ſeizure of perſons and merchandize ſhipwrecked was more particularly guarded againſt than formerly, the preſervation of the property being, however, now made to depend on the ſurvival of a human creature, and not on that of a cat, dog, or cock, which, it may be believed, were never allowed to live to the prejudice of depredators. The other articles were nearly the ſame as in former truces between the two kingdoms. [*Fœdera, V.* xii, *p.* 285.]

July 22d—Henry was particularly deſirous of cultivating the friendſhip of the duke of Bretagne, and therefor renewed the truce with him, with nearly the ſame conditions reſpecting commerce, which were in the former treaty of the year 1468; the towns of St. Malo, Breſt, and Tonque, being now excepted from the general liberty granted to the Engliſh of having hotels in the towns of Bretagne, as, on the other hand, thoſe towns in England, which the king ſhould name by his letters, were to be excepted from the ſimilar liberty enjoyed by the Bretons in England. [*Fœdera, V.* xii, *p.* 303.]

1487, October—A diſpute between ſome citizens of Cologne and ſome ſubjects of Scotland had been decided by the king of Scotland and his council. The foreigners were diſſatisfied, and obtained from the emperor a letter of marque againſt the Scots, which was now ſuſpended (probably upon the king's interpoſition) till Eaſter 1488. In the meantime the Scottiſh parliament ordained, that a clergyman and two burgeſſes ſhould go, at the general expenſe of the burghs, to the emperor's court with an authentic copy of the ſentence, in order to ſhow that juſtice had been done to the Cologners, and to obtain a revocation of the letter of marque. [*Acts Jac. III, c.* 126.]

The repreſentatives of the burghs of Scotland, acting as a ſeparate body, or committee, requeſted, and obtained, a ratification of the acts for the qualifications of merchants, for regulating charter parties, the meaſure of ſalmon barrels, the proſecution of the herring fiſhery in the weſt ſea, &c. [*cc.* 127-131, 133.]

They alſo ordained, that commiſſaries (repreſentatives) from all the burghs ſhould aſſemble at Inverkiething on the 26th of July every year, in order to conſider the intereſt of merchandize and the burghs, and to make regulations for their general welfare *. [*c.* 132.]

November—King Henry, in his deteſtation of avarice, with the aſſent of the parliament, prohibited and annulled ' all dampnable bargayns

* This is apparently the origin of the convention of the royal burghs of Scotland, which is ſtill kept up. I do not find, when the convention removed from Inverkiething to Edinburgh.

'grounded in uſury,' however diſguiſed under the name of new chevyſance, dry exchange, &c. by which the lender was to have more or leſs for the uſe of his money, and impoſed a fine of £100 on the offenders, beſides committing to the church the correction of their ſouls. [*Acts 3 Hen. VII, c. 5.*]

The magiſtrates of London, in order to oblige the people to reſort to the city for all their purchaſes, had made an ordinance, that no citizen ſhould carry goods for ſale to any fair or market out of the city. The aſſortment of goods in London appears to have been ſo commanding, that thoſe intereſted in the fairs of Saliſbury, Briſtol, Oxford, Cambridge, Nottingham, Ely, Coventry, and other places, and alſo the people of the country in general, were alarmed, and repreſented to parliament the deſtruction of the fairs, and the great hardſhip of being obliged to travel to London to procure chalices, books, veſtments, and other church ornaments, and alſo victuals for the time of Lent, linen cloth, woollen cloth, braſs, pewter, bedding, oſmond, iron, flax, wax, and other neceſſaries. The London ordinance was annulled; and the citizens were permitted to go with their goods to the fairs and markets in every part of England. [*c.* 9.] In this act we have a good picture of the inland trade of England.

The ſhearmen, fullers, and others concerned in the clothing trade, repreſented, that the act of 7 Edward III, againſt exporting woollen yarn and unfulled cloth, had not provided againſt cloth being exported without being rowed and ſhorn. For the encouragement of thoſe trades, the parliament enacted, that no cloths ſhould be carried out of the country till they were barbed, rowed, and ſhorn, except thoſe called *veſſes*, *rays*, *ſailing cloths*, and others ſold at or under 40*ſ.* [*c.* 11.]

At this time the commercial intercourſe between Florence and Egypt, which began in the time of Coſmo de Medici, was greatly extended and improved under the direction, and by the example, of his grandſon Lorenzo. So highly was this illuſtrious merchant eſteemed by the ſultan of Egypt, that he ſent an embaſſy to him (a mark of reſpect very ſeldom beſtowed by Mohamedan princes on the moſt powerful Chriſtian ſovereigns) with magnificent preſents, among which were a fine bay horſe, probably an Arabian, balſam, civet, lignum aloes, large vaſes of porcelain *, fine cotton cloths of various kinds, and other rich Oriental manufactures. [*Roſcoe's Life of Lorenzo*, *V.* ii, *p.* 60; *and original letter in V.* iii, *p.* 271.]

John II king of Portugal, who was very deſirous of completing the diſcovery of the route to India, had already ſent two agents to obtain information reſpecting the nature of the trade of that country, who went no farther than Jeruſalem, having there diſcovered that their want of the

* Porcelain was far from being common, or even generally known, in Europe in this age, though it is one of the articles enumerated in the 44th chapter of the maritime laws of Barcelona among the imports from Egypt. [*Capmany, Mem. hiſt. de Barcelona, V.* i, *Com. p.* 44.]

Arabic language rendered their further progreſs impracticable. This year he ſent Pero de Covillan and Alfonſo de Paiva, who were both maſters of the Arabic, with inſtructions to travel to the country of Preſte Ianni (or Preſter John), to learn whether his dominions extended to the ſea, and where the pepper, cinnamon, and other ſpices, which were brought to Venice, were produced. Along with their inſtructions, and money and bills for their ſubſiſtence, they received a chart drawn by the king's beſt geographers, who ſaid, they had found ſome memorial of a paſſage between the eaſtern and the weſtern ſeas. Having bought a cargo of honey at Rhodes, they proceeded in the character of merchants to Alexandria, and thence by Cairo, the deſert, and the Red ſea, to Aden in Arabia, where they ſeparated: Paiva croſſed over to Ethiopia, and Covillan ſailed for Cananor, and thence to Calicut, where he ſaw ginger and pepper growing, and learned that cloves and cinnamon were brought from countries ſtill more remote. He then returned by Goa and Ormuz to the Red ſea, and thence ſailed in company with ſome Mooriſh merchants on the Ethiopian ſea, which he found repreſented in his chart, as far as Sofala, where he learned, 'that the coaſt might be ſailed all-along 'toward the weſt,' and heard of the Iſland of the Moon, 900 miles in length. Having now acquired more knowlege of India and the eaſtern ſeas than any European of that age, he returned to Cairo, where he heard that Paiva was dead, and found two Jews, ſent to him with letters from the king. One of them he ſent back to the king with an account of what he had diſcovered, and his opinion, that the ſhips, which traded to Guinea, by keeping along the coaſt might get to Sofala and thence to Calicut, for there was a clear ſea. With the other Jew he returned to Ormuz, and thence back to Aden, which was ſtill, as in antient times, the center of commercial intercourſe. There he diſpatched the Jew home to Portugal, and bent his own courſe to the court of Preſte Ianni, where he was well treated and enriched, but never permitted to leave the country till the year 1520. [*Barros, Dec.* i, *L.* iii, *c.* 5.—*Purchas, B.* vii, *p.* 1091; *B.* x, *p.* 1675.]

In the meantime, before the arrival of Covillan's very encouraging information, Bartholomew Diaz, one of the many Portugueſe commanders, who, during almoſt a century, had been endeavouring to reach the ſouthern extremity of Africa in the hope of finding an open navigation to the Oriental regions, returned (December 1487) from a voyage in which he had made a ſtretch along 1050 miles of the coaſt, and actually paſſed the ſouthern extremity of the continent, to which, from the ſtormy weather he met with when off it, he gave the name of *Cabo Tormentoſo* (or Stormy cape): but the king, underſtanding that the land beyond it trended to the eaſtward, and full of hope that the greateſt difficulty in the route to India was now ſurmounted, changed the name to the more auſpicious one of *Cabo de Boa Eſperança* (Cape of Good Hope),

by which it has ever ſince been called. [*Barros, Dec.* i, *L.* iii, *c.* 4.—*Purchas, B.* ii, *p.* 7.]

1488—While the Portugueſe were endeavouring to get to India by an eaſtern route, Chriſtopher Colon (or Columbus) a Genoeſe navigator, whoſe nautical knowlege was much enlarged by reſiding among the Portugueſe, was induced by Ptolemy's geography, wherein the eaſtern parts of Aſia are extended ſo far into the oppoſite hemiſphere as to leave only about one third of the circumference of the globe between them and the weſt parts of Europe, by the diſcoveries of Marco Polo, and accounts of land accidentally ſeen by ſeveral navigators in the Weſtern ocean, to believe that the eaſieſt acceſs to India, muſt be by ſailing to the weſtward*. Strongly impreſſed with this idea, he applied for the means of accompliſhing his diſcovery to the king of Portugal, who, he might well ſuppoſe, would gladly encourage a project for attaining his grand object, the trade of India, by a ſhorter route than that which had ſo long baffled all the endeavours of his predeceſſors. But the Portugueſe court very ungenerouſly and unfairly kept him in ſuſpenſe till the return of a carvel, which they ſecretly ſent out to make the diſcovery ſuggeſted by him; and then, as their own veſſel had found no land, they refuſed to pay any attention to his ſcheme. It is to the credit of England, that Colon next turned his thoughts to that country, to which he ſent his brother Bartholomew, while he himſelf made application at the court of Ferdinand and Iſabella, the ſovereigns of Spain. In his paſſage to England Bartholomew was taken by pirates, plundered of his all, and made a ſlave. Having at laſt eſcaped from them, he arrived in England, but in no condition to obtain acceſs to the royal preſence. Thus circumſtanced he applied himſelf to drawing ſea charts for a livelihood, and, as ſoon as he got himſelf decently clothed, he preſented a map of the world to the king, and laid before him his brother's ſcheme. King Henry was ſo far pleaſed with the propoſal, that he deſired him to bring his brother to England. But ſo much time had been loſt, that when Bartholomew got to Paris in his way to Spain, he was informed that his brother had ſailed upon his voyage, and was returned, having accompliſhed the diſcovery, not of India or the ſpice iſlands, but of the iſlands of the Weſt-Indies. [*Hiſt. de Don Chriſt. Colon por ſu hijo Fernando, cc.* 6-9, 11, 60.]

The capture of Bartholomew Colon by pirates thus turned out, under the direction of Providence, the means of preſerving the Engliſh from loſing their induſtry and commercial ſpirit in the mines of Mexico and Peru.

* The uſual belief, that Colon ſet out with a view to diſcover a *new continent*, is not warranted by any good hiſtorian, and is in direct oppoſition to the Hiſtory of his life by his own ſon, whoſe authority muſt certainly be preferred. His ideas of geography, received from Ptolemy and other antient authors, ſcarcely left ſufficient ſpace for ſuch a continent as America in the ſea between the eaſt part of Aſia and the weſt parts of Europe and Africa.

February 18th—The firſt parliament of Henry VII had granted him the duties of tunnage and poundage with the extra duties payable by foreigners, as uſual in the preceding reigns. The merchants of Venice, Genoa, Florence, and Luca, now obtained from him an abatement for the ſpace of three years; and the whole duties of every kind payable by them were fixed at £3 : 6 : 8 for every ſack of wool, and 1/3 for every twenty-ſhillings worth of tin. [*Fœdera, V.* xii, *p.* 335.]

October—The firſt parliament of James IV king of Scotland, in a ſet of new regulations for money, ſtated the obligation upon the merchants exporting Scottiſh commodities to import bullion as follows, viz. for each ſerplaith of wool, each laſt of ſalmon, or each four hundred cloth*, four ounces of fine ſilver; for each laſt of herrings (now apparently an export of ſome conſequence) two ounces; and for other goods paying cuſtom, in proportion. [*Acts Jac. IV, c.* 10.]

They reſtricted the arrival of veſſels, whether Scottiſh or foreign, to the free burghs, whereof Dunbarton, Irwin, Wigton, Kirkcudbright, and Renfrew, (all on the weſt ſide of the country) are mentioned, apparently as the moſt conſiderable. Foreigners were, prohibited from buying fiſh, till they were ſalted and barreled, and from having any dealings at the remote iſland of Lewis, or any place whatever except at the free burghs. [*c.* 11.]

The navy of Scotland at this time conſiſted of two veſſels, the Flower and the Yellow carvel. They were adapted chiefly for war, being well provided with guns, croſs-bows, lime-pots, fire-balls, two-handed ſwords, and alſo with good ſeamen under the command of Sir Andrew Wood, a brave and experienced officer: but I cannot venture to affirm, whether they belonged to the public, or were Wood's own private property. [*Buchanani Hiſt. L.* xiii, *cc.* 1, 3, 6.—*Pitſcottie, pp.* 145, 155, *ed.* 1778.] During the reign of James IV ſeveral warlike ſhips were added to the Scottiſh navy, one of them particularly remarkable, as being longer than any other veſſel that has been built from the time of Ptolemy Philopator to the preſent day.

1489, January—The parliament of England undertook to regulate the prices of ſeveral articles, which, they conceived, were exorbitant. Drapers and tailors were not allowed to take for the fineſt broad cloth of ſcarlet or other in-grain colours above 16/ per yard, or for cloths of the beſt quality of plain colours, or ruſſets, above 11/†. The hatters and cap-makers were accuſed of charging 3/ or 3/4 for hats which coſt them only 1/4, and from 3/ to 5/ for caps which coſt them only 1/4. They were now ordered to ſell the beſt hats at 1/8, the beſt caps at 2/8, and thoſe of inferior quality as they could agree. [*Acts* 4 *Hen. VII, cc.* 8, 9.]

* The act does not expreſs, whether this was a kind of cloth ſo called, or 400 pieces, or 400 yards.

† The in-grain colours were thus about 46 per cent higher than the others. The ſmaller difference of prices in the preſent day is owing to the great abundance of cochineal now brought from America.

It is very certain, that the greateſt part of the foreign trade of England had hitherto been carried on by foreign merchants in foreign veſſels, though ſome faint and tranſient indications of a ſenſe of the danger and impolicy of reſigning the moſt valuable intereſts, and the beſt means of the defence, of the country into the hands of ſtrangers had ſometimes appeared. The parliament, now conſidering, 'that where 'great miniſhing and decay hath been nowe of late tyme of the navye 'of this realme of Englande, and ydelnes of the maryners of the 'ſame, by the whiche this noble realme within ſhorte proceſs of 'tyme, without reformation be had therin ſhall not be of abylytye ne 'of ſtrengthe and power to defend itſelfe,' enacted, that no wines of Guienne or Gaſcoigne, nor woad of Tholouſe, ſhould be imported into England, Ireland, Wales, Calais, or Berwick, unleſs in veſſels belonging to the king or ſome of his ſubjects of thoſe territories, and navigated by ſeamen of whom the greater part ſhould be natives of the ſame territories. They alſo prohibited the king's ſubjects from ſhipping goods in England or Wales onboard any veſſel owned by a foreigner, unleſs when ſufficient freight could not be found in Engliſh veſſels. Foreign veſſels, loaded with wine or woad, if driven into Engliſh ports by ſtorm or enemies, were allowed to ſell as much as would pay for neceſſary proviſions or repairs, and no more. [*c.* 10.]

The act [4 *Edw. IV*, *c.* 4] againſt foreſtalling contracts for wool produced in the counties of Berks, Oxford, &c. was continued for ten years longer. [*c.* 11.]

The parliament, conſidering the deſolation of the country, the deſtruction of houſes and towns, and the idleneſs of the people, occaſioned by turning corn lands into paſture, ſome towns, wherein formerly two hundred perſons earned their livelihood, being now occupied by two or three herdſmen *, enacted, that all houſes, having twenty or more acres of land in tillage annexed to them, ſhould be kept up by the proprietors, whether they leaſed the land to farmers, or cultivated it for their own account, on pain of forfeiting half the rent to the king or other over-lord. [*c.* 19.] Though the parliament aſcribed the exceſſive predilection for paſturage to the avarice of the land-holders, it was more probably a neceſſary conſequence of the depopulation of the country by the civil wars between the rival families of York and Lancaſter following immediately after that occaſioned by the repeated invaſions of France, the proprietors being compelled by want of hands to feed ſheep upon the fields which uſed to be cultivated by their predial ſervants, as the ſteady demand for wool preſented the only means of obtaining any emolument from their eſtates: and moreover, in thoſe calamitous times, living ſtock, which could eaſily be conveyed out of the reach of an ene-

* Many of the greater towns were alſo ſo much decayed as to need parliamentary aids to preſerve them from utter deſolation, which were frequently granted in the reign of Edward IV, as appears by *Cotton's Abridgement of the records.*

my, was a much more deſirable property than corn, which, whether in the field, the ſtack-yard, or the barn, was doomed to inevitable deſtruction or pillage.

The embroiderers having complained to parliament that the pound packets of the gold thread of Venice, Florence, and Genoa, contained only about ſeven threads inſtead of twelve, that the thread was of unequal thickneſs, and colour, and the price was raiſed from 33/4 to £3, to the great prejudice of them and alſo of the buyers of 'broudered warke,' it was enacted, that gold thread, deficient in weight, or of unequal quality, ſhould be forfeited. [*c.* 22.]

February—In the ſcarcity of Scottiſh commercial treaties we muſt be content with obſerving, that the parliament of Scotland ordained, that ambaſſadors ſhould repair to France, Denmark, and Sweden: and that their inſtructions directed them to endeavour to obtain friendſhip, liberties, and freedoms for the good of the kingdom and the courſe of merchandize. [*Acts Jac. IV, c.* 22.] In conſequence of one of thoſe embaſſies ſome commercial privileges were obtained in the Daniſh dominions. [*Leſl. Hiſt. p.* 319.]

1490, January 20th—A treaty between England and Denmark had been made in the year 1489 at Weſtminſter. A more ample one was now concluded at Copenhagen by a doctor of laws, a herald, and two merchants of Lynne, for England, with the miniſters of the king of Denmark. Beſides the uſual freedom of trade on both ſides, it was agreed, that the merchants and fiſhermen of England might freely repair to Iceland for the purpoſe of merchandizing or fiſhing, they paying the cuſtomary dues in the ports, and acknowleging the ſovereignty of the king of Denmark by applying at the end of every ſeven years for renewals of their licences. They might purchaſe freſh fiſh of all kinds, and ſalt them, at Sconen, Seland, Dragor, and other uſual places in the kingdom of Denmark, on paying the due cuſtoms. Engliſh veſſels, obliged by ſtreſs of weather 'to go through the Baltic ſea, that is, 'through the Belts,' on giving ſecurity at Nyburg for the toll payable on paſſing at the Ore-ſound, ſhould be no way moleſted for infringing the law or cuſtom of Denmark. It was agreed, that before veſſels ſailed, ſufficient ſecurity ſhould be given (as now uſual) for their peaceable demeanour at ſea, unleſs they were licenced by either of the kings, who ſhould thereby become liable to redreſs any acts of piracy committed by them.—The Engliſh, whether buying, ſelling, or fiſhing, in the Daniſh dominions, ſhould enjoy as much liberty as any other foreigners. They ſhould alſo freely enjoy for ever the property of the lands and tenements acquired by them in Bergen in Norway, Lunden, and Landſkrone in Sconen, Dragor in Seland, and Loyſa in Sweden, or afterwards to be acquired in any part of the Daniſh dominions. They ſhould have perfect liberty at Bergen and other places to elect their governors or aldermen, who ſhould have the power of adminiſtering juſtice to Engliſh

ſubjects agreeable to the rules enacted by themſelves; and any Engliſhman, refuſing to ſubmit to their juriſdiction, ſhould be deprived of the privileges granted to the Engliſh in the Daniſh dominions.—The executor, or next of kin, or failing both, the aldermen or governors, ſhould have the cuſtody of the effects of Engliſh ſubjects dying in the Daniſh territories.—The merchants of England ſhould have liberty to ſell their cloths without the interference of any Daniſh officer; and they might appoint their agents in Copenhagen, Malmo, and Landſkrone, who, if they reſided a year or more, and paid the local dues, might tranſact buſineſs for abſent merchants, and ſell cloths by the piece or in ſmaller quantities.—No Engliſh merchant ſhould be liable to arreſt for the debt or fault of another; nor ſhould his goods be arreſted for crimes or debts charged againſt himſelf, if he gave ſufficient ſecurity to ſtand trial.—In caſes of wreck the property ſhould be carefully preſerved for the owners, and no perſon ſhould be permitted 'in ſuch melancholy caſes 'to claim any right to the property on pretence of a damned cuſtom, 'or make profit of the calamities of others,' beyond a reaſonable reward for labour.—Every poſſible means ſhould be uſed on both ſides to prevent the depredations of pirates.—Any infractions of this treaty ſhould be puniſhed by the ſovereign of the offenders*. [*Fœdera V.* xii, *pp.* 375, 381.]

April 15th.—Florence, under the wiſe adminiſtration of the illuſtrious merchant, Lorenzo de Medici, was now in the zenith of proſperity. The inhabitants, freed from wars and tumults, exerted their active ſpirit in commerce and manufactures. Their Oriental trade by the way of Egypt, was extended and improved by Lorenzo. Their linens and ſilk goods were made from materials produced in their own territories, but their woollen manufactures depended on importation from Spain and England. [*Roſcoe's Life of Lorenzo, c.* 6.] The trade of the later country with Italy had undergone a very important change in the ſhort ſpace of five years ſince King Richard commiſſioned the firſt conſul for the Engliſh merchants at Piſa. From that commiſſion we learn, that they *propoſed* to trade in their own or chartered veſſels; and now we find Engliſh veſſels eſtabliſhed in the trade, and the Engliſh merchants even extending their ideas to the employment of their veſſels in a mere carrying trade. A treaty of ſix years for the regulation of this commerce, ſo important to the manufactures of Florence, was now concluded by a doctor of laws and an alderman of London with the delegates of Florence, as follows.—The Engliſh might freely reſort to the territories of Florence, and carry thither all kinds of merchandize, whether the pro-

* It has been very properly remarked by Mr. Anderſon, that this treaty ſuppoſes the trade between the two countries to be entirely in the hands of the Engliſh, there being no reciprocation of advantages ſtipulated for the Danes in England (except in caſes of ſhipwreck). How prodigious an alteration had taken place ſince the ages in which the Danes and Norwegians domineered upon the Ocean!

duce of England or of other countries, not even excepting countries which might be at war with Florence, and might there buy and ſell, with the Florentines or any other people, all goods not already prohibited, and might carry prohibited goods through the Florentine territories to any other country whatever, whether friendly or hoſtile to Florence.—The Florentines agreed, not to admit any wool produced in the Engliſh dominions, if imported in any other than veſſels belonging to ſubjects of England, the Engliſh on the other hand engaging to carry every year to Piſa, the appointed ſtaple port, as much wool as uſed to be imported annually, on an average of former years, to all the ſtates of Italy, except Venice, unleſs circumſtances, of which the king ſhould be judge, ſhould render it impracticable.—The Engliſh merchants ſhould have liberty to hire or acquire houſes for their reſidence in Piſa, and ſhould there enjoy all the privileges enjoyed by the citizens of Piſa or thoſe of Florence: they ſhould alſo be exempted from ſeveral municipal burthens, and even from many duties upon merchandize, in all parts of the ſtate, except Florence, they being only liable to pay the exciſe and other duties upon wine, corn, and other food, and not even upon thoſe when bought for ſhip's ſtores.—The Engliſh in Piſa ſhould have a right to form themſelves into a corporate body, with governors and other officers, funds, &c. agreeable to their own regulations: and the magiſtrates of Florence engaged to give them either a ſuitable edifice, or a piece of ground for erecting one, proper for their joint accommodation.—It was agreed, that in all matters concerning the ſubjects of England only, they ſhould be independent of the juriſdiction of the city; in controverſies between them and any others, the podeſta of Piſa, in conjunction with the chief magiſtrate of the Engliſh, ſhould determine; and in criminal caſes, the Engliſh ſhould be amenable to the juſtice of the country.—The Florentines promiſed to endeavour to procure for the Engliſh a full participation of the benefits of any commercial treaty they might afterwards engage in.—The king of England engaged to allow no foreigners to export wool from any part of his dominions*, except the Venetians, who ſhould be allowed in each voyage to England to carry away 600 ſacks in their gallies, and no more, merely for the uſe of the city and territory of Venice.—If the Engliſh ſhould at any time fail in carrying the agreed quantity of wool to Piſa, the Florentines ſhould be at liberty to receive it, either from the Engliſh or from others, as before.—It was finally ſtipulated, that the wool ſhould be faithfully cleaned and packed, as in former times. [*Fœdera, V.* xii, *p.* 389.] Though by this treaty the Florentines were to have all the Engliſh wool that went to Italy, except the quantity allotted to Venice, at their own diſpoſal, the advantages allowed by them to the Engliſh ſhow a ſpirit of liberality, much beyond the uſual tenor of the treaties of the age.

* Surely it was not intended, that foreigners ſhould be prevented from buying wool in the ſtaple at Calais.

The Engliſh merchants engaged in the trade to Italy, of which Piſa was the ſtaple, appear to have been a regulated company, like the merchants of the ſtaple, and perhaps the merchant adventurers: but how long they exiſted as ſuch, I ſuppoſe, is utterly unknown *.

1491, May—Notwithſtanding the treaty ſo formally concluded with the Hanſe confederacy in the year 1475, the jealouſies and colliſions, which became more frequent, as the Engliſh came more and more into the ſituation of rivals in trade, had again broken out in hoſtilities, captures, and ſlaughters. A meeting of deputies from both ſides was now held at Antwerp in order to adjuſt pretenſions and compenſate damages. But the aſſembly broke up without coming to any accommodation. [*Fœdera*, *V.* xii, *p.* 441.—*Werdenhagen*, *V.* ii, *part* iv, *c.* 10.]

October—King Henry, intending to invade his antient enemies of France, granted ſeveral exemptions from the oppreſſive burthens of the feudal conſtitution to thoſe who ſhould accompany him, particularly a right to alienate their honours, caſtles, manors, lands, and other hereditary poſſeſſions, by licence from the king, without paying any fine or fee. [*Acts* 7 *Hen. VII*, *cc.* 2, 3.] Theſe, and ſome other acts of ſimilar tendency, laid the foundation of a moſt important change in the circumſtances of all the people in the kingdom. The great nobles being permitted, as a favour, to ſquander away their enormous eſtates, gradually declined from that dangerous ſuperiority, which had made them the terror of the kings, and the oppreſſors of the people, ever ſince the Norman conqueſt: and an opportunity was offered to the ſucceſsful merchant and manufacturer to acquire the reſpectability and influence annexed to the property of land; a kind of property more particularly deſirable in an age, wherein the greateſt and moſt opulent unlanded merchant was eſteemed inferior to the ſmalleſt land-holder.

The Venetians, for the maintenance of their own maritime power, having impoſed a new duty of four golden ducats (18*s* ſterling) on every butt of malmſey ſhipped at Candia onboard Engliſh veſſels, an equalizing additional duty of 18*s* was impoſed by parliament on every butt imported into England by any foreign merchant, to continue as long as the Venetians ſhould perſiſt in demanding their new duty. It was moreover ordained, that no malmſey ſhould be ſold above £4 per butt of 126 gallons with abatement for any deficient meaſure †. [*c.* 8.]

1492, March 1st—King Henry gave two French merchants a licence to import wines, woollen and linen cloths made in France or elſewhere, and any other merchandize, excepting wine of Gaſcoygne and woad, in a veſſel of 140 tuns and 64 men; and to export tin and other merchandize, not

* Though the public have been formerly ſtunned with the fierce conteſts of thoſe two companies, we hear nothing at all of the *company* of merchants trading to Italy.

† This act begins with ſetting forth the great trade of Engliſh ſhips to Candia *time out of mind*. But we know not how to truſt to the chronology of ſuch repreſentations.

belonging to the ſtaple of Calais *, to any country whatever, repeating the voyage as often they pleaſed during the year, and duely paying the cuſtoms, &c. [*Fœdera, V.* xii, *p.* 471.]

The Chriſtian provinces of Spain, almoſt entirely united by the marriage of Ferdinand king of Aragon with Iſabella queen of Caſtile, which took place in the year 1469, had for ſome time been in a very flouriſhing condition. About ten thouſand people were employed in the manufactures of ſilk and wool in Toledo. In Catalonia, before the union of the kingdoms of Caſtile and Aragon (an event fatal to the commercial proſperity of that province) many of the towns were filled with induſtrious and ſkilful manufacturers in wool, cotton, flax, ſilk, leather, tin, copper, iron, ſteel, ſilver, &c. The ſhip-carpenters of Barcelona built veſſels, not only for their own countrymen, but alſo for other nations. All theſe branches of induſtry, together with the produce of a fertile ſoil diligently cultivated, ſupplied the materials of an extenſive commerce with every port of the Mediterranean ſea, and alſo to Portugal, the weſt coaſt of France, Flanders, and England. [*Schott. Script. Hiſp. V.* ii, *pp.* 308, 844.—*Capmany, Mem. hiſt. de Barcelona, paſſim* †.] But all the Chriſtians of Spain were ſurpaſſed by the Saracens of Granada in the cultivation of their lands, the excellence of their manufactures, particularly thoſe of ſilk, (which, as already obſerved, were in a flouriſhing condition in Almeria before any of the Chriſtian ſtates to the weſtward of Greece poſſeſſed a ſingle ſilk-worm) the extent of their commerce, their riches and magnificence ‡. That kingdom was finally ſubdued in the beginning of January 1492 by Ferdinand, who by the treaty ſecured to the Saracens the free exerciſe of their religion with the uſe of their moſques, their own laws, and their property of every kind, including even their arms, except cannon. Ferdinand has generally obtained the character of a wiſe king: but, with ſubmiſſion to the wiſdom of thoſe who have given him that character, it may be obſerved, that he had now an opportunity, by a prudent and conciliatory treatment of his new ſubjects, to render his kingdom the firſt manufacturing and commereial country in Europe, and that his conduct was quite the reverſe. Urged by bigotry and infatuation, he had already eſtabliſhed the horrible tribunal of the inquiſition, of itſelf ſufficient to deſtroy all ſpirit of induſtry and enterpriſe; and, not ſatisfied with ſo great a ſacrifice of the inherent rights of the human mind on the altar of ſuperſtition, he com-

* The king's complaiſance to the French merchants made him forget that tin was a principal article of the ſtaple, and admit not only French-made woollen cloths, but even thoſe of other countries imported by French merchants: and yet he is ſaid to have underſtood, and acted upon, the principles of the act of navigation.

† For this and the preceding quotations from the important collection of records, publiſhed by Don Antonio de Capmany, I have to acknowlege the kindneſs of Sir John Talbot Dillon in favouring me with the uſe of his copy, perhaps the only one in Great Britain: nor ſhould I even have known of the work, but by his mention of it in his valuable Hiſtory of Peter the Cruel.

‡ The magnificence of their buildings appears in the remains of them ſtill exiſting.

manded (March 1492) all the Jews in Spain to become Chriſtians or to leave the kingdom in four months; and 170,000 families*, all induſtrious and valuable members of ſociety, by whom a great part of the trade of the country was conducted, were driven out to enrich other countries with their arts and induſtry, and as much of their property as they could ſave. With reſpect to the Saracens, or Moors, inſtead of imitating the wiſe and liberal conduct of the anceſtors of thoſe people, who, when they conquered Spain, permitted their Chriſtian ſubjects to enjoy their religion and laws, or that of the Chriſtian conqueror of Sicily, who gave the Saracen inhabitants the ſame indulgence, or paying any regard to his own treaty, Ferdinand the Catholic † reſolved to compell all his new ſubjects to become Chriſtians ‡. Many of them profeſſed the Chriſtian religion, while they retained their own: but thoſe hypocrites were ſoon exterminated by the burning zeal of the holy fathers of the inquiſition. Others, by far the greateſt number of them, were either murdered, or plundered and driven out of the country. Moſt of the exiles took refuge among their brethren on the oppoſite coaſt of Africa, and, in revenge for the miſeries inflicted on them by the Spaniards, reſolved to carry on a perpetual predatory war againſt their oppreſſors. But their war of juſt repriſals has been perverted by their deſcendents into indiſcriminate piracy againſt every nation profeſſing the Chriſtian religion, excepting only thoſe, who by bribes, or ſuperior naval power, allure or compell them to reſpect their flags: and thus it happens, that a private merchant in the United ſtates of America, a country not known to exiſt when Granada was conquered, is ruined in conſequence of that event. By theſe depopulations with the ſubſequent drains to the colonies, by blind and furious bigotry, and the lazy pride introduced by the acquiſition of the American mines, Spain, from the time of entering upon poſſeſſion of the greateſt opportunities of improvement, has been falling back in civilization, induſtry, and commerce, while all the other countries in Europe were rapidly advancing: a memorable and dreadful example of the fatal conſequences of perſecution for religious opinions. [See *Mariana, Ll.* xxv, xxvi, xxvii.]

It has been obſerved that the commerce of the Venetians acquired a very great extenſion by the depreſſion of their rivals, the Genoeſe, upon the eſtabliſhment of the Turkiſh empire in Europe. The wealth of Europe, and, along with it, the taſte for the ſpiceries, jewels, pearls, and other rich productions and manufactures of the Eaſt, continued to increaſe. Thoſe articles of luxury were almoſt entirely ſupplied by the

* This is the moſt moderate eſtimate. Some authors make the number much greater.

† He was the firſt king of Spain who had that title, which was doubtleſs given to him as a reward for his zeal againſt heretics.

‡ This converſion did not begin till the year 1499; but I have introduced it here for the ſake of connection. The archbiſhops of Toledo and Granada were the chief adviſers and executors of this perſecution, which, as Mariana acknowleges, was the ſource of all the ſubſequent troubles.

Venetians, whoſe veſſels viſited every port of the Mediterranean, and every coaſt of Europe, and whoſe maritime commerce was probably greater than that of all the reſt of Europe taken together. In Venice the rich manufactures of ſilk, cloth of gold and ſilver, veſſels of gold and ſilver, and glaſs, were carried to the higheſt degree of perfection. The Venetian navy was ſufficiently powerful to repreſs the piracies of the Turkiſh and Barbary corſairs. The government was beneficent: the people were numerous, opulent, and happy. Such was the commercial ſplendour and proſperity now enjoyed by Venice, from which ſhe was ſoon to decline, without a poſſibility of recovery, in conſequence of events, which no errors in commercial policy produced, and no human prudence could poſſibly avert.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.